

THE
Ā'ĪN-I AKBARĪ



ABŪ 'L-FAẒL ṢALLĀMĪ

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY

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PREFACE

(First Edition)

The *Â'in-i Akbari* is the third volume of the *Akbar-nāma*, by Shaykh Abū 'l-Faẓl, and is by far the greatest work in the whole series of Muhammadan histories of India. The first volume of this gigantic work contains the history of Timūr's family as far as it is of interest for the Indian reader, and the reigns of Bābar, the Sūr kings, and Humāyūn whilst the second volume is devoted to the detailed history of nearly forty-six years of the reign of the Great Emperor. The concluding volume, the *Â'in-i-Akbari*, contains that information regarding Akbar's reign, which, though not strictly historical, is yet essential to a correct understanding of the times, and embodies, therefore, those facts for which, in modern times, we would turn to Administration Reports, Statistical compilations, or Gazetteers. It contains the *â'in* (i.e. mode of governing) of Akbar, and is, in fact, the Administration Report and Statistical Return of his government as it was about A.D. 1590. The contents, therefore, of the *Â'in* are naturally varied and detailed. The first of its five books treats of Akbar's household and court, and of the emperor himself, the soul of every department, who looks upon the performance of his duties as an act of divine worship, and who enters into the details of government in order to create a harmonious whole. Vouchsafed as king with a peculiar light from on high, his person is prominently put forward as the guide of the people in all matters temporal and spiritual; in whose character and temper the governed find that rest and peace which no constitution can give, and in whom, as the author of a new and advanced creed, the dust of intolerance is for ever allayed.

The second book treats of the servants of the throne, the military and civil services, and the attendants at

court whose literary genius or musical skill receives a lustre from the encouragement of the emperor, and who in their turn reflect a brilliant light on the government.

The third book is entirely devoted to regulations for the judicial and executive departments, the establishment of a new and more practical era, the survey of the land, the tribal divisions, and the rent-roll of the great Finance minister whose name has become proverbial in India.

The fourth book treats of the social condition and literary activity, especially in philosophy and law, of the Hindus, who form the bulk of the population, and in whose political advancement the emperor saw the guarantee of the stability of his realm. There are also a few chapters on the foreign invaders of India, on distinguished travellers, and on Muhammadan saints and the sects to which they respectively belong.

The fifth book contains the moral sentences and epigrammatical sayings, observations, and rules of wisdom of the emperor, which Abū 'l-Faẓl has gathered as the disciple gathers the sayings of the master.

In the *Â'in*, therefore, we have a picture of Akbar's government in its several departments, and of its relations to the different ranks and mixed races of his subjects. Whilst in most Muhammadan histories we hear of the endless turmoil of war and dynastical changes, and are only reminded of the existence of a people when authors make a passing allusion to famines and similar calamities, we have in the *Â'in* the governed classes brought to the foreground: men live and move before us, and the great questions of the time, axioms then believed in, and principles then followed, phantoms then chased after, ideas then prevailing, and successes then obtained, are placed before our eyes in truthful, and therefore vivid, colours.

It is for this reason that the *Â'in* stands so unique among Muhammadan histories of India, and we need not wonder that long before curious eyes turned to other native sources of history and systematically examined their

contents, the *Â'in* was laid under contribution. Le Père Tieffentaller, in 1776, published in his *Description Géographique de l'Indostan* long extracts from the rent-roll given in the Third Book; Chief Sarishtadâr Grant used it largely for his Report on Indian Finances; and, as early as 1783, Francis Gladwin, a thorough Oriental scholar, dedicated to Warren Hastings his "*Ayeen Akberi*", of which in 1800 he issued a printed edition in London. In his translation, Gladwin has given the greater part of the First Book, more than one-half of the Second and Third Books, and about one-fourth of the Fourth Book; and although in modern times inaccuracies have been discovered in the portions translated by him—chiefly due, no doubt, to the fact that he translated from MSS. in every way a difficult undertaking—his translation has always occupied a deservedly high place, and it may confidently be asserted that no similar work has for the last seventy years been so extensively quoted as his. The magnitude of the task of translating the *Â'in* from uncollated MSS. will especially become apparent, when we remember that, even in the opinion of native writers, its style is "not intelligible to the generality of readers without great difficulty."

But it is not merely the varied information of the *Â'in* that renders the book so valuable, but also the trustworthiness of the author himself. Abū 'l-Fazl's high official position gave him access to any document he wished to consult, and his long career and training in various departments of the State, and his marvellous powers of expression, fitted him eminently for the composition of a work like the *Akbarnāmah* and the *Â'in*. His love of truth and his correctness of information are apparent on every page of the book, which he wished to leave to future ages as a memorial of the Great Emperor and as a guide for inquiring minds: and his wishes for the stability of the throne and the welfare of the people, his principles of toleration, his noble sentiments on the rights of man, the total absence

of personal grievances and of expressions of ill-will towards encompassing enemies, show that the expanse of his large heart stretched to the clear offing of sterling wisdom. Abū 'l-Fazl has far too often been accused by European writers of flattery and even of wilful concealment of facts damaging to the reputation of his master. A study, though perhaps not a hasty perusal, of the *Akbarnāmah* will show that the charge is absolutely unfounded; and if we compare his works with other historical productions of the East, we shall find that, while he praises, he does so infinitely less and with much more grace and dignity than any other Indian historian or poet. No native writer has ever accused him of flattery; and if we bear in mind that all Eastern works on Ethics recommend unconditional assent to the opinion of the king, whether correct or absurd, as the duty of man, and that the whole poetry of the East is a rank mass of flattery at the side of which modern encomiums look like withered leaves—we may pardon Abū 'l-Fazl when he praises because he finds a true hero.

The issue of the several fasciculi of this translation has extended over a longer time than I at first expected. The simultaneous publication of my edition of the Persian Text, from which the translation is made, the geographical difficulties of the Third Book, the unsatisfactory state of the MSS., the notes added to the translation from various Muhammadan historians and works on the history of literature, have rendered the progress of the work unavoidable slow.

I am deeply indebted to the Council of the Philological Committee of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for placing at my disposal a full critical apparatus of the *Â'in*, and entrusting me with the edition of the text, for which the Indian Government had most liberally sanctioned the sum of five thousand Rupees. My grateful acknowledgments are also due to Dr. Thomas Oldham, Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India and late President of the Asiatic Society, for valuable advice and ever ready assistance in

the execution of the work ; and to Col. H. Yule, C.B., and to H. Roberts, Esq., of the Docton College, for useful hints and corrections.

I have thought it advisable to issue the first volume with a few additional notes, and two indexes, one of persons and things and the other of geographical names, without waiting for the completion of the whole work. I have thus had an opportunity of correcting some of the errors and inconsistencies in the spelling of names and supplying other deficiencies. That defects will still be found, notwithstanding my endeavours to remove them, none of my readers and critics can be more sensible than I myself am.

H. BLOCHMANN.

CALCUTTA MADRASAH
23rd September, 1873.

easy reach of the average reader. It is hoped that the book with its attractive get-up and fine printing on superior paper will elicit ready patronage.

EDITOR'S PREFACE

The value of *Ain-i-Akbari* as an authentic chronicle of Akbar's reign and administration is unquestionable. The author, Abul Fazl, was not simply an exalted and trusted courtier, he enjoyed the love and friendship of the great emperor, who confided in him even the innermost state secrets and sought his advice whenever, wherever and whatever problems cropped up and agitated the royal mind.

Apart from its wealth of first hand historical information, the *Ain* is remarkable for its exposition of Akbar's ideal policies based on his ungrudging, secular spirit. The emperor knew no distinction of caste, colour or creed. He chose men of merit alone and such non-Muslim geniuses as Todar Mal, Bir Bal and Man Singh adorned his court.

Akbar's cult of secularism assumes special importance and is well worth emulation in the present context of communal predilections and fissiparous tendencies. The study of *Ain-i-Akbari* as an instrument of salutary influence towards unity of hearts is certainly beneficial as it inspires a spirit of tolerance and fraternity so direly needed. Hence the necessity of publishing such literature as may mould the public mind after the right pattern is greater now than ever before.

Ain-i-Akbari is notable for its broad range of theme and makes a gripping delightful reading. The author, a versatile genius no doubt has incidentally dealt with a great variety of subjects. There is something not only to divert the layman but to interest and inform the learned and the connoisseur also. You find dissertations on fruits and flowers, perfumes and flavours, arms and ammunition, games and sports, housing and planning, alms and donations, court manners and etiquettes, and even recipes for dishes. Thus the book is in some measure an encyclopaedia of useful information.

It is in view of this manifold importance of the book that the publisher has undertaken its publication at an enormous cost and brought this rare work, moderately priced, within an

A debt of gratitude is due to the eminent and well known orientalist, H. Blochmann, who put in tremendous labour and translated *Ain-i-Akbari* with exceptional ability, accuracy and effect preserving both the form and the spirit of the original.

A Hindi translation of this great classic is also contemplated by the Publisher and will soon see the light of day. It will serve to develop and enrich the Hindi Language and literature and thereby meet inspiration of lovers of our National Language.

10th January, 1965

S. L. GOOMER

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. (1 <i>Adā, gazelle</i> .—P.)	
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[¹ *Āhu*, gazelle.—P.]

The *Chaturtog*. As Abū 'l-Faṣl says that this standard is smaller than the preceding, it is possible that the word should be pronounced *chaturtog*, from the Turkish *chatur*, or *chütür*, short. The flag is adorned with bunches of hair (*quids*) taken from the tails and the sides of the Tibetan Yak.

PLATES X and XI THE IMPERIAL TENTS,

Plate X—The three tents on the top, commencing with the left are (1) the *Shāngyāna*, (2) A *yaldart Khargāh*, or tent of one door; (3) the *Dūdārī*, or tent of two doors, p. 67, 8. Rolled up over the door is the *chigh*; p. 236, A* in 88.

Below these three tents, is the *Sarī parda* and *Gulī-lār*, pp. 47, 57. At the foot of the plate is the *Nam gira* (pr. dew-catcher), with carpet and pillow (*masnad*); p. 48.

Plate XI—On the top, the *bōryāh*, p. 53. Below it, on the left, is the *Do-dāhiyāna* *Mānāl*, or two-storied house; vide Pl. IV, No. 1. At the window of the upper story, the emperor showed himself, vide *Index*, *darān*, and *jharūka*. To the right of this two-storied tent, is the *Chūbīn Rāweji* (as the word ought to be spelt, from *chobīn*, wooden, and *rāweji*, a square tent), p. 56. Below it, the common conical tent, tied to pegs stuck in the ground; hence it is called *zamin-dūz*, with one tent pole (*gnk-sarughā*, from the Turkish *sarughā*, or *sarūghā*, a tent pole).

Below is a *Zamin-dūz* with two poles (*dūz-sarughā*). At the bottom of the plate, to the left is the *Māndāl*, p. 66; and to the right, the **Ajdābī*, p. 58.

PLATE XII. WEAPONS,

The numbers in brackets refer to the numbers on pp. 117 to 119.

1. The sword, *shamsher* (1).
2. The straight sword, *khaddā* (2).
- 3a. The *gupī* *and (3).
4. The broad dagger, *jamdhar* (4).
5. The bent dagger, *khānjar* (5).
6. The *jari khāk*, or curved dagger (7).
7. The bent knife, *bāk* (8).
8. The *jhānbura*, or hiltless dagger (9).
9. The *katāra*, a long and narrow dagger (10).
10. The *narsīnī* *moth* (*narsīng moth*), a short and narrow dagger (11).
11. The bow, *kamān* (12).
- 12, 13. The small bow and arrow, *tolāsh Lāmān* and *fir* (13).
- 14a. Arrow.
- 14b. The *patānkash*, or arrow-drawer (19).
15. The quiver, *tarkash* (16).
16. The lance, *neco* (20).
17. The Hindustānī lance, *barchha* (21).
18. The *sūk*, or broad-headed lance (22).
- 19, 20. The *sainīkī* (23) and *selara* (24).
21. The *shukbur*, or club. This I believe to be the correct name (instead of *shashpar*), from *shush*, lungs, and *bur*, tearing.
22. The axe, *tabar*.
23. The club, *guz* (25). On p. 117, No. 29, the word *piyāzi* has been translated by "club", and this seems to be the correct meaning; but the plates in some MSS. call "piyāzi" a long knife, with straight back, ending in a point.
24. The pointed axe, *zāghnol*, i.e. crow-bill (30).
25. The *chakar* (wheel) and *busola* (31).
26. The double axe, *tabar-zāghnol* (32).

* *Zāgh* a name largely applied to a chaugh, crow, jackdaw and magpie.—P.]

27. The *tarangāla* (33).

28. The knife, *kīrd* (34).

PLATE XIII. WEAPONS (continued),

29. The *gupī* *kīrd*, or knife concealed in a stick (35).
30. The whip, *gamchī-kīrd* (36).
31. The clasp knife, *chāqā* (37).
32. A bow, unstrung.
33. The bow for clay bullets, *kamtha*, or *Kamān-i gureha* (38).
34. The tube, or pea-shooter, *tufak-i dahān* (40).
35. The *pushīkhār* (41).
36. A lance called *giri-kushāh*, i.e. a knof-unraveller (43).
37. The *khār-i mādī*, i.e. fish-spine (44).
38. The sling, *gobān* (45).
39. The *gashgā*, or *ankus*, for guiding elephants (46).
40. The shield, *shīr* (47).
41. Another kind of shield, *dādī* (48).
42. The plain cane shield, *phārī*, or *phārī* (50).
43. The helmet, *dubāghā* (52).
44. The *ghūghura*, a mail coat for head and body, in one piece (53).
45. The helmet, with protection for the neck, *zīrī khālā* (54).
46. The mailed coat, *zīrī* (57).
47. The mailed coat, with breast plate, *baglar* (58).
48. An armour for chest and body, *joshan* (59).
49. The breast and back-plates, *chār-dāna* (60).

PLATE XIV. WEAPONS AND ARMOURS (continued),

50. The coat with plates and helmet, *kolāī* (61).
51. An armour of the kind called *qādiqī* (62).
52. A long coat worn over the armour, *angīrīkhā* (63).
53. An iron mask, *chāhrāzīrīkh-i shānī* (65).
54. A doublet worn over the armour, *chīhīlqad* (67).
55. The long glove, *dast-dāna* (68).
56. The small one is the *mozi-yi ākani*, or iron stocking (71); and the large one the *rūk* (69).
57. The *kajem*, or *kejam*, a mailed covering for the back of the horse (72).
- 58, 59. The *artak-i kājem*, the quilt over which the preceding is put (73).
60. The *gashgā*, or head protection for the horse (74).
61. The *Kayghā sabbā* (70).
62. The rocket, *dān* (77).

PLATE XV. AKBAR'S MACHINE FOR CLEANING GUNS,

vide p. 122,

A* in 38, or the 1st Book.

PLATE XVI. HARNESS FOR HORSES, p. 144; A* in 52,

PLATE XVII. GAMES,

The upper figure shows the board for *Chaupar*, p. 315, and the lower figure is the board for the Chandal Mandal game. Both boards were made of all sizes; some were made of inlaid stones on the ground in an open court yard, as in *Fatpūr Sūkī*, and slave girls were used instead of pieces. The players at Chandal Mandal sat on the ground, round the circumference, one player at the end of each of the sixteen *radī*.

[* *Tufak-i dahan*, blowpipe.—P.]

BIOGRAPHY

or

SHAYKH ABŪ 'L-FAZL-I 'ALLĀMĪ

SHAYKH ABŪ 'L-FAZL, Akbar's minister and friend, was born at Āgra on the 6th Muharram, 938,¹ during the reign of I-lām Shāh.

The family to which he belonged traced its descent from Shaykh Mūsā, Abū 'L-Fazl's fifth ancestor, who lived in the ninth century of the Hijra in Siwistān (Sindh), at a place called Bel (بل). In "this pleasant village", Shaykh Mūsā's children and grandchildren remained till the beginning of the tenth century, when Shaykh Khizr, the then head of the family, following the yearnings of a heart imbued with mystic lore, emigrated to Hindūstān. There he travelled about visiting those who, attracted by God, are known to the world for not knowing it; and after passing a short time in Hijāz with the Arabian tribe, to which the family had originally belonged, he returned to India, and settled at Nāgor, north-west of Ajmir, where he lived in the company of the pious, enjoying the friendship of Mir Sayyid Yahyā of Bulhārā.

The title of Shaykh, which all the members of the family bore, was to keep up among them the remembrance of the home of the ancestors.

Not long afterwards, in 911, Shaykh Mubārak, Abū 'L-Fazl's father, was born. Mubārak was not Shaykh Khizr's eldest child; several children had been born before and had died, and Khizr rejoicing at the birth of another son, called him Mubārak, i.e. the blessed, in allusion, no doubt, to the hope which Islām holds out to the believers that children gone before bless those born after them, and pray to God for the continuance of their earthly life.

Shaykh Mubārak, at the early age of four, gave abundant proofs of intellectual strength, and fashioned his character and leanings in the company of one Shaykh 'Atan (عطن), who was of Turkish extraction and had come during the reign of Sikandar Lodi to Nāgor, where he lived in the service of Shaykh Sālār, and died, it is said, at the advanced age of one hundred and twenty years. Shaykh Khizr had now resolved to settle at Nāgor permanently, and with the view of bringing a few relations to his adopted home, he returned once more to Siwistān. His sudden death during the journey left the family at Nāgor in great

distress; and a famine which broke out at the same time stretched numbers of the inhabitants on the barren sands of the surrounding desert, and of all the members of the family at Nāgor only Mubārak and his mother survived.

Mubārak grew up progressing in knowledge and laying the foundation of those encyclopaedial attainments for which he afterwards became so famous. He soon felt the wish and the necessity to complete his education and visit the great teachers of other parts; but love to his mother kept him in his native town, where he continued his studies, guided by the teachings of the great saint Khwāja Ahrār,² to which his attention had been directed. However, when his mother died, and when about the same time the Māldes disturbances broke out, Mubārak carried out his wish, and went to Ahmadābād in Gujarāt, either attracted by the fame of the town itself, or by that of the shrine of his countryman, Ahmad of Khaṭṭā.³ In Ahmadābād he found a second father in the learned Shaykh Abū 'L-Fazl, a Khaṭīb, or preacher, from Kārarān, in Perris, and made the acquaintance of several men of reputation, as Shaykh 'Umar of Tattah and Shaykh Yūsuf. After a stay of several years, he returned to Hindūstān, and settled, on the 6th Muharram, 950, on the left bank of the Jamunā, opposite Āgra, near the Chārbāgh Villa,⁴ which Bābar had built, and in the neighbourhood of the saintly Mir Rafī' 'd-Dīn Safawī of Injū (Shirāz), among whose disciples Mubārak took a distinguished place. It was here that Mubārak's two eldest sons, Shaykh Abū 'L-Fayz⁵ and, four years later, Shaykh Abū 'L-Fazl, were born. Mubārak had now reached the age of fifty, and resolved to remain at Āgra, the capital of the empire; nor did the years of extraordinary drought which preceded the first year of Akbar's reign, and the dreadful plague, which in 963 broke out in Āgra and caused a great dispersion among the population, incline him to settle elsewhere.

The universality of learning which distinguished Mubārak attracted a large number of disciples, and displayed itself in the education he gave his sons; and the filial piety with which Abū 'L-Fazl in numerous passages of his works speaks of his father, and the testimony of hostile writers as Badā'uni, leave no doubt that it was Mubārak's comprehensive-

¹ Died at Samargānd, 29th Rabi' I, 895, or 20th February, 1490.

² Vide p. 379, note. Ahmad of Khaṭṭā is buried at Sarkhiāh near Ahmadābād. He died in 610 (A.D. 1445).

³ Later called Hazht Bihisht, or the Nūrafshān Gardens. It is now called the Rām Bāgh.

⁴ Born A.H. 954, or A.D. 1547. Vide p. 548.

through his great oratorical powers, but pressed by enemies he went to Gujarat, where he found an ally in Sultan Mahmūd I. From Gujarat he proceeded, at the request of the king and to the joy of numerous enemies, on a pilgrimage to Makkah. From there also he seems to have been driven away. On his return, it was revealed to him that his teaching was vexatious, and he said to the disciples that accompanied him, "God has removed from my heart the burden of Mahdī. If I safely return, I shall recant all." But when he reached the town of Farāh in Baluchistan, where L's arrival had created a great sensation, he died (A.H. 911; A.D. 1505). His tomb became a place of general pilgrimage, although Shāh Ismā'īl and Shāh Tahmasp tried to destroy it. The movement, however, continued. Some of his followers adhered to their belief that he was Mahdī; and even the historian Baluch, who was strongly attached to the cause, speaks of him as of a great saint.

Other Mahdīs appeared in various parts of India. In 926 (A.D. 1519), a Mahdī of great pretensions arose in Bānsh, S.W. of Agra, in the person of Shaykh 'Alā'ī. This man was a Banāsi Murshid. His father had been looked upon in his country as a learned saint, and after visiting Makkah, he had settled, in 925, with his younger brother Naqī 'Ilāh, likewise a learned man, at Bānsh, where they soon became respected and influential men. Shaykh 'Alā'ī had shown from his youth the learning of the lawyer and the rigour of the saint; and on the death of his father, he gathered numerous pupils around himself. "But the love of power issues at last from the heads of the just," and on the day of the 'Id, he kicked an influential Shaykh from his *hauḍ*, and, supported by his brothers and elder relatives, he proclaimed that he alone was worthy of being the Shaykh of the town.

About the same time, one Miḡān 'Abd' 'Ilāh, a Nizāri Afghan and disciple of Mir Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpūr, arrived from Makkah and settled at a retired spot near Bānsh. Like his master, he was a man of oratorical powers and was given to street preaching; and in a short time he gained numerous followers among the woodcutters and water-carriers. Shaykh 'Alā'ī also was overawed by the impressive addresses of Miḡān 'Abd' 'Ilāh; he gave up teaching and struggling for local influence, turned fugitive, told his wife either to follow him to the wilderness or to go, distributed his whole property, even his books, among the poor adherents of the Nizāri, and joined the fraternity which they had formed. The brethren had established among themselves a community of property, divided the earnings obtained by begging, and gave up all work, because it was said in the Qur'ān, "Let not men be

allured by trade or selling to give up meditating on God." Religious meetings, the object of which was to prepare people for the advent of the promised Mahdī, were daily held after the five prayers, which the brethren said together, and wherever they went they appeared armed to the teeth. They soon felt strong enough to interfere with municipal matters, as I suspected the bīrīs and removed by force all articles forbidden in the law, defying the magistrates, if opposed to them, or seeking them, if of their opinion. Their ranks increased daily, and matters in Bānsh had come to such a pass, that fathers separated themselves from their children and husbands from their wives. Shaykh 'Alā'ī, in former position and the thoroughness of his conversion had given him the rank of second leader; in fact, he soon outdid Miḡān 'Abd' 'Ilāh in earnestness and successful conversions, and the latter at last tried to rid himself of his rival by sending him with six or seven hundred armed men towards Makkah. 'Alā'ī marched with his band over Barāwar to Kharwāpūr, converting and preaching on the way, but on account of some obstacles they all returned to Bānsh.

Shaykh 'Alā'ī's fame at last reached the ear of Islām Shāh, who summoned him to Agra; and although the king was resolved to put him to death as a dangerous demagogue, and was even offended at the rude way in which 'Alā'ī behaved in his presence, he was so charmed by an impromptu address which 'Alā'ī delivered on the vanities of the world and the pliancy of the learned, that he sent cooked provisions to 'Alā'ī's men. To the amusement of the Afghan nobles and generals at court 'Alā'ī on another occasion defeated the learned on questions connected with the advent of Mahdī, and Islām Shāh was day after day informed that another of his nobles had gone to 'Alā'ī's meetings and had joined the new sect.

It was at this time that Shaykh Mubārak also became a "disciple", and professed Mahdāwīdism. It is not clear whether he joined the sect from religious or from political motives, inasmuch as one of the objects of the brethren was to break up the party of the learned at Court, at whose head Malḡhūdūm 'I-Mulk stood; but whatever may have been his reason, the result was, that Malḡhūdūm became his inveterate enemy, deprived him of grants of land, made him flee for his life, and persecuted him for more than twenty years, till Mubārak's sons turned the tables on him and procured his banishment.¹

¹ "Malḡhūdūm 'I-Mulk" was the title of 'Abd' 'Ilāh of Sulṭānūr, regarding whom the reader may consult the index for references. The following biographical notice from the

How great their influence was, may be seen from the fact that of all Muhammadan emperors only Akbar, and perhaps 'Alā'ud-Dīn Khilji, succeeded in putting down this haughty set.

The death of Shaykh 'Alā'ī was a great triumph for the Court 'Ulamās, and a vigorous persecution of all Mahdawī disciples was the immediate result. The persecutions lasted far into Akbar's reign. They abated only for a short time when the return of Humāyūn and the downfall of the Afghān power brought about a violent political crisis, during which the learned first thought of their own safety, well knowing that Humāyūn was strongly in favour of Shi'ism; but when Akbar was firmly established and the court at Āgra, after the fall of Bayrām Khān, who was a Shi'a, again teemed with Hindūstānī Sunnis, the persecutions commenced. The hatred of the court party against Shaykh Mubārak especially, rose to such a height that Shaykh 'Abd'n-Nabī and Makhdūm 'ul-Mulk represented to the emperor that inasmuch as Mubārak also belonged to the Mahdawīs and was, therefore, not only himself damned, but led also others into damnation, he deserved to be killed. They even obtained an order to bring him before the emperor. Mubārak wisely fled from Āgra, only leaving behind him some furniture for his enemies to reek their revenge on. Concealing himself for a time, he applied to Shaykh Salim Chishtī of Faṭhpūr Sikrī for intercession; but being advised by him to withdraw to Gujarāt, he implored the good offices of Akbar's foster-brother, the generous Khān-i A'zam Mirzā Koka, who succeeded in allaying all doubts in the mind of the emperor by dwelling on the poverty of the Shaykh and on the fact that, different from his covetous accusers, he had not cost the state anything by way of freeholds, and thus obtained at least security for him and his family. Mubārak some time afterwards applied indeed for a grant of land for his son 'Abū 'l-Fayz, who had already acquired literary fame, though he was only 20 years old, and waited personally with his son on Shaykh 'Abd'n-Nabī. But the latter, in his theological pride, turned them out of his office as men suspected of Mahdawī leanings and Shi'a tendencies. Even in the 12th year of Akbar's reign, when Fayzi's poems¹ had been noticed at Court—Akbar then lay before Chitor—and a summons had been sent to the young poet to present himself before his sovereign, the enemies at Āgra saw in the invitation a sign of approaching doom, and prevailed on the governor to secure the victim this time. The governor thereupon sent a detachment of Mughul soldiers to surround Mubārak's house. Fayzi

was accidentally away from home, and the soldiers suspecting a conspiracy, subjected Mubārak to various sorts of ill-treatment; and when Fayzi at last came, he was carried off by force to Chitor.¹ Nor did his fears for his father and his own life banish, till his favourable reception at court convinced him both of Akbar's good will and the blindness of his personal enemies.

Abū 'l-Faẓl had in the meantime grown up zealously studying under the care of his father. The persecutions which Shaykh Mubārak had to suffer for his Mahdawī leanings at the hands of the learned at Court, did not fail to make a lasting impression on his young mind. There is no doubt that it was in this school of misfortune that Abū 'l-Faẓl learned the lesson of toleration, the practice of which in later years formed the basis of Akbar's friendship for him; while, on the other hand, the same pressure of circumstances stimulated him to unusual exertions in studying, which subsequently enabled him during the religious discussions at Court to lead the opposition and overthrow by superior learning and broader sentiments the clique of the 'Ulamās, whom Akbar hated so much.

At the age of fifteen, he showed the mental precocity so often observed in Indian boys; he had read works on all branches of those sciences which go by the name of *ḥikamī* and *naqlī*, or *ma'qūl* and *manqūl*.² Following the footsteps of his father, he commenced to teach long before he had reached the age of twenty. An incident is related to show how extensive even at that time his reading was. A manuscript of the rare work of Iṣfahānī happened to fall into his hands. Unfortunately, however, one half of each page, vertically downwards from top to bottom, was rendered illegible, or was altogether destroyed, by fire. Abū 'l-Faẓl determined to restore so rare a book, cut away the burnt portions, pasted new paper to each page, and then commenced to restore the missing halves of each line, in which attempt after repeated thoughtful perusals he succeeded. Some time afterwards, a complete copy of the same work turned up and on comparison, it was found that in many places there were indeed different words, and in a few passages new proofs even had been adduced; but on the whole the restored portion presented so many points of extraordinary coincidence that his friends were not a little astonished at the thoroughness with which Abū 'l-Faẓl had worked himself into the style and mode of thinking of a difficult author. ☞

¹ 20th Rabi' I, 975, or 24th September, 1567. The ode which Fayzi presented will be found in the *Albarnāma*.

² Page 609, note.

Abū'l-Faẓl was so completely taken up with study that he preferred the life of a recluse to the unstable patronage of the great, and to the bondage which attendance at court in those days rendered inevitable. But from the time Fayẓi had been asked by Akbar to attend the Court hopes of a brighter future dawned, and Abū'l-Faẓl, who had then completed his seventeenth year, saw in the encouragement held out by the emperor, in spite of Mubārak's numerous enemies at court, a guarantee that patient toil, on his part, too, would not remain without fruit. The skill with which Fayẓi in the meantime acquired and retained Akbar's friendship, prepared the way for Abū'l-Faẓl; and when the latter, in the very end of 981 (beginning of A.D. 1571) was presented to Akbar as Fayẓi's brother, the reception was so favourable that he gave up all thoughts of leading a life among manuscripts. "As fortune did not at first assist me," says Abū'l-Faẓl in the Akbar-nāma, "I almost became selfish and conceited, and resolved to tread the path of proud retirement. The number of pupils that I had gathered around me, served but to increase my pedantry. In fact, the pride of learning had made my brain drunk with the idea of seclusion. Happily for myself, when I passed the nights in lonely spots with true seekers after truth, and enjoyed the society of such as are empty-handed, but rich in mind and heart, my eyes were opened and I saw the selfishness and covetousness of the so-called learned. The advice of my father with difficulty kept me back from outbreaks of folly; my mind had no rest, and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia, or to the hermits of Lebanon; I longed for interviews with the lamas of Tibet or with the pādris of Portugal, and I would gladly sit with the priests of the Pārsis and the learned of the Zendavesta. I was sick of the learned of my own land. My brother and other relatives then advised me to attend the Court, hoping that I would find in the emperor a leader to the sublime world of thought. In vain did I at first resist their admonitions. Happy, indeed, am I now that I have found in my sovereign a guide to the world of action and a comforter in lonely retirement; in him meet my longing after faith and my desire to do my appointed work in the world; he is the orient where the light of form and ideal dawns; and it is he who has taught me that the work of the world, multifarious as it is, may yet harmonize with the spiritual unity of truth. I was thus presented at Court. As I had no worldly treasures to lay at the feet of his Majesty, I wrote a commentary to the *Ayat* 'l-Kursī,¹ and presented it when the emperor was at Āgra.

¹ Name of the 258th verse of the second chapter of the Qur'ān.

I was favourably received, and his Majesty graciously accepted my offering."

Akbar was at that time busily engaged with his preparations for the conquest of Bihār and Bengal. Fayẓi accompanied the expedition, but Abū'l-Faẓl naturally stayed in Āgra. But as Fayẓi wrote to his brother that Akbar had inquired after him, Abū'l-Faẓl attended Court immediately on the emperor's return to Faṭhpūr Sikrī, where Akbar happened to notice him first in the Jāmi' Mosque. Abū'l-Faẓl, as before, presented a commentary written by him on the opening of a chapter in the Qur'ā entitled "Sūratu 'l-Faṭḥ", "the Chapter of Victory".¹

The party of the learned and bigoted Sunnis at Court, headed by Maḥdūm 'l-Mulk and Shaykh 'Abdu 'n-Nabī, had every cause to feel sorry at Fayẓi's and Abū'l-Faẓl's successes²; for it was now, after Akbar's return from Bihār, that the memorable Thursday evening discussions commenced, of which the historian Badā'onī has left us so vivid an account. Akbar at first was merely annoyed at the "Pharaoh-like pride" of the learned at court; stories of the endless squabbles of these pious casuists had reached his ear; religious persecutions and a few sentences of death passed by his Chief-Justice on Shī'as and "others heretics" affected him most deeply; and he now for the first time realized the idea that the scribes and the pharisees formed a power of their own in his kingdom, at the construction of which he had for twenty years been working. Impressed with a favourable idea of the value of his Hindū subjects, he had resolved when pensively sitting in the mornings on the solitary stone at Faṭhpūr Sikrī, to rule with even hand men of all creeds in his dominions; but as the extreme views of the learned and the lawyers continually urged him to persecute instead of to heal, he instituted the discussions, because, believing himself to be in error, he thought it his duty as ruler to "inquire". It is not necessary to repeat here the course which these discussions took.³ The unity that had existed among the learned disappeared in the very beginning; abuse took the place of argument, and the plainest rules of etiquette were, even in the presence of the emperor, forgotten. Akbar's doubts instead of being cleared up only increased; certain points of the Hanafi law, to which most Sunnis cling, were found to be better established by the dicta of lawyers belong-

¹ The details of Abū 'l-Faẓl's introduction at Court given in Badā'onī differ slightly from Abū 'l-Faẓl's own account.

² Badā'onī ascribes to Maḥdūm 'l-Mulk an almost prophetic insight into Abū 'l-Faẓl's character; for the first time he saw Abū 'l-Faẓl, he said to his disciples, "What religious mischief is there of which that man is not capable?" Bad., III, 72.

³ Vide pp. 179 ff.

ing to the other three sects; and the moral character of the Prophet was next scrutinized and was found wanting. Maḥdūm 'l-Mulk wrote a spiteful pamphlet against Shaykh 'Abdū 'n-Nabī, the Ṣadr of the empire, and the latter retorted by calling Maḥdūm a fool and cursing him. Abū'l-Faḥl, upon whom Akbar from the beginning had fixed as the leader of his party, fanned the quarrels, by skilfully shifting the disputes from one point to another, and at last persuaded the emperor that a subject ought to look upon the king not only as the temporal, but also as the only spiritual guide. The promulgation of this new doctrine was the making of Abū'l-Faḥl's fortune. Both he and Akbar held to it to the end of their lives. But the new idea was in opposition to Islām, the law of which stands above every king, rendering what we call a constitution impossible; and though headstrong kings as 'Alā'ū 'd-dīn Khiljī had before tried to raise the law of expediency (مصلحت و ثروت, *maṣlaḥat-i waqt*) above the law of the Qur'ān they never fairly succeeded in separating religion from law or in rendering the administration of the empire, independent of the Mullā. Hence when Abū'l-Faḥl four years later, in 986, brought up the question at the Thursday evening meetings, he raised a perfect storm; and while the disputations, bitter as they were, had hitherto dwelt on single points connected with the life of the Prophet, or with sectarian differences, they henceforth turned on the very principles of Islām. It was only now that the Sunnis at Court saw how wide during the last four years the breach had become; that "the strong embankment of the clearest law and the most excellent faith had been broken through"; and that Akbar believed that there were sensible men in all religions, and abstemious thinkers and men endowed with miraculous power among all nations. Islām, therefore, possessed in his opinion no superiority over other forms of worship.¹ The learned party, seeing their official position endangered, now showed signs of readiness to yield, but it was too late. They even signed the remarkable document which Shaykh Mubārak in conjunction with his sons had drafted, a document which I believe stands unique in the whole Church History of Islām. Badā'oni has happily preserved a complete copy of it.² The emperor was certified to be a just ruler, and was as such assigned the rank of a "Mujtahid", i.e. an infallible authority in all matters relating to Islām. The "intellect of the just king" thus became the only source of legislation, and the whole body of the learned and the lawyers bound themselves to abide by Akbar's decrees in religious matters. Shaykh 'Abdū 'n-Nabī and Maḥdūm 'l-Mulk signed indeed the document against

¹ Pages 187, 189.

² Vide p. 195.

their will, but sign they did; whilst Shaykh Mubārak added to his signature the words that he had most willingly subscribed his name, and that for several years he had been anxiously looking forward to the realization of the progressive movement. "The document," says 'Abū'l-Faḥl in the *Akbarnāma*, "brought about excellent results—(1) The Court became a gathering place of the sages and learned of all creeds; the good doctrines of all religious systems were recognized, and their defects were not allowed to obscure their good features; (2) perfect toleration (*sulh-i-kul* or "peace with all") was established; and (3) the perverse and evil-minded were covered with shame on seeing the disinterested motives of his Majesty, and thus stood in the pillory of disgrace." The copy of the draft which was handed to the emperor, was in Shaykh Mubārak's own handwriting, and was dated Rajab, 987 (September, 1579).

A few weeks afterwards, Shaykh 'Abdū 'n-Nabī and Maḥdūm 'l-Mulk were sent to Makkah, and Shaykh Mubārak and his two sons triumphed over their enemies. How magnanimous Abū'l-Faḥl was, may be seen from the manner in which he chronicles in the *Akbarnāma* the banishment of these men. Not a sentence, not a word, is added indicative of his personal grievances against either of them, though they had persecuted and all but killed his father and ruined his family; the narrative proceeds as calm and statesmanlike as in every other part of his great work, and justifies the high praise which historians have bestowed upon his character that "neither abuse nor harsh words were ever found in his household".

The disputations had now come to an end (A.D. 1579) and Fayḏī and Abū'l-Faḥl had gained the lasting friendship of the emperor. Of the confidence which Akbar placed in Fayḏī, no better proof can be cited than his appointment, in the same year, as tutor to Prince Murād; and as both brothers had entered the military, then the only service and had received *manṣabs*, or commissions, their employment in various departments gave them repeated opportunities to gain fresh distinctions. Enjoying Akbar's personal friendship, both remained at court in Faṭhpūr Sikrī, or accompanied the emperor on his expeditions. Two years later, Fayḏī was appointed Ṣadr of Āgra, Kālpī, and Kālinjar, in which capacity he had to inquire into the possibility of resuming free tenures (*sayurgḥāl*), which in consequence of fraudulent practices on the part of government officers and the rapaciousness of the holders themselves had so much increased as seriously to lessen the land revenue; and Abū'l-Faḥl in the very beginning of 1585, was promoted to the *manṣab*

¹ *Akbarnāma*, iii, 463.

of Hazārī, or the post of a commander of one thousand horse, and was in the following year appointed Diwān of the Province of Dihlī. Fayzī's rank was much lower; he was only a commander of Four Hundred. But he did not care for further promotion. Devoted to the muse, he found in the appointment as Poet Laureate, with which Akbar honoured him in the end of 1588, that satisfaction which no political office, however high, would have given him. Though the emperor did not pay much attention to poetry, his appreciation of Fayzī's genius was but just; for after Amīr Khusrāw of Dihlī, Muhammadan India has seen no greater poet than Fayzī.¹

In the end of 1589, Abū'l-Faẓl lost his mother, to whose memory he has devoted a page in the *Akbarnāma*. The emperor, in order to console him, paid him a visit, and said to him, "If the people of this world lived for ever and did not only once die, kind friends would not be required to direct their hearts to trust in God and resignation to His will; but no one lives long in the caravanserai of the world, and hence the afflicted do well to accept consolation."²

Religious matters had in the meantime rapidly advanced. Akbar had founded a new religion, the Dīn-i Ilāhī, or "the Divine Faith", the chief feature of which, in accordance with Shaykh Mubārak's document mentioned above, consisted in belief in one God and in Akbar as His viceregent (*khalīfa*) on earth. The Islamitic prayers were abolished at court, and the worship of the "elect" was based on that of the Pārsis and partly on the ceremonial of the Hindūs. The new era (*tārīkh-il-āhī*), which was introduced in all government records, as also the feasts observed by the emperor, were entirely Pārsī. The Muhammadan grandees at court showed but little resistance; they looked with more anxiety on the elevation of Hindū courtiers than on Akbar's religious innovations, which after all, affected but a few. But their feeling against Abū'l-Faẓl was very marked, and they often advised the emperor to send him to the Dakhin hoping that some mismanagement in war or in administration would lessen his influence at court. Prince Salīm (Jahāngir) also belonged to the dissatisfied, and his dislike to Abū'l-Faẓl, as we shall see below, became gradually so deep-rooted, that he looked upon him as the chief obstacle to the execution of his wild plans. An unexpected visit to Abū'l-Faẓl gave him an excellent opportunity to charge him with

duplicity. On entering the house, he found forty writers busy in copying commentaries to the Qur'ān. Ordering them to follow him at once, he took them to the emperor, and showing him the copies he said, "What Abū'l-Faẓl teaches me is very different from what he practises in his house." The incident is said to have produced a temporary estrangement between Akbar and Abū'l-Faẓl. A similar, but less credible, story is told by the author of the *Zakhīrat*³ *l-Khawānīn*. He says that Abū'l-Faẓl repented of his apostasy from Islām, and used at night to visit *incognito* the houses of dervishes, and, giving them gold muhurs, requested them "to pray for the stability of Abū'l-Faẓl's faith", sighing at the same time and striking his knees and exclaiming, "What shall I do?" And just as writers on the history of literature have tried to save Fayzī from apostasy and consequent damnation, by representing that before his death he had praised the Prophet, so have other authors succeeded in finding for Abū'l-Faẓl a place in Paradise; for it is related in several books that Shāh Abū 'l-Ma'ālī Qādīrī of Lāhor, a man of saintly renown,¹ once expressed his disapproval of Abū 'l-Faẓl's words and deeds. But at night, so runs the story, he saw in his dream that Abū 'l-Faẓl came to a meeting held by the Prophet in Paradise; and when the Prophet saw him enter, he asked him to sit down, and said, "This man did for some time during his life evil deeds, but one of his books commences with the words, 'O God, reward the good for the sake of their righteousness, and help the wicked for the sake of thy love,' and these words have saved him." The last two stories flatter, in all probability, the consciences of pious Sunnis; but the first, if true, detracts in no way from that consistency of opinion and uniform philosophic conviction which pervades Abū 'l-Faẓl's works; and though his heart found in pure deism and religious philosophy more comfort and more elements of harmony than in the casuistry of the Mullās, his mind from early youth had been so accustomed to hard literary work, that it was perfectly natural for him, even after his rejection of Islām to continue his studies of the Qur'ān, because the highest dialectical lore and the deepest philological research of Muhammadan literature have for centuries been concentrated on the explanation of the holy book.

To this period also belong the literary undertakings which were commenced under the auspices of the Emperor himself. Abū 'l-Faẓl, Fayzī, and scholars as Badā'onī, Naqīb Khān, Shaykh Sulṭān, Hājī Ibrāhīm, Shaykh Munawwar and others, were engaged in historical and

¹ For his works, vide p. 161.

² از چهارپایان طراز یاندگی داشته و جزیکه راه نیستی نبریزد دیوانش شایا دل را از ما و تسلیم نگیرد نمود هرگاه درین کاروان سرا هیچکس دیرنماند نگاهش ناشکیبایی را کجا اندازه توان گرفت ॥

³ Born A.H. 960: died at Lāhor, 1024. *Khasinat*¹ 'l-Asfīyā, p. 139.

scientific compilations and in translations from the Sanskrit or Hindi into Persian.¹ Fayzī took the *Lilāwatī*, a well-known book on mathematics, and Abū 'l-Faḡl translated the *Kalīla Damna* under the title of '*ʿAyār Dānīsh* from Arabic into Persian. He also took a part in the translation of the *Mahābhārata*, and in the composition of the *Tārīkh-i Alfī*, the "History of the Millennium." The last-mentioned work, curious to say, has an intimate connexion with the Mahdawi movement, of which particulars have been given above. Although from the time of Shaykh 'Alā'i's death, the disciples of the millennium had to suffer persecution, and movement to all appearances had died out, the idea of a restorer of the millennium was revived during the discussions in Fathpūr Sikri and by the teachings of men of Sharīf-i Āmulī's stamp,² with this important modification, that Akbar himself was pointed to as the "Lord of the Age", through whom faded Islām was to come to an end. This new feature had Akbar's full approval, and exercised the greatest influence on the progress of his religious opinions. The *Tārīkh-i Alfī*, therefore, was to represent Islām as a thing of the past; it had existed a thousand (alf) years, and had done its work. The early history, to the vexation of the Sunnis, was related from a Shi'ah point of view, and worse still, the chronology had been changed, inasmuch as the death of the Prophet had been made the starting point, not the *hijra*, or flight, of the Prophet from Makka to Madina.

Towards the middle of A.H. 1000 (beginning of A.D. 1592), Akbar promoted Abū 'l-Faḡl to the post of Dūhazārī, or commander of two thousand horse. Abū 'l-Faḡl now belonged to the great Amīrs (*umarā-yi kibār*) at court. As before, he remained in immediate attendance on the emperor. In the same year, Fayzī was sent to the Dakḥin as Akbar's ambassador to Burhān 'l-Mulk, and to Rāja 'Alī Khān of Khāndesh, who had sent his daughter to Prince Salīm. Fayzī returned after an absence of more than sixteen months.

Shaykh Mubārak, who after the publication of his famous document had all but retired from the world, died in the following year at Lāhor (Sunday, 17th Zī Qa'ḍa, 1001, or 4th September, 1593). He had reached

the age of 90, and had occupied himself in the last years of his life with the compilation in four volumes of a gigantic commentary to the Qur'ān, to which he had given the title of *Manba' Nafā'is 'l-Uyūn*. He completed it, in spite of failing eyesight, a short time before his death.

The historian Badā'onī speaks of him as follows:—

Shaykh Mubārak belonged to the most distinguished men of learning of the present age. In practical wisdom, piety, and trust in God, he stood high among the people of his time. In early life he practised rigorous asceticism; in fact, he was so strict in his views regarding what is lawful and unlawful, that if any one, for example, came to a prayer meeting with a gold ring on his finger, or dressed in silk, or with red stockings on his feet, or red or yellow coloured clothes on him, he would order the offending articles to be removed. In legal decisions, he was so severe as to maintain that for every hurt exceeding a simple kick, death was the proper punishment. If he accidentally heard music while walking on the street, he ran away, but in course of time he became, from divine zeal, so enamoured of music, that he could not exist without listening to some voice or melody. In short, he passed through rather opposite modes of thought and ways of life. At the time of the Afghān rule, he frequented Shaykh 'Alā'i's fraternity; in the beginning of His Majesty's reign, when the Naqshbandīs had the upper hand, he settled matters with that sect; afterwards he was attached to the Hamadānī school, and lastly, when the Shi'ahs monopolized the court, he talked according to their fashion. "Men speak according to the measure of their understanding"—to change was his way, and the rest you know. But withal he was constantly engaged in teaching the religious sciences. Prosody also, the art of composing riddles, and other branches, he understood well; and in mystic philosophy he was, unlike the learned of Hindūstān, a perfect master. He knew Shāṭibī¹ by heart, explained him properly, and also knew how to read the Qur'ān in the ten different modes. He did not go to the palaces of the kings, but he was a most agreeable companion and full of anecdote. Towards the end of his life, when his eyesight was impaired, he gave up reading and lived in seclusion. The commentary to the Qur'ān which he composed, resembles the *Tafsīr-i Kabīr* (the "Great Commentary"), and consists of four thick volumes, and is entitled *Manba' Nafā'is 'l-Uyūn*. It is rather extraordinary that there is a passage in the preface in which he seems to point to himself

¹ Vide pp. 110, 111.

² Page 502. We hear the last of the Mahdawi movement in 1628, at the accession of Shāhjahān. Akbar was dead and had not restored the Millennium; during Jahāngīr's reign, especially in the beginning, the court was indifferent to religion, and the king retained the ceremony of *siyda*, or prostration, which Muhammadans believe to be due to God alone. But Shāhjahān, on his accession, restored many Muhammadan rites that had fallen in abeyance at court; and as he was born in A.H. 1000, he was now pointed to as the real restorer. Since that time the movement has found no disciples.

¹ A writer on "Tajwid", "the art of reading the Qur'ān correctly"

as the renovator of the new century.¹ We know what this "renovating" means. About the time he finished his work he wisely committed the *Fārizī Ode* (in 4) which consists of seven hundred verses, and the *Ode Barda*, the *Ode by Kaṣṣ ibn Zubayr*, and other Odes to memory, and recited them as daily homilies, till on the 17th Zī Qaṣṣa, 1001, he left this world at Lāhor for the judgment-seat of God.

I have known no man of more comprehensive learning; but alas! under the mantle of a dervish there was such a wicked love of worldly preferment, that he left no tittle of our religion in peace. When I was young, I studied at Āgra for several years in his company. He is indeed a man of merit; but he committed worldly and irreligious deeds, plunged into lust of possession and rank, was timeserving, practised deceit and falsehood, and went so far in twisting religious truth, that nothing of his former merit remains. "Say, either I am in the correct path or in clear error, or you" (*Qur'ān*, xxxiv, 23). Further, it is a common saying that the son brings the curse on the head of his father; hence people have gone beyond Yazīd and say, "Curse on Yazīd," and on his father, too."

Two years after Shaykh Mubārak's death, Abū 'l-Faẓl also lost his brother Fayzī, who died at the age of 50, after an illness of six months on the 10th Safar, 1004 (5th October, 1595). When in his last moments, Akbar visited him at midnight, and seeing that he could no longer speak, he gently raised his head and said to him, "Shaykh Jīo, I have brought Ḥakīm 'Alī with me, will you not speak to me?" But getting no reply, the emperor in his grief threw his turban to the ground, and wept loud; and after trying to console Abū 'l-Faẓl, he went away.² How deeply Abū 'l-Faẓl loved his elder brother, is evident from the numerous passages in the *Akbarnāma* and the *Ā'in* in which he speaks of him, and nothing is more touching than the lines with which he prefaces the selections in the *Ā'in* made by him from his brother's poems. "The gems of thought in his poems will never be forgotten. Should leisure permit and my heart turn to worldly occupations, I would collect some

of the excellent writings of this unrivalled author of the age, and gather, with the eye of a jealous critic, yet with the hand of a friend, some of his poems. But now it is brotherly love alone, which does not travel along the road of critical nicety, that commands me to write down some of his verses." Abū 'l-Faẓl, notwithstanding his onerous duties, kept his promise, and two years after the death of his brother, he collected the stray leaves of Fayzī's *Markiz* 'l-*Adwār*, not to mention the numerous extracts which he has preserved in the *Akbarnāma*.

It was about the same time that Abū 'l-Faẓl was promoted to the post of a Commander of two thousand and five hundred horse. Under this rank he has entered his own name in the list of grantees in the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, which work he completed in the same year when he collected his brother's literary remains (1596-7).

In the following year, the forty-third of Akbar's reign, Abū 'l-Faẓl went for the first time on active service. Sultān Murād had not managed matters well in the *Dakhin*, and Akbar now dispatched Abū 'l-Faẓl with orders to return with the Prince, whose excessive drinking caused the emperor much anxiety, provided the officers of the imperial camp made themselves responsible to guard the conquered territory. If the officers were disinclined to guarantee a faithful conduct of the war, he was to see the Prince off, and take command with Shāhrukh Mirzā. The wars in the *Dakhin*, from their first commencement under Prince Murād and the *Khān Khānān*, are marked by a most astounding duplicity on the part of the imperial officers, and thousands of men and immense stores were sacrificed, especially during the reign of Jahāngir, by treacherous and intriguing generals. In fact, the *Khān Khānān* himself was the most untrustworthy imperial officer. Abū 'l-Faẓl's successes, therefore, were chiefly due to the honesty and loyalty with which he conducted operations. When he arrived at Burhānpūr, he received an invitation from Bahādūr *Khān*, king of *Khāndesh*, whose brother had married Abū 'l-Faẓl's sister. He consented to come on one condition, namely, that Bahādūr *Khān* should vigorously assist him, and thus aid the cause of the emperor. Bahādūr was not inclined to aid the imperialists in their wars with the *Dakhin*, but he sent Abū 'l-Faẓl rich presents, hoping that by this means he would escape the penalty of his refusal. Abū 'l-Faẓl, however, was not the man to be bribed. "I have made a vow," he said in returning the presents, "not to accept presents till four conditions are fulfilled—(1) friendship; (2) that I should not value the gift too high; (3) that I should not have been anxious to get a present; and (4) necessity to accept it. Now supposing that the first

¹ Badā'oni says in his *Najā'at* 'r-rashid that Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūfī, in his time the most universal scholar of all Arabia, pointed likewise to himself as the renovator of the tenth century.

² Hussayn, in whose remembrance the Muharram lamentations are chanted, was murdered by Yazīd; hence the latter is generally called *Yazīd-i-maṣṣūn*, "Yazīd, the accused". Badā'oni here calls Abū 'l-Faẓl Yazīd. Poor Badā'oni had only the thousand bigħas which Akbar had given him rent-free, but his school fellow Yazīd Abū 'l-Faẓl was a commander of two thousand and the friend of the emperor.

³ Badā'oni, ii, 406.

three are applicable to the present case, the favour of the emperor has extinguished every desire in me of accepting gifts from others."

Prince Murād had in the meantime retreated from Ahmadnagar to Ilchpūr, and as the death of his infant son Mīrzā Rustam made him melancholy, he continued to drink, though dangerously ill with delirium tremens. When informed of Abū 'l-Fa'ī's mission, he returned at once towards Ahmadnagar, in order to have a pretext for not going back to his father, and he had come to the banks of the Pūrṇā,¹ twenty kos from Daulatabād, when death overtook him. Abū 'l-Fa'ī arrived the same day, and found the camp in the utmost confusion. Each commander recommended immediate return, but Abū 'l-Fa'ī said that he was determined to march on; the enemy was near, the country was foreign ground, and this was no time for returning, but for fighting. Several of the commanders refused to march on, and returned; but Abū 'l-Fa'ī, nothing daunted, after a delay of a few days, moved forward, humoured the officers, and supplied in a short time all wants. Carefully garrisoning the country, he managed to occupy and guard the conquered districts with the exception of Nāsik, which lay too far to the west. But he sent detachments against several forts, and conquered Baiṭāla, Taltum, and Satondā. His headquarters were on the Godāwari. He next entered into an agreement with Chānd Bibī, that, after punishing Abhang Khān Hāshī, who was at war with her, she should accept Janir as sief and give up the fort of Ahmadnagar.

Akbar had in the meantime gone to Ujjain. The Dalh operations had also become more complicated by the refusal of Bahādur Khān to pay his respects to Prince Dānyāl, and war with Khāndesh had been determined on. Akbar resolved to march on Āsir, Bahādur Khān's stronghold, and appointed Prince Dānyāl to take command at Ahmadnagar. Dānyāl sent immediate instructions to Abū 'l-Fa'ī to cease all operations, as he wished to take Ahmadnagar personally. When the Prince therefore left Burhānpūr, Abū 'l-Fa'ī at Akbar's request, left Mīrzā Shāhrukh, Mīr Murtazā, and Khwāja Abū 'l-Ḥasan in charge of his corps, and hastened to meet the emperor. On the 14th Ramazān, 1008 (beginning of the 44th year of Akbar's reign), he met Akbar at Khargō, near Bilāgarh. The emperor received him with the following verse—

فرخندہ شبے ناید و خوش بہتا ہے تا تا تو حکایت کم از هر نای

Serene is the night and pleasant is the moonlight, I wish to talk to thee on many a subject.

and promoted him for his excellent management to a command of four thousand. The imperial army now marched on Āsir and commenced the siege.¹ One day, Abū 'l-Fa'ī inspected some of his trenches, when one of the besieged, who had deserted to Akbar's camp, offered to show him a way by which the Imperialists might get over the wall of the Mālai Fort, an important fortification below Āsirgarh itself. Half way up the mountain, to the west and slightly to the north, were two renowned outworks, called the Mālai and Antar Mālai, which had to be conquered before Āsir itself could be reached; and between the north-west and north, there was another bastion called Chūna Mālai. A portion of its wall was not finished. From east to south-west there were hills, and in the south was a high mountain called Korhā. A hill in the south-west, called Sāpan, was occupied by the Imperialists. Abū 'l-Fa'ī determined on availing himself of the information given by the deserter, and selected a detachment to follow him. Giving orders to the officer commanding the trench to listen for the sound of the trumpets and bugles, when he was to hasten to his assistance with ladders, he went in the dark of night, whilst it was raining, with his selected men on Mount Sāpan, and sent a few of his men under Qarā Beg along the road that had been pointed out to him. They advanced, broke open a gate of Mālai Fort, and sounded the bugle. The besieged rose up to oppose them, and Abū 'l-Fa'ī hastened to his men and joined them at break of day when the besieged withdrew in confusion to Āsir. On the same

¹ "Akbar had no sooner crossed the Nerbada (Narbadī), when Radza Bador xa (Rāza Bahādur Shāh) who had possession of the fortress of Āsser (Āsir) fortified the same against the king, and collected provisions from the neighbourhood. The king, thinking it dangerous to leave this fortress in his rear, considered how it might be captured. This fortress has three castles, of which the first is called *Cho Tzanin*, the second *Commerghar*; and the third is placed on the very summit of the hill, so that it is a conspicuous object at the distance of six coes. The king with no delay surrounded it on all sides, and so energetically pressed the siege night and day, that at the end of six months it was on the point of being captured. Bador xa however perceiving his danger, having obtained a pledge that his life and property should be safe, came as suppliant to the king and surrendered himself. . . . Whilst the king was at this place, Abdul Fazel (Abū 'l-Fa'ī) came to him, and so worked upon his mind, that he fully determined to set out for the war in the Deccan." From Professor Lethbridge's *Fragment of Indian History*, translated from De Laet's *India Vera*, and published in the *Calcutta Review* for 1873.

Do Laet is wrong in a few minor details. I cannot identify the name Cho Tzanin. "Commerghar" is the Persian "Kamargh", "the middle of a mountain." The names of Fort Chūnah Mālai and of Mount Korhā are doubtful, the MSS having Khwāja Mālai and Korthah, Kortah, Kodhiah and similar variations.

Vide also, *Gazetteer*, Central Provinces, p. 8

¹ The southern Pūrṇā is meant. The northern Pūrṇā flows into the Tapti in Khān desh, whilst the southern Pūrṇā, with the Dūdṇā, flows into the Godāwari. Prince Murād had gone from Ilchpūr to Narnāla, and from there to Shāhpūr, which he had built about eight miles south of Balapūr. It is now in ruins.

day. other detachments of the army occupied Chūna Mālai and Mount Koria, and Bahādur Khān, unable to resist longer, sued for pardon (1009). Prince Dānyāl, who had in the meantime conquered Ahmadnagar,¹ now joined his father at Āsir.

About this time disturbances broke out in the Dakhin, caused by Rājū Mannā, and a party set up the son of 'Alī Shāh as king. As the latter found numerous adherents, the Khūn Khānān was ordered to march against him, and Abū 'l-Faẓl was sent to Nāsik; but a short time afterwards, he was told to join the Khān Khānān. Akbar returned, in the 46th year, to Āgra, leaving Prince Dānyāl in Burhānpūr. Abū 'l-Faẓl had no easy life in the Dakhin. The Khān Khānān stood idle at Ahmadnagar, because he was disinclined to fight, and left the operations to Abū 'l-Faẓl, who looked upon him as a traitor. Abū 'l-Faẓl vigorously pushed on operations, ably assisted by his son 'Abdu 'r-Rahmān. After coming to terms with the son of 'Alī Shāh, he attacked Rājū Mannā, recovered Jālnapūr and the surrounding district, and inflicted several defeats on him. Mannā found a temporary asylum in Dawlatābād, and in a subsequent engagement he was nearly captured.

As early as during the siege of Āsir, Prince Salīm, who had been sent against the Rānā of Udaipur, had rebelled against his father, and had moved to Ilāhābād, where he had assumed the title of king. Though on Akbar's return from Burhānpūr a reconciliation had been effected, the prince, in the forty-seventh year, showed again signs of rebellion, and as many of Akbar's best officers appeared to favour Salīm, the emperor recalled Abū 'l-Faẓl, the only trustworthy servant he had. As his presence at Court was urgently required, Akbar sent him orders to leave the troops of his contingent in the Dakhin. Putting his son 'Abdu 'r-Rahmān in charge of his corps, Abū 'l-Faẓl set out for Āgra, accompanied by a few men only. Salīm, who looked upon him with little concealed hatred, thought Abū 'l-Faẓl's journey unprotected, as he was, an excellent opportunity to get rid of him. He, therefore, persuaded Rāja Bir Singh, a Bundelā chief of Ūrcha (Ūdchhā),² through whose territory Abū 'l-Faẓl was likely to pass, to lie in wait for him and kill him. Bir Singh, who was in disgrace at Court, eagerly seized the opportunity of pleasing the Prince, who no doubt would substantially reward him on his accession, and posted a large body of horse and foot near Narwar. When arrived at Ujjain, Abū 'l-Faẓl was warned of Salīm's

intention, and his men tried to persuade him to go via Ghaṭī Chāndā; but Abū 'l-Faẓl said that thieves and robbers had no power to stop him on his way to Court. He, therefore, continued his journey towards Narwar. On Friday, the 4th Rabi' I, 1011 (12th August, 1602), at a distance of about half a *kos* from Sarāy Bar, which lies six *kos* from Narwar, Bir Singh's men came in sight. The few men that Abū 'l-Faẓl had with him strongly advised him to avoid a fight, and an old servant, Gadāi Khān, Afghan, told him quickly to retreat to Antri, which was three *kos* distant, as Rāy Rāyān and Sūrāj Singh were stationed there with three thousand Imperial horse; he might first join them, and then punish Bir Singh. But Abū 'l-Faẓl thought it a disgrace to fly. He defended himself bravely, but in a short time he was surrounded and, pierced by the lance of a trooper, he fell dead to the ground. Bir Singh cut off Abū 'l-Faẓl's head, and sent it to Salīm in Ilāhābād, who, it is said, had it thrown "into an unworthy place", where it lay for a long time.

The Dutch traveller De Laët gives the following account of Abū 'l-Faẓl's death :—¹

Salīm returned to Halebassa (Ilāhbās, the old form of Ilāhābād), and began to coin gold and silver money in his own name, which he even sent to his father, to irritate him the more. The king, enraged at this, wrote an account of all that had happened to Abū 'l-Faẓl, who bade the king be of good courage, for he would come to him as quickly as possible; and added that his son should be brought bound to him, either by fair means or by foul. Accordingly, a little afterwards, having obtained leave of absence from Daniel Xa (Dānyāl Shāh), he took to the road with about two or three hundred horsemen, leaving orders for his baggage to follow him. Xa-Selim, to whom all these things were known, recalling how hostile Faẓl had always been towards him, and hence justly fearing that his father would be more exasperated than ever against him, judged it best to intercept him on his journey. So he begged Radzia Bertzingh Bondela, who lived in his province of Osseen (Ujjain), to lie in wait for Faẓl near Soor (Narwar?) and Gualer (Gwāliyār) and to send his head to him, promising that he would be mindful of so great a benefit, and would give him the command of five thousand cavalry. The Radzia consented, and waited with a thousand cavalry and three thousand infantry about three or four *cos* from Gualer, having sent out scouts into the neighbouring

¹ From Professor E. Lethbridge's "Fragment of Indian History", *Calcutta Review*, 1873.

The place near which Abū 'l-Faẓl was killed, is called in the MSS. *سرای بر* Sarāy Bar. De Laët's Soor appears to be a bad reading for Narwar.

¹ Among the plunder taken at Ahmadnagar was a splendid library. Fayzi's library, having on his death lapsed to the state, had been incorporated with the Imperial Library.
² Vide p. 546.

villages, to give him early warning of the approach of Faḡl. Accordingly when the latter, ignorant of the ambuscade, had come as far as Collebagā (Kālābāgh), and was going towards Soor, Radzia Bertzingh and his followers fell upon him on all sides. Faḡl and his horsemen fought bravely, but being overpowered by numbers, they were gradually worn out. Faḡl himself, having received twelve wounds in the fight, was pointed out by a captive slave under a neighbouring tree, and was taken and beheaded. His head was sent to the prince, who was greatly pleased."

Prince Salim, with that selfish nonchalance and utter indifference that distinguished him throughout life, openly confesses in his "Memoirs" that he brought about Abū 'l-Faḡl's murder, because he was his enemy, and with a naïveté exclusively his own, represents himself as a dutiful son who through the wickedness of others had been deprived of his father's love. He says:—

"On my accession, I promoted Rāja Bir Singh, a Bundelā Rājput, to a command of three thousand. He is one of my favourites, and he is certainly distinguished among his equals for his bravery, good character, and straightforwardness. My reason for promoting him was this. Towards the end of my father's reign, Shaykh Abū 'l-Faḡl, a Hindūstānī Shaykh by birth, who was well known for his learning and wisdom, and who had externally ornamented himself with the jewel of loyalty, though he sold himself at a high price to my father, had been called from the Dakkhin. He was no friend of mine, and damaged openly and secretly my reputation. Now about that time, evil-minded and mischievous men had made my father very angry with me, and I knew that if Abū 'l-Faḡl were to come back to Court, I would have been deprived of every chance to effect a reconciliation. As he had to pass on his way through the territory of Bir Singh Bundelā, who at that time had rebelled against the emperor, I sent a message to the latter to say that, if he would waylay Abū 'l-Faḡl and kill him, I would richly reward him. Heaven favoured him, and when Abū 'l-Faḡl passed through his land, he stopped him on his way, dispersed after a short fight his men, and killed him, and sent his head to me at Ilāhābād. Although my father was at first much vexed, Abū 'l-Faḡl's death produced one good result: I could now without further annoyance go to my father, and his bad opinion of me gradually wore away."

At another place in his "Memoirs" when alluding to the murder, he says, as if an afterthought had occurred to him, that he ordered Bir Singh to kill Abū 'l-Faḡl because "he had been the enemy of the Prophet."

When the news of Abū 'l-Faḡl's death reached court, no one had the courage to break it to the emperor. According to an old custom observed by Timūr's descendants, the death of a prince was not in plain words mentioned to the reigning emperor, but the prince's vakīl presented himself before the throne with a blue handkerchief round his wrist; and as no one else would come forward to inform Akbar of the death of his friend, Abū 'l-Faḡl's vakīl presented himself with a blue handkerchief before the throne. Akbar bewailed Abū 'l-Faḡl's death more than that of his son; for several days he would see no one, and after inquiring into the circumstances he exclaimed, "If Salim wished to be emperor, he might have killed me and spared Abū 'l-Faḡl," and then recited the following verse:

شیخ ما از شوق بیکد چون سوی ما آمد
ز اشتیاق پاه بوسی بر و پا آمد

My Shaykh in his zeal hastened to meet me,

He wished to kiss my feet, and gave up his life.

Akbar, in order to punish Bir Singh, sent a detachment under Patr Dās and Rāj Singh¹ to Ūḡchā. They defeated the Bundelā chief in several engagements, drove him from Bhānder and shut him up in Irīch. When the siege had progressed and a breach was made in the wall, Bir Singh escaped by one of Rāj Singh's trenches, and withdrew to the jungles closely pursued by Patr Dās. As it seemed hopeless to catch him, Akbar called Patr Dās to Court; but ordered the officers stationed about Ūḡchā to kill the rebel wherever he showed himself. In the beginning of the last year of Akbar's reign, Bir Singh was once surprised by Rāja Rāj Singh, who cut down a good number of his followers. Bir Singh himself was wounded and had a narrow escape. But the emperor's death, which not long afterwards took place, relieved Bir Singh of all fears. He boldly presented himself at Jahāngir's Court, and received Ūḡchā and a command of three thousand horse as his reward.

"It has often been asserted," says the author of the *M'a'āsir* "l-Umarā, that Abū 'l-Faḡl was an infidel. Some say he was a Hindū, or a fire-worshipper, or a free-thinker, and some go still further and call him an atheist; but others pass a juster sentence, and say that he was a pantheist, and that, like other Ṣūfis, he claimed for himself a position above the law of the Prophet. There is no doubt that he was a man of lofty character,² and desired to live at peace with all men. He never

¹ Pages 523 and 509.

² I may remark here that Abū 'l-Faḡl never accepted a title.

said anything improper. Abuse, stoppages of wages, fines, absence on the part of his servants, did not exist in his household. If he appointed a man, whom he afterwards found to be useless, he did not remove him, but kept him on as long as he could; for he used to say that, if he dismissed him, people would accuse him of want of penetration in having appointed an unsuitable agent. On the day when the sun entered Aries, he inspected his whole household and took stock, keeping the inventory with himself, and burning last year's books. He also gave his whole wardrobe to his servants, with the exception of his trousers, which were burnt in his presence.

"He had an extraordinary appetite. It is said, that exclusive of water and fuel, he consumed daily twenty-two sers of food. His son 'Abdu' r-Rahmān used to sit at table as *safarchī* (head butler); the superintendent of the kitchen, who was a Muhammadan, was also in attendance and both watched to see whether Abū 'l-Faẓl would eat twice of one and the same dish. If he did, the dish was sent up again the next day. If anything appeared tasteless, Abū 'l-Faẓl gave it to his son to taste, and he to the superintendent, but no word was said about it. When Abū 'l-Faẓl was in the Dakhīn, his table luxury exceeded all belief. In an immense tent (*chihilrāwafī*) one thousand rich dishes were daily served up and distributed among the Amīrs; and near it another large tent was pitched for all-comers to dine, whether rich or poor, and *khichrī* was cooked all day and was served out to any one that applied for it."

"As a writer, Abū 'l-Faẓl stands unrivalled. His style is grand and is free from the technicalities and flimsy prettiness of other Munshis²; and the force of his words, the structure of his sentences, the suitableness of his compounds, and the elegance of his periods, are such that it would be difficult for any one to imitate them."

It is almost useless to add to this encomium bestowed on Abū 'l-Faẓl's style. 'Abdu' 'llāh, king of Bukhārā, said that he was more afraid of Abū 'l-Faẓl's pen than of Akbar's arrow. Everywhere in India he is known as "the great Munshi". His letters are studied in all Madrasas, and though a beginner may find them difficult and perplexing, they are perfect models. But a great familiarity, not only with the Persian language, but also with Abū 'l-Faẓl's style, is required to make the reading of any of his works a pleasure. His composition stands unique, and though everywhere studied, he cannot be, and has not been, imitated. The writers

after him write in the style of the *Pādishāhnāma*, the 'Ālamārā Sikandari or in the still more turgid manner of the 'Ālamgirnāma, the Ruq'at Bedil, and other standard works on *Inshā*.

A praiseworthy feature of Abū 'l-Faẓl's works lies in the purity of their contents. Those who are acquainted with Eastern literature will know what this means. I have come across no passage where woman is lightly spoken of, or where immorality is passed over with indifference. Of his love of truth and the nobility of his sentiments¹ I have spoken in the Preface.

Abū 'l-Faẓl's influence on his age was immense. It may be that he and Fayzī led Akbar's mind away from Islām and the Prophet—this charge is brought against them by every Muhammadan writer; but Abū 'l-Faẓl also led his sovereign to a true appreciation of his duties, and from the moment that he entered Court, the problem of successfully ruling over mixed races, which Islām in but few other countries had to solve, was carefully considered, and the policy of toleration was the result. If Akbar felt the necessity of this new law, Abū 'l-Faẓl enunciated it and fought for it with his pen, and if the *Khān Khānāns* gained the victories, the new policy reconciled the people to the foreign rule; and whilst Akbar's apostasy from Islām is all but forgotten, no emperor of the Mughul dynasty has come nearer to the ideal of a father of the people than he. The reversion, on the other hand, in later times to the policy of religious intolerance, whilst it has surrounded in the eyes of the Moslems the memory of Awrangzib with the halo of sanctity and still inclines the pious to utter a *rahīm*—'*llah-hū* (May God have mercy on him!) when his name is mentioned, was also the beginning of the breaking up of the empire.

Having elsewhere given numerous extracts from *Badā'uni* to show that Akbar's courtiers ascribed his apostasy from Islām to Fayzī and Abū 'l-Faẓl, I need not quote other works, and will merely allude to a couplet by 'Urfi² from one of his Odes in which he praises the Prophet—

یوسف نفس مرا ز آسیب اخوان دور دار کاین حسودان مروت سوز با این بے کتاه
با قریت غول همزاد در راه سلوک با فساد گرگ انارند در نزدیک چاه

O Prophet, protect the Joseph of my soul (i.e. my soul) from the harm of the brothers; for they are ungenerous and envious, and deceive me like evil sprites and lead me wolf-like to the well (of unbelief).

² This is also the opinion of the author of the *Haft Iqlīm*.

¹ Let the reader consult Gladwin's rendering of Abū 'l-Faẓl's introduction to the fourth book of the *A'in*. Gladwin's *A'in*, ii, pp. 285-91. The passage is anti-Islamitic.

² For 'Urfi vide p. 639. The metre of the couplet is *Long Ramal*.

The commentators unanimously explain this passage as an allusion to the brothers Fayrī and Abū 'l-Faṣl. I may also cite the Tārīkh of Abū 'l-Faṣl's death, which the Kāzibī Aḥmad Mirzā Koka is said to have made:—

تسخ استجار نسی الله سر تانی برید

The wonderful sword of God's prophet cut off the head of the rebel!

But Abū 'l-Faṣl appeared to him in a dream and said, "The date of my death lies in the words *بدر ابو الفل*, "The slave Abū 'l-Faṣl"—which likewise gives a.h. 1011.

Abū 'l-Faṣl's works are the following:—

(1) The *Alḥamḥ* with the *Alḥamḥ*, its third volume. The *Alḥamḥ* was completed in the 42nd year of Akbar's reign; only a slight addition to it was made in the 43rd year on account of the conquest of Barār (a.p. 1595-7). The contents of the *Alḥamḥ* have been detailed in the Preface. The second volume contains an account of the first forty-six years of Akbar's reign. There exists a continuation up to the end of Akbar's reign by 'Ināyat 'Alī Muḥibb Ṣāliḥ. Thus at least the continuator is called in two MSS. that I have seen. Elphinstone says that the name of the continuator is Muhammad Sāliḥ, which seems to be a corruption of Muhammad Ṣāliḥ.

(2) The *Makṣūṣāt al-Himā*, also called *Irshād Abū 'l-Faṣl*. This book contains letters written by Abū 'l-Faṣl to kings and chiefs. Among them are the interesting letters written to the Portuguese priests, and to 'Abd al-Wāḥ of Buṭṭirā, in reply to his question whether Akbar had renounced Islām. Besides, there are prefaces and reviews, a valuable essay on the progress of the art of writing, portions of which are given in the *Adab*, etc. The collection was made after Abū 'l-Faṣl's death by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, son of Afzal Muhammad, who says that he was a son of Abū 'l-Faṣl's sister and also his son-in-law. The book, as above remarked, is frequently read in Madrasas, and there exist many lithographed editions. In all of them, the contents constitute three books; but Amīr Haydar Ḥusaynī of Bilgrām says in the preface to his *Sarḥ-nihā* *al-Aḥarī* that he had a collection of four books, remarking at the same

time that MSS. of the fourth are very rare. It looks, indeed, as if Amīr Haydar's copy was unique.

(3) The *Ṣayr Dāniṣh*,¹ which is mentioned on p. 112.

Besides, I have seen in different books that Abū 'l-Faṣl also wrote a *Risā'ih* *Munājāt*, or "Treatise of Prayers"; a *Jāmi' 'l-lughāt*, a lexicographical work; and a *Kashf*. The last word means a "beggar's cup", or rather the small basket or bowl in which beggars in the East collect rice, dates, etc., given as alms, and hence the term is often applied to collections of anecdotes or short stories. But I have seen no copies of these works. It was also mentioned above that Abū 'l-Faṣl presented, on his introduction at Court, two commentaries, of which no MSS. seem to exist at present. Nor need I again refer to the part which he took in the translations from Sanskrit and the compilation of the *Tārīkh-i Akbarī*.

The *Darar 'l-Manḥūr*, a modern Tarkīza by Muhammad Ṣāḥib Ḥusaynī of Bilgrām, records the following inscription written by Abū 'l-Faṣl for a temple in Kashmir: as a specimen both of Abū 'l-Faṣl's writing and of his religious belief. It is certainly very characteristic, and is easily recognized as Abū 'l-Faṣl's composition.

الهی بهر خانه که می بگرم جویای تو اند و بهر رنای که می شنوم
گویای تو

گفروا سلم در رهت بویان و حده لا شریک نه گوین
اگر مسجدست نباد تو بعد از قدوس مزیند و اگر کلیساست شوق تو
ناقص می جسانند

ای تبسمت رادل عشاق نشانه خلتی دتو مشغول تو غایب از مانه
که معتکف دیرم و که ساکن مسجد یعنی که ترا مطمئن خانه بخانه
که معتکف دیرم و که ساکن مسجد یعنی که ترا می مطمئن خانه بخانه
اگر خامان ترا بگفروا سلم کاره نسبت این هر دو را در برده اسم تو باره نه
گفروا سلم و دین دیدار را نمره ویدی دل تنگ را

¹ As the word is pronounced in India instead of 'Iṣār; Dāniṣh, "the test of wisdom." The author of the *Haft Iqlīm* seems to allude to this work; for he says that Abū 'l-Faṣl, when he saw Him in a.h. 1009, was engaged in re-writing the *Nawādir* *al-Hikāyah*.

Abū 'l-Faṣl says in the fourth book of the *Adab*—"The best people in Kashmir are the Brahmins. Although they have not yet freed themselves from the fetters of blind belief and adherence to custom they yet worship God without affectation. They do not sneer at people of other religions, utter no desires, and do not run after lucre. They plant fruit trees and thus contribute to the welfare of their fellow creatures. They abstain from meat and live in celibacy. There are about two thousand of them in Kashmir."

Akbar seems to have looked upon these Kashmiri Rishis as model men.

² The word *barīd*, a rebel, has the numerical value of 1013; but the head (of the word, the letter *ب*) is cut off; hence 1013 - 2 = 1011, the year of the Hijra in which Abū 'l-Faṣl was murdered. The motive of the Jewish is Long Ramel.

³ The 46th year lasted from the 16th Ramadān, 1009, to 26th Ramadān, 1010, i.e. to about five months before Abū 'l-Faṣl's death.

⁴ Regarding this valuable work, vide p. 331, note.

این خانه بنیت ایتلاف قلوب مؤحدان هندوستان و خصوصاً معبود پرستان.
عرصه کشمیر تعمیر یافته *

فرمان خدیو تخت و اسر چراغ آفرینش شاه اکبر
نظام اعتدال هفت معدن کمال امتزاج چار عنصر
هر که نظر صدق نینداخته این خانه را خراب سازد باید که محسنت
معبد خود را ببندارد چه اگر نظر بردل است با همه ساختنی است
و اگر چشم بر آب و گل است همه برانداختنی * بنیت
خداوندان چودان کار دادی ممدار کار بر نیت نهادی
توئی بر بارگاه نیت آگاه به پیش شاه داری نیت شاه

O God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee, and in every
language I hear spoken, people praise Thee!

Polytheism and Islām feel after Thee,
Each religion says, "Thou art one, without equal."

If it be a mosque, people murmur the holy prayer, and if it be a
Christian Church, people ring the bell from love to Thee.

Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and sometimes the
mosque,

But it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple.

Thy elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy; for
neither of them stands behind the screen of Thy truth.

Heresy to the heretic, and religion to the orthodox,

But the dust of the rose petal¹ belongs to the heart of the
perfume-seller.

This temple was erected for the purpose of binding together the hearts
of the Unitarians in Hindūstān, and especially those of His worshippers
that live in the province of Kashmir,

By order of the Lord of the throne and the crown, the lamp of
creation, Shāh Akbar,

In whom the seven minerals find uniformity, in whom the four
elements attain perfect mixture.²

He who from insincere motives destroys this temple, should first
destroy his own place of worship; for if we follow the dictates of the
heart, we must bear up with all men, but if we look to the external, we
find everything proper to be destroyed.

¹ This line is Sūfistic. The longing of the heart after God is compared to the perfume
which rises from the rose petals. The perfume-seller, i.e. the Unitarian, is truly religious,
and is equally removed from heresy and orthodoxy.

² I.e. Akbar is the *insān-i kāmīl*, or perfect man.

O God, Thou art just and judgest an action by the motive;
Thou knowest whether a motive is sublime, and tellest the king what
motives a king should have.

I have a few notes on Abū 'l-Faẓl's family, which may form the con-
clusion of this biographical noticed. The *A'in* gives the following list of
Shaykh Mubārak's sons.

1. Shaykh Abū 'l-Fayz, better known under his poetical name of
Fayzī. He was born in A.H. 954 (A.D. 1547) and seems to have died
childless.

2. Shaykh Abū 'l-Faẓl, born 14th January, 1551, murdered 12th
August, 1602.

3. Shaykh Abū 'l-Barakāt, born 17th Shawwāl, 960 (1552). "Though
he has not reached a high degree of learning, he knows much, is a practical
man, and well versed in fencing. He is good-natured and fond of
dervishes." He served under Abū 'l-Faẓl in Khandesh.

4. Shaykh Abū 'l-Khayr, born 22nd Jumādā I, 967. "He is a well-
informed young man, of a regulated mind." He, too, must have entered
the Imperial service; for he is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* as having
been sent by the emperor to the Dakhin to fetch Prince Dānyāl.

5. Shaykh Abū 'l-Makārim, born 23rd Shawwāl, 976. He was wild
at first, but guided by his father he learned a good deal. He also studied
under Shāh Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Shīrāzī.

The above five sons were all by the same mother, who, as remarked
above, died in 998.

6. Shaykh Abū Turāb, born 23rd Zil Hijjah, 988. "Though his mother
is another one, he is admitted at Court, and is engaged in self-
improvement."

Besides the above, Abū 'l-Faẓl mentions two posthumous sons by
gummā, or concubines, viz. Shaykh Abū 'l-Hāmid, born 3rd Rabī II,
1002, and Shaykh Abū Rāshid, born 1st Jumādā I, 1002. "They resemble
their father."

Of Mubārak's daughters, I find four mentioned in the histories:—

1. One married to Khudāwand Khān Dakhinī; vide p. 490. Badāoni
calls her husband a *Rafīzī*, i.e. a Shīah, and says he died in Kori in
Gujarāt.

2. One married to Husām 'd-Dīn; vide p. 488.

3. One married to a son of Rāja 'Alī Khān of Khandesh. Their
son Šaīdar Khān¹ was made, in the 45th year of Akbar's reign, a com-
mander of one thousand.

¹ The Lakhnau edition of the *Akbarnāma* (III, 830) calls him Sundar Khān.

4. Lādli Begam, married to Islām Khān; vide p. 552, note 1. Mr. T.W. Beale of Agra, the learned author of the *Miftāḥ al-Hawārīk*, informs me that Lādli Begam died in 1017, or five years before the death of her husband. Her mausoleum, called the "Rawẓayī Lādli Begam" is about two miles to the east of Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandra, near Āgra. The interior was built of marble, and the whole was surrounded by a wall of red Fathpūr sandstone. It was completed in 1004. In 1813, Mr. Beale saw in the Rawza several tombs without inscriptions, and a few years ago the place was sold by government to a wealthy Hindū. The new owner dug up the marble stones, sold them, and destroyed the tombs, so that of the old Rawza nothing exists nowadays but the surrounding wall. Mr. Beale thinks that the bodies of Shaykh Mubārak, Fayẓī, and Abū 'l-Faẓl were likewise buried there, because over the entrance the following inscription in Tughrā characters may still be seen:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نتقى * حذو الرنة للعالم الرباني والعارف
الصمداني جامع العلم شيخ مبارک الله قدس سره قد وقف بسائه سحر العلوم
شيخ ابو الفضل سلم الله تعالى قد ظل دولة الملك العادل يطلبه المجد و
الاقبال و الكرم جلال الدنيا والدين اكبر بادشاه غاري خلد الله تعالى ظلال
سلطنته باهتمام حضرت ابي البركات في سنة اربع و ائف ١١

In the name of God the merciful, the element, in whom I trust! This mausoleum was erected for the divine scholar, the sage of the eternal, the gatherer of knowledge, Shaykh Mubārakullāh (may his secret be sanctified!), in filial piety by the ocean of sciences, Shaykh Abū 'l-Faẓl—may God Almighty preserve him!—in the shadow of the majesty of the just king, whom power, auspiciousness, and generosity follow, Jalāluddunyā waddīn Akbar, Pādīshāh-i Ghāzī—may God Almighty perpetuate the foundations of his kingdom!—under the superintendence of Abū 'l-Barakat, in 1004 (A.D. 1595-96).

Thus it will appear that the Rawza was built in the year in which Fayẓī died. Shaykh Mubārak, as mentioned above, died in A.D. 1593. It seems, however, as if Shaykh Mubārak and Fayẓī had been buried at a place opposite to Āgra, on the left bank of the Jamunā, where he first settled in 1551; for Abū 'l-Faẓl says in his description of Āgra in the *Ḥikmat*:—"On the other side of the river is the Chār Bāgh Villa, built by Firdaws Makānī (the emperor Bābar). There the author was born, and

there are resting places of his father and his elder brother. Shaykh 'Alā' 'd-Dīn Majzūb and Mir Raṣī' d-dīn Safawī and other worthies are also buried there." We have no information regarding a removal of the bodies to the other side of the Jamunā, though Abū 'l-Faẓl's inscription no doubt shows that such a removal was intended. It is a pity, however, that the Rawza was sold and destroyed.

Abū 'l-Faẓl's son is the well-known

SHAYKH 'ABD' R-RAHMĀN AFZAL KHAN.

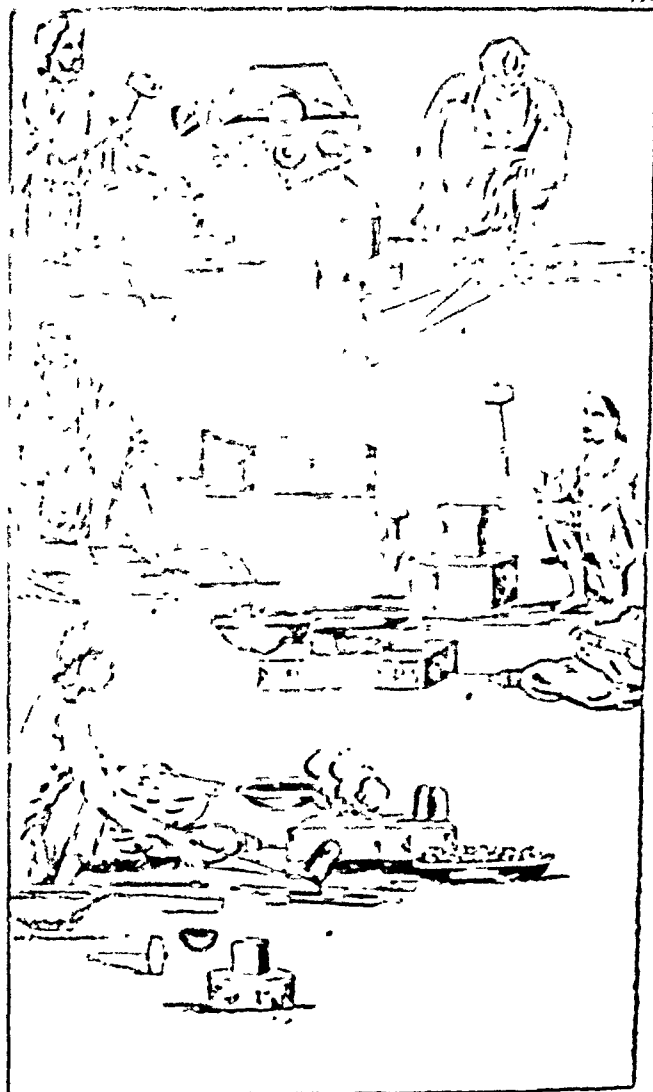
He was born on the 12th Sha'bān, 979, and received from his grandfather the Sunnī name of 'Abd' r-Rahmān. In the 35th year of Akbar's reign, when twenty years of age, Akbar married him to the daughter of Sa'adat Yār Koka's brother. By her 'Abd' r-Rahmān had a son, to whom Akbar gave the name of Bishotan.¹

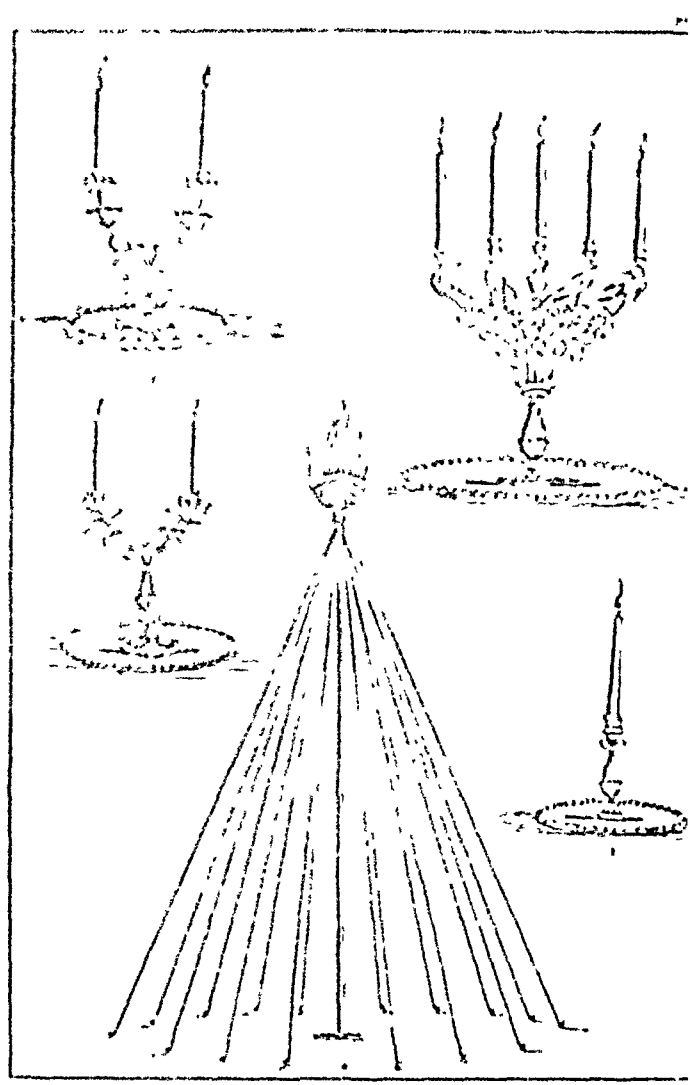
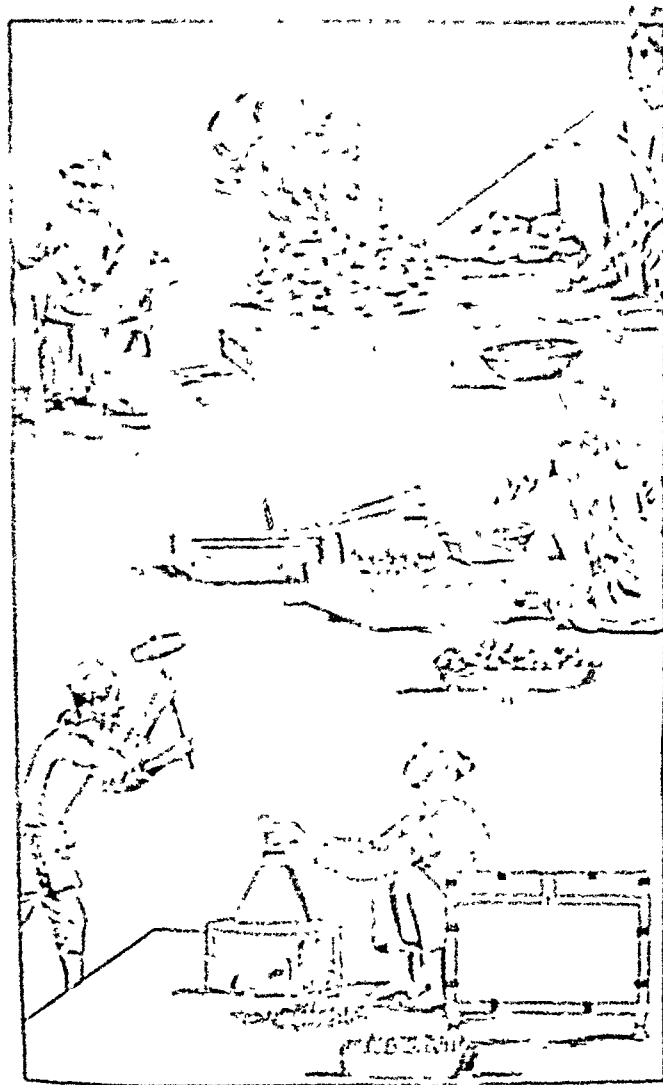
When Abū 'l-Faẓl was in command of the army in the Dakhin, 'Abd' r-Rahmān was, what the Persians call, the *fir-i-rū-yi tarkash-i-nū*, "the arrow at hand at the top of the quiver", ever ready to perform duties from which others shrink, and wisely and courageously settling matters of importance. He especially distinguished himself in Talangāna. When Malik 'Ambar, in the 46th year, had caught 'Alī Mardān Bahādur (p. 556) and had taken possession of the country, Abū 'l-Faẓl dispatched 'Abd' r-Rahmān and Sher Khwāja (p. 510) to oppose the enemy. They crossed the Godāwari near Nānder, and defeated 'Ambar at the Mānjarā.

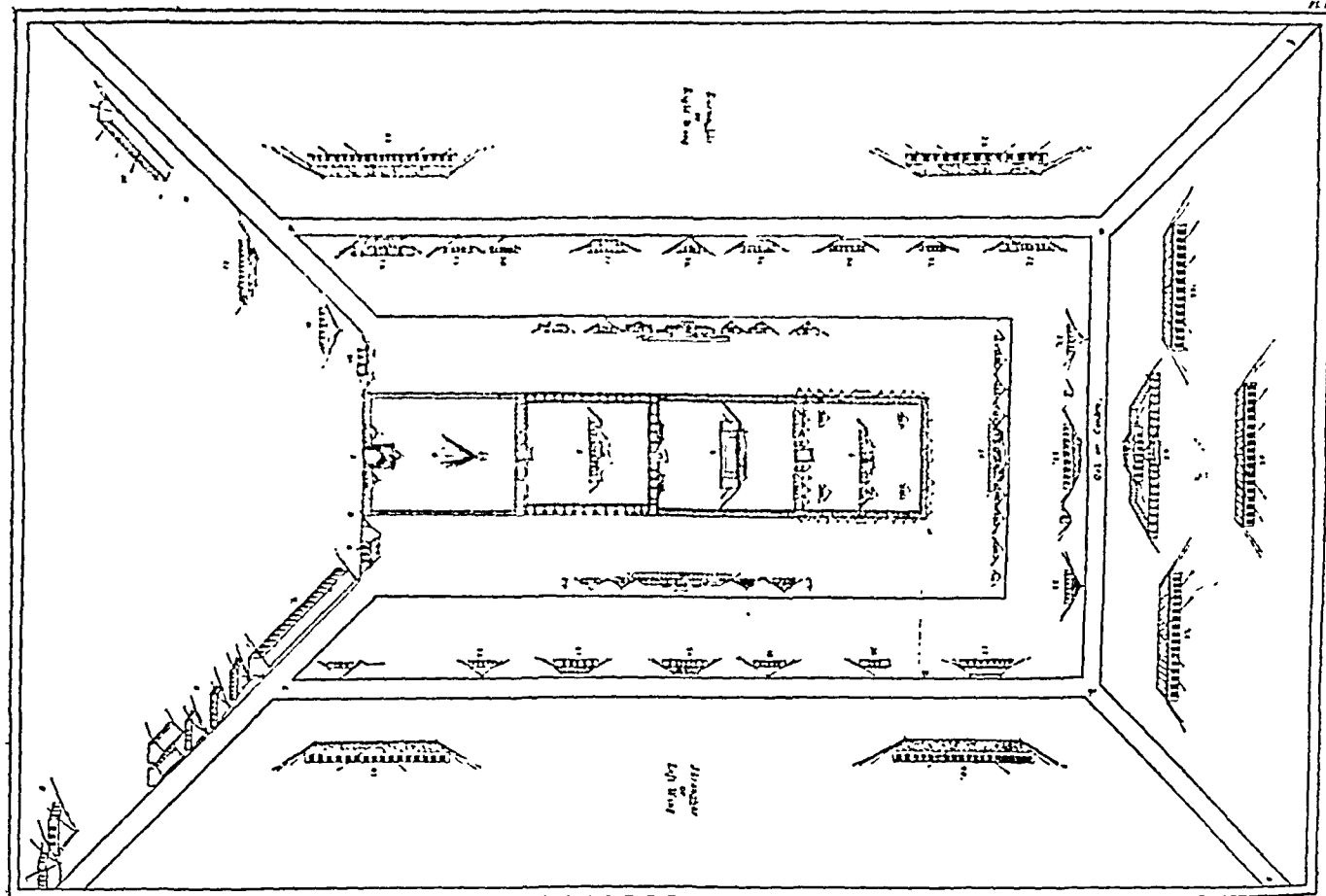
Jahāngīr did not transfer to the son the hatred which he had felt for the father, made him a commander of two thousand horse, gave him the title of Afzal Khān, and appointed him, in the third year of his reign, governor of Bihār, vice Islām Khān (the husband of Abū 'l-Faẓl's sister) who was sent to Bengal. 'Abd' r-Rahmān also received Gorākhpūr as jāgīr. As governor of Bihār, he had his headquarters at Patna. Once during his absence from Patna, a dervish of the name of Qutb' d-dīn appeared in the district of Bhojpūr, which belonged to the then very troublesome Ujjeiniya Rājās (p. 577, note), and gave out that he was Prince Khusra, whom his unsuccessful rebellion and imprisonment by Jahāngīr had made the favourite of the people. Collecting a large number of men, he marched on Patna, occupied the fort which Shaykh Banārasi and Ghīyās 'Abd' r-Rahmān's officers, cowardly gave up, and plundered Afzal Khān's property and the Imperial treasury. 'Abd' r-Rahmān returned from Gorākhpūr as soon as he heard of the

¹ My text edition, p. 441. Vide also p. 539; Keene's *Agra Guide*, p. 47, and regarding Lādli Begam, p. 45 "Lādli" means in Hindustānī "a pet".

¹ Which name was borne by the brother of Isfandiyār, who is so often mentioned in Firdaws's *Shāhnāma*.







BOOK FIRST.

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD.

Jin 1.

THE HOUSEHOLD.

He is a man of all gifts, learned and skillful in every art, and out of the fulcrum of wisdom a ray of the Divine power in the most effect of all the world; and shapes his outward and external character accordingly, and shows due proportion and skill as to them. He who does not possess these qualities, and is not so concerned in the welfare of the world, but chooses a peaceful life only. If that man be given to retirement, he will cultivate his own mind. And if he prefer to be a dependent one, he will put his whole heart in the management of his affairs, and lead a life free from distress and care.

True greatness, in spiritual and in worldly matters, does not depend from the possession of riches, but from the proper manner in which we use them.

If a man is put in everything he meets, he is able to select, guided by his wisdom, and protect himself from the influence of enmity and contention, of liberal views in his private affairs, generous disposition and a knowledge of the human heart, and be guided by the justice.

The wise emperor knows that a king should not be so attentive to great matters only, but should also support his subjects as a king that does so, because many are the places where he can only continue to obtain the produce of the country, often are all men of the difference of rank, and succeed in life as a deep wish to be seen as a king of external greatness, their only object being to make a trade of the provinces of the country, and to promote their own interests. But good principles make no difference between great and small matters; they take, with the assistance of God, the burden of this world and the responsibility of the world to men, on the shoulder of resolution, and are yet free and independent, as is the case with the king of our time. In his wisdom, he makes himself acquainted with the successful working of every department, which, although former monarchs

over the field of knowledge; and, secondly to leave future generations a noble legacy. The payment of a debt of gratitude is an ornament of life, and a provision for man's last journey. There may be some in this world of ambitious strife, whose natures are so different, desires so numerous, equity so rare, and patience so scarce, who, by making use of the course of wisdom, will escape from the perplexities of the endless chaos of knowledge and doubt. It is with this aim that I describe some of the regulations of the great King, thus leaving for far and near, a standard work of wisdom. In doing so, I have, of course, to speak of the exalted position of a king, and also to describe the condition of those who are assistants in this great office.

No dignity is higher in the eyes of God than royalty; and those who are near, drink from its abundant fountain. A sufficient proof of this, for those who require one, is the fact that royalty is a remedy for the spirit of rebellion, and the reason why subjects obey. Even the meaning of the word *Shah* shows this; for *shah* signifies stability and permanence, as *shah* means origin, land. A king is, therefore, the origin of stability and permanence. If royalty did not exist, the storm of strife would never subside, nor selfish ambition disappear. Mankind, being under the burden of lawlessness and lust, would sink into the pit of destruction; the world, this great market place, would lose its prosperity, and the whole earth become a barren waste. But by the light of imperial justice, some follow with cheerfulness the road of obedience, whilst others abstain from violence through fear of punishment; and out of necessity make choice of the path of rectitude. *Shah* is also a name given to one who surpasses his fellows, as you may see from words like *shah*, *shah*; it is also a term applied to a bridegroom—the world, as the bride, betrothes herself to the King, and becomes his worshipper.

Silly and short-sighted men cannot distinguish a *true* king from a *selfish* ruler. Nor is this remarkable, as both have in common a large treasury, a numerous army, clever servants, obedient subjects, an abundance of wise men, a multitude of skilful workmen, and a superfluity of means of enjoyment. But men of deeper insight remark a difference. In the case of the former, the things just now enumerated, are lasting; but in that of the latter, of short duration. The former does not attach himself to these things, as his object is to remove oppression and provide for everything which is good. Security, health, chastity, justice, polite manners, faithfulness, truth, an increase of sincerity, etc., are the result. The latter is kept in bonds by the external forms of royal power, by

vanity, the slavishness of men, and the desire of enjoyment; hence, everywhere there is insecurity, unsettledness, strife, oppression, faithlessness, robbery.

Royalty is a light emanating from God, and a ray from the sun, the illuminator of the universe,¹ the argument of the book of perfection, the receptacle of all virtues. Modern language calls this light *farr-i isidī* (the divine light), and the tongue of antiquity called it *kiyān khura* (the sublime halo). It is communicated by God to kings without the intermediate assistance of any one, and men, in the presence of it, bend the forehead of praise towards the ground of submission. Again, many excellent qualities flow from the possession of this light. 1. *A paternal love towards the subjects*. Thousands find rest in the love of the King; and sectarian differences do not raise the dust of strife. In his wisdom, the King will understand the spirit of the age, and shape his plans accordingly. 2. *A large heart*. The sight of anything disagreeable does not unsettle him; nor is want of discrimination for him a source of disappointment. His courage steps in. His divine firmness gives him the power of requital, nor does the high position of an offender interfere with it. The wishes of great and small are attended to, and their claims meet with no delay at his hands. 3. *A daily increasing trust in God*. When he performs an action, he considers God as the real doer of it (and himself as the medium), so that a conflict of motives can produce no disturbance. 4. *Prayer and devotion*. The success of his plans will not lead him to neglect; nor will adversity cause him to forget God, and madly trust in man. He puts the reins of desire into the hands of reason; in the wide field of his desires he does not permit himself to be trodden down by restlessness, nor will he waste his precious time in seeking after that which is improper. He makes wrath, the tyrant, pay homage to wisdom, so that blind rage may not get the upper hand, and inconsiderateness overstep the proper limits. He sits on the eminence of propriety, so that those who have gone astray have a way left to return without exposing their bad deeds to the public gaze. When he sits in judgment, the petitioner seems to be the judge, and he himself, on account of his mildness, the suitor for justice. He does not permit petitioners to be delayed on the path of hope; he endeavours to promote the happiness of the creatures in obedience to the will of the Creator, and never seeks to please the people in contradiction to reason. He is for ever searching

after those who speak the truth, and is not displeased with words that seem bitter, but are in reality sweet. He considers the nature of the words and the rank of the speaker. He is not content with not committing violence, but he must see that no injustice is done within his realm.

He is continually attentive to the health of the body politic, and applies remedies to the several diseases thereof. And in the same manner that the equilibrium of the animal constitution depends upon an equal mixture of the elements,² so also does the political constitution become well tempered by a proper division of ranks; and by means of the warmth of the ray of unanimity and concord, a multitude of people become fused into one body.

The people of the world may be divided into four classes:³—1. *Warriors*, who in the political body have the nature of fire. Their flames, directed by understanding, consume the straw and rubbish of rebellion and strife, but kindle also the lamp of rest in this world of disturbances. 2. *Artificers and merchants*, who hold the place of air. From their labours and travels, God's gifts become universal, and the breeze of contentment nourishes the rose-tree of life. 3. *The learned*, such as the philosopher, the physician, the arithmetician, the geometer, the astronomer, who resemble water. From their pen and their wisdom, a river rises in the drought of the world, and the garden of the creation receives from their irrigating powers a peculiar freshness. 4. *Husbandmen and labourers*, who may be compared to earth. By their exertions, the staple of life is brought to perfection, and strength and happiness flow from their work.

It is therefore obligatory for a king to put each of these in its proper place, and by uniting personal ability with due respect for others, to cause the world to flourish.

And as the grand political body maintains its equilibrium by the above four ranks of men, so does royalty receive its final tint from a similar fourfold division.

1. *The nobles of the state*, who in reliance on their position lead everything to a happy issue. Illuminating the battle-field with the halo of devotedness, they make no account of their lives. These fortunate

¹ Thus, according to the medical theories of the middle ages.

² This passage resembles one in Firdaus's *Shāhnāma*, in the chapter entitled *dar dast-i Javāhid*; vide also Vuller's *Persian Dictionary*, ii. 756, s. *khāzī*. It is also found in the *Akhlaq-i Muḥsinī*, chapter xv, *dar 'adl*, in the *Akhlaq-i Jalālī*, and the *Akhlaq-i Nāṣirī*, the oldest of the three *Akhlaq*s mentioned.

³ Akbar worshipped the sun as the visible representative of God, and the immediate source of life. Regarding his form of worship, vide below.

courtiers resemble fire, being ardent in devotion, and consuming in dealing with foes. At the head of this class is the *Vakil*, who from his having attained by his wisdom the four degrees of perfection,¹ is the emperor's lieutenant in all matters connected with the realm and the household. He graces the Council by his wisdom, and settles with penetration the great affairs of the realm. Promotion and degradation, appointment and dismissal, depend on his insight. It requires therefore an experienced man who possesses wisdom, nobility of mind, affability, firmness, magnanimity, a man able to be at peace with any one, who is frank, single-minded towards relations and strangers, impartial to friends and enemies, who weighs his words, is skilful in business, well-bred, esteemed, known to be trustworthy, sharp and farsighted, acquainted with the ceremonies of the court, cognizant of the State secrets, prompt in transacting business, unaffected by the multiplicity of his duties. He should consider it his duty to promote the wishes of others, and base his actions on a due regard to the different ranks of men, treating even his inferiors with respect, from the desire of attaching to himself the hearts of all. He takes care not to commit improprieties in conversation, and guards himself from bad actions. Although the financial offices are not under his immediate superintendence, yet he received the returns from the heads of all financial offices, and wisely keeps abstracts of their returns.

The *Mir-māl*,² the Keeper of the seal, the *Mir-bakheši*,³ the *Bār-begī*,⁴ the *Qurbegī*,⁵ the *Mir-tozak*,⁶ the *Mir-bahri*,⁷ the *Mir-barr*,⁸ the *Mir-Manzil*,⁹ the *Khawānsālār*,¹⁰ the *Munshi*,¹¹ the *Qūsh-begī*,¹² the *Akhṭa-begī*,¹³ belong to this class. Every one of them ought to be sufficiently acquainted with the work of the others.

¹ Akbar said that perfect devotedness consisted in the readiness of sacrificing four things—*jān* (life), *mal* (property), *dīn* (religion), *nāmūs* (personal honour). Those who looked upon Akbar as a guide in spiritual matters (*pir*)—an honour which Akbar much coveted—promised to show this devotedness, and then belonged to the *dīn-i ilāhī*, or the Divine Faith, the articles of which Akbar had laid down, as may be seen below.

² Perhaps an officer in charge of the Emperor's private purse.

³ Paymaster of the Court.

⁴ An officer who presents people at Court, their petitions, etc. He is also called *Mir Sarr*.

⁵ Bearer of the Imperial insignia.

⁶ Master of Ceremonies.

⁷ Harbour Master General and Admiral.

⁸ Superintendent of the Imperial Forests.

⁹ Quarter Master General of the Court. Akbar's court was frequently travelling.

¹⁰ Superintendent of the Imperial Kitchen.

¹¹ Private Secretary.

¹² Superintendent of the aviaries (falcons, pigeons).

¹³ Superintendent of the Stud.

2. *The assistants of victory*, the collectors and those entrusted with income and expenditure, who in the administration resemble wind, at times a heart-rejoicing breeze, at other times a hot, pestilential blast. The head of this division is the *Vizier*, also called *Diwān*. He is the lieutenant of the Emperor in financial matters, superintends the imperial treasuries, and checks all accounts. He is the banker of the cash of the revenue, the cultivator of the wilderness of the world. He must be a member of the *Divine Faith*, a skilful arithmetician, free from avarice, circumspect, warm-hearted, abstinent, active in business, pleasing in his style, clear in his writings, truthful, a man of integrity, condescending, zealous in his work. He is in reality a book-keeper. He explains all matters which appear too intricate for the *Mustawfī*¹; and whatever is beyond his own ability he refers to the *Vakil*. The *Mustawfī*, the *Sāhib-i Tawrij*,² the *Awārja Nawis*,³ the *Mir-Sāmān*,⁴ the *Nāzir-i Bayūtāt*,⁵ the *Diwān-i Bayūtāt*,⁶ the *Mushrif*,⁷ of the Treasury; the *Wāqī'a Nawis*,⁸ the *ʿAmil*⁹ of the domains, are under his orders, and act by the force of his wisdom.

Some princes consider the office of the *Vizier* as a part of that of the *Vakil*, and are anxious to find in their realm a man who possesses the excellent qualities of these two pillars of the edifice of the State. But as they are not always able to find a person qualified for the office of a *Vakil*, they make choice of a man who has some of his qualities, and appoint him as *Mushrif-i Diwān*, which office is higher in rank than that of the *Diwān*, but lower than that of the *Vakil*.

3. *The companions of the king*, who are the ornaments of the court by the light of their wisdom, the ray of their sharp-sightedness, their knowledge of the times, their intimate acquaintance with human nature, their frankness and polite address. Through the excellence of their religious faith and good will, thousands open in the market place of the world the stores of virtue. Wisely fettering ambition on the battle-field of the world, they extinguish the sparks of wrath by the rain of their

¹ Deputy *Diwān*.

² The Accountant of the Army.

³ The Accountant of the daily expenditure at Court.

⁴ The officer in charge of the Court furniture, stores, etc.

⁵ Superintendent of the Imperial workshops.

⁶ The Accountant of the Imperial workshops.

⁷ Clerk.

⁸ The Recorder.

⁹ Collector.

wisdom ; whence they resemble water in the affairs of the body political. When they are of a mild temperament, they remove the dust of affliction from the hearts of men, and bestow freshness upon the meadow of the nation ; but if they depart from moderation, they inundate the world with a deluge of calamity, so that numbers are driven by the flood of misfortunes into the current of utter extinction.

At the head of this class stands the philosopher, who with the assistance of his wisdom and example purifies the morals of the nation, and girds himself with the noble aim of putting the welfare of mankind upon a sound basis. The Šadr,¹ the Mīr-ʿAdl, the Qāzi,² the physician, the astronomer, the poet, the soothsayer, belong to this class.

4. *The servants* who at court perform the duties about the king. They occupy in the system of the State the position of earth. As such, they lie on the high road of submission, and in dust before the majesty of the king. If free from chaff and dross, they are like an elixir for the body ; otherwise they are dust and dirt upon the face of success. The table servant, the armour bearer, the servants in charge of the *sharbat* and the water, the servant in charge of the mattresses and the wardrobe, belong to this class.

If the king be waited on by servants to whom good fortune has given excellent qualities, there arises sometimes a harmony, which is like a nosegay from the flower-bed of auspiciousness.

Just as the welfare of the whole world depends upon the successful working of the above-mentioned four classes, as settled by kings, so does the body politic depend upon the proper formation of the latter four divisions.

The sages of antiquity mention the following four persons as the chief supports of the State:—1. *An upright collector*, who protects the husbandman, watches over the subjects, develops the country, and improves the revenues. 2. *A conscientious commander* of the army, active and strict. 3. *A chief justice*, free from avarice and selfishness, who sits on the eminence of circumspection and insight, and obtains his ends by putting various questions, without exclusively relying on witnesses and oaths. 4. *An intelligencer*, who transmits the events of the time without addition or diminution, always keeping to the thread of truth and penetration.

It is moreover incumbent on a just king to make himself acquainted with the characters of the following five kinds¹ of men of whom the world is composed, and act accordingly. 1. The most commendable person is the *sagacious man* who prudently does that which is proper and absolutely necessary. The fountain of his virtues does not only run along his channel, but renders verdant the fields of other men. Such a one is the fittest person for a king to consult in State affairs. After him comes, secondly, *the man of good intentions*. The river of his virtues does not flow over its bed, and does not therefore become an irrigating source for others. Although it may be proper to show him kindness and respect, yet he does not merit so high a degree of confidence. Inferior to him is, thirdly, *the simple man*, who does not wear the badge of excellence upon the sleeve of his action, yet keeps the hem of his garment free from the dust of wicked deeds. He does not deserve any distinction ; but ought to be allowed to live at his ease. Worse than he is, fourthly, *the inconsiderate man*, who fills his house with furniture for his own mischief, without, however, doing harm to others. Him the king should keep in the hot place of disappointment, and bring him into the road of virtue by good advice and severe reprehension. The last of all is *the vicious man*, whose black deeds alarm others and throw, on account of their viciousness, a whole world into grief. If the remedies employed in the case of men of the preceding class, do not amend him, the king should consider him as a leper, and confine him separate from mankind ; and provided this harsh treatment does not awaken him from his sleep of error, he should feel the torture of grief, and be banished from his dwelling ; and if this remedy produce no effect either, he should be driven out of the kingdom to wander in the wilderness of disappointment ; and if even this should not improve his vicious nature, he should be deprived of the instruments of his wickedness, and lose his sight, or his hand, or his foot. But the king ought not to go so far as to cut the thread of his existence ; for inquiring sages consider the human form as an edifice made by God, and do not permit its destruction.

It is therefore necessary for just kings, to make themselves first acquainted with the rank and character of men, by the light of insight and penetration, and then to regulate business accordingly. And hence it is that the sages of ancient times have said that princes who wear the

¹ Also called *Šadr-i Jahān*, the Chief Justice and Administrator General of the empire.

² The Qāzi hears the case ; the Mīr ʿAdl passes the sentence.

¹ The following is a free paraphrase of a passage in the *Akhlag-i Mubīnī*, Chapter XXXII, entitled *dār siyāsat*.

ABŪ 'L-FAZL'S PREFACE

ALLĀH^a AKBAR

O Lord, whose secrets are for ever veiled
And whose perfection knows not a beginning,
End and beginning, both are lost in Thee,
No trace of them is found, in Thy eternal realm.
My words are lame; my tongue, a stony tract;
Slow wings my foot, and wide is the expanse.
Confused are my thoughts; but this is Thy best praise.
In ecstasy alone I see Thee face to face!

It is proper for a man of true knowledge to praise God not only in words, but also in deeds, and to endeavour to obtain everlasting happiness, by putting the window of his heart opposite the slit of his pen, and describing some of the wondrous works of the Creator. Perhaps the lustre of royalty may shine upon him, and its light enable him to gather a few drops from the ocean, and a few atoms from the endless field of God's works. He will thus obtain everlasting felicity and render fertile the dreary expanse of words and deeds.

I, Abū 'l-Fazl, son of Mubārak, return thanksgiving to God by singing the praises of royalty, and by stringing its kingly pearls upon the thread of description; but it is not my intention to make mankind, for the first time, acquainted with the glorious deeds and excellent virtues of that remarkable man,¹ who clothes our wonderful world in new colours, and is an ornament to God's noble creation. It would be absurd on my part to speak about that which is known; I should make myself the butt of the learned. It is only my personal knowledge of him, a priceless jewel, which I send to the market place of the world, and my heart feels proud of being engaged in such an undertaking. But it could not have been from self-laudation that I have taken upon myself to carry out so great a task—a work which even heavenly beings would find beset with difficulties; for such a motive would expose my inability and shortsightedness. My sole object in writing this work was, first, to impart to all that take an interest in this auspicious century, a knowledge of the wisdom, magnanimity, and energy of him who understands the minutest indications of all things, created and divine, striding as he does

^a Akbar.

have thought it derogatory to their greatness, is yet the first step towards the establishment of a good government. For every branch he has made proper regulations, and he sees in the performance of his duty a means of obtaining God's favour.

The success of this vast undertaking depends upon two things: *first*, wisdom and insight, to call into existence suitable regulations; *secondly*, a watchful eye, to see them carried out by men of integrity and diligence.

Although many servants of the household receive their salaries on the list of the army, there was paid for the household in the thirty-ninth year of the Divine era, the sum of 309,186,795 *dāms*.¹ The expenses of this account, as also the revenues, are daily increasing. There are more than one hundred offices and workshops each resembling a city, or rather a little kingdom; and by the unremitting attention of his Majesty, they are all conducted with regularity, and are constantly increasing, their improvement being accompanied by additional care and supervision on the part of his Majesty.

Some of the regulations I shall transmit, as a present, to future enquirers, and thus kindle in others the lamp of wisdom and energy.

As regards those regulations which are of a general nature, and which from their subject matter belong to each of the three divisions of the work, I have put them among the regulations of the Household.

Aⁱⁿ 2.

THE IMPERIAL TREASURIES.

Every man of sense and understanding knows that the best way of worshipping God, consists in allaying the distress of the times, and in improving the condition of man. This depends, however, on the advancement of agriculture, on the order kept in the king's household, on the readiness of the champions of the empire, and the discipline of the army. All this is again connected with the exercise of proper care on the part of the monarch, his love for the people, and with an intelligent management of the revenues and the public expenditure. It is only when cared for, that the inhabitants of the towns and those of the rural districts, are able to satisfy their wants, and to enjoy prosperity. Hence it is incumbent on just kings, to care for the former, and to protect the latter class of men. If some say that to collect wealth, and to ask for more

¹ Or, 7,729,669½ Rupees. One rupee (of Akbar) = 40 *dāms*. The Divine era, or *Tārīkh-i Ilāhī*, is Akbar's solar era, the commencement of which falls on the 10th February, 1556; hence the thirty-ninth year corresponds to A.D. 1695.

It was from such views, when lifting the veil and beginning to pay attention to these monetary concerns, that His Majesty estimated his inmost secrets to the *Elphig and 1816-22 MS*, a name which his Majesty had bestowed upon him as a fitting title. On account of the experience of the *Elphig*, the selection of his Majesty took a practical turn, selected by *Elphig*, and placed at last forth in excellent regulations. An enquiry regarding the income of the different lands of land was set on foot, and successfully conducted by the wisdom of upright and experienced men. With a comprehensiveness which knew no difference between *frank* and *strangers*, the lands which paid rent into the imperial exchequer were separated from the *frank* lands; and *frank* and upright men were put in charge of the revenue, each over one *frank* of *frank*. Intemperate *frank*-*frank* were selected to assist them, and intelligent treasurers were appointed, one for each. And in *frank* lands and *frank* for the agricultural *frank*, it was criminalised that the collectors should not insist upon the *frank* to be paid in coin in full weight, but to pay him a receipt for whatever species of money he might bring. This *frank* regulation removed the part of unpopularity from the minds of the collectors, and

Whenever a (provincial) treasurer had collected the sum of two lakhs of rupees, he had to send it to the Treasurer General at the Court, together with a non-random receipting the quality of the sum.

A separate treasurer was appointed for the *guthash*¹ receipts, another for receiving hereditary property, another for *najir* receipts,² and another for the moneys expended in weighing the royal person,³ and for charitable donations. Proper regulations were also made for the disbursements; and honest superintendents, *diwans*, and clerks were appointed. The sums required for the annual expenditure, are paid at the General Treasury to each cashkeeper of the disbursements, and correct receipts granted for them. A proper system of accounts having thus been inaugurated, the empire began to flourish. In a short time the treasuries were full, the army was augmented, and refractory rebels led to the path of obedience.

In *Perak* in 1753, where only one treasurer is appointed, the accounts are in a confused state; but here in India, the amount of the revenues is so great, and the business so multifarious that twelve treasurers are necessary for storing the money, nine for the different kinds of cash-payments, and three for precious stones, gold, and inlaid jewellery. The extent of the treasures is too great to a limit of my giving a proper description with other matters before me. From his knowledge of the work, and as a reward for labour, his Majesty very often expresses his satisfaction, or conveys reprimands; hence everything is in a flourishing condition.

Separate treasurers were also appointed for each of the Imperial workshops the number of which is nearly one hundred. Daily, monthly, quarterly, and yearly accounts are kept of the receipts and disbursements, so that in this branch also the market-place of the world is in a flourishing condition.

Again by the order of his Majesty a person of known integrity keeps in the public audience hall, some gold and silver for the needy, who have their wants relieved without delay. Moreover, a *karor* of *dāms* is kept in readiness within the palace, every thousand of which is kept in bags made of a coarse material. Such a bag is called in Hindi *saṣṣah*.

[illegible]

• Tolueno.

* Page the eighteenth Δ' in of the second book.

* I'resents, vovs, etc.

and many of them, when put up in a heap, *ganj*. Besides, his Majesty entrusts to one of the nobility a large sum of money, part of which is carried in a *purse*.¹ This is the reason, why such disbursements are called in the language of the country *kharj-i bahlah*.

All these benefits flow from the wonderful liberality of his Majesty, and from his unremitting care for the subjects of the empire. Would to God that he might live a thousand years!

Ā'in 3.

THE TREASURY FOR PRECIOUS STONES.

If I were to speak about the quantity and quality of the stones it would take me an age. I shall therefore give a few particulars, "gathering an ear from every sheaf."

His Majesty appointed for this office an intelligent, trustworthy, clever treasurer, and as his assistants, an experienced clerk, a zealous *dāroghā*, and also skilful jewellers. The foundation therefore of this important department rests upon those four pillars. They classified the jewels, and thus removed the rust of confusion.

Rubies.—1st class rubies, not less than 1000 muhrs in value; 2nd class from 999 to 500 muhrs; 3rd class, from 499 to 300; 4th class, from 299 to 200; 5th class, from 199 to 100; 6th class, from 99 to 60; 7th class, from 59 to 40; 8th class, from 39 to 30; 9th class, from 29 to 10; 10th class, from 9½ to 5; 11th class, from 4½ to 1 muhr; 12th class, from ¾ muhr to ¼ rupee. They made no account of rubies of less value.

Diamonds, emeralds, and the red and blue yāqūts, were classified as follows: 1st class, from 30 muhrs upwards; 2nd class, from 29½ to 15 muhrs; 3rd class, from 14½ to 12; 4th class, from 11½ to 10; 5th class, from 9½ to 7; 6th class, from 6½ to 5; 7th class, from 4½ to 3; 8th class, from 2½ to 2; 9th class, from 1½ to 1 muhr; 10th class, from 8¼ rupees to 5 rupees; 11th class, from 4½ to 2 rupees; 12th class, from 1½ to ¼ rupee.

The *Pearls* were divided into 16 classes, and strung by scores. The first string contained twenty pearls, each of a value of 30 muhrs and upwards; 2nd class pearls varied from 29½ to 15 muhrs; 3rd class, from 14½ to 12; 4th class, from 11½ to 10; 5th class, from 9½ to 7; 6th class, from 6½ to 5; 7th class, from 4½ to 3; 8th class, from 2½ to 2; 9th class,

¹ A *purse* in Hindi is called *bahla*.

from 1½ to 1; 10th class, less than a muhr, down to 5 rupees; 11th class, less than 5; to 2 rupees; 12th class, less than 2 rupees, to 1½ rupees; 13th class, less than 1½ rupees, to 30 *dāms*; 14th class, less than 30 *dāms*, to 20 *dāms*; 15th class, less than 20 *dāms*, to 10 *dāms*; 16th class, less than 10 *dāms*, to 5 *dāms*. The pearls are strung upon a number of strings, indicating their class, so that those of the 16th class are strung upon 16 strings. At the end of each bundle of strings the imperial seal is affixed, to avoid losses arising from unsorting, whilst a description is attached to each pearl, to prevent disorder.

* The following are the charges for boring pearls, independent of the daily and monthly wages of the workmen. For a pearl of the 1st class, 1 rupee; 2nd class, ½; 3rd class, ¼ rupee; 4th class, 3 *dāms*; 5th class, 1 *sūkī*¹; 6th class, 1 *dām*; 7th class, ½ *dām*; 8th class, ¼ *dām*; 9th class, ⅓ *dām*; 10th class, ⅔ *dām*; 11th class, ⅓ *dām*; 12th class, ⅔ *dām*; 13th class, ⅓ *dām*; 14th class, ⅔ *dām*; 15th class, ⅓ *dām*; 16th class, ⅔ *dām*, and less.

The value of jewels is so well known that it is useless to say anything about it; but those which are at present in the treasury of his Majesty may be detailed as follows:—

Rubies weighing 11 *tānks*,² 20 *surkhās*,³ and diamonds of 5½ *tānks*,⁴ 4 *surkhās*, each one lākh of rupees; emeralds weighing 17½ *tānks*, 3 *surkhās*, 52,000 rupees; *yāqūts* of 4 *tānks*, 7½ *surkhās*, and pearls of 5 *tānks*, each 50,000 rupees.

Ā'in 4.

THE IMPERIAL MINT.

As the successful working of the mint increases the treasure, and is the source of despatch for every department, I shall mention a few details.

The inhabitants of the towns and the country perform their transactions by means of money. Every man uses it according to the extent of his necessities; the man whose heart is free from worldly desires:

[¹ *Sūkī* s m and *sūkī* f. H., a four-anna bit.]

² *Surkhā* means red, also, a little seed with a black dot on it, called in Hind. *ghunghul*. *Abrus precatorius*. The Persians called it *chashm-i thurīā*, cock's eye. The seeds are often used for children's bracelets. Abū 'l-Fazl means here the weight called in Hind. *rati*, vulg. *rati*. 8 *surkhās*, or 8 *ratis* = 1 *māshā*; 12 *māshās* = 1 *lākh*, and 80 *lākhās* = 1 *ser*. A *tank* is valued at 4 *māshās*, but it must have weighed a little more, as in the tenth *Ā'in*, Abū 'l-Fazl states that the weight of 1 *dām* was 5 *lākhās*, or 1 *lākh*, 8 *māshās*, 7 *surkhās*, i.e. 1 *tank* = 4½ *māshās* = 4 *māshās*, 1 *surkhā*.

³ Text 4½ *tānks*

sustains by it his life, and the worldly man considers it the final stage of his objects—the wants of all are satisfied by it. The wise man looks upon it as the foundation, from which the fulfilment of his worldly and religious wishes flows. It is absolutely necessary for the continuance of the human race, as men obtain by money their food and clothing. You may indeed gain these two things by undergoing some labour, as sowing, rearing, reaping, cleaning, kneading, cooking, twisting, spinning, weaving, etc.; but these actions cannot well be performed without several helpers; for the strength of a single man is not sufficient, and to do so day after day would be difficult, if not impossible. Again, man requires a dwelling, for keeping his provisions. This he calls his *home*, whether it be a tent, or a cave. Man's existence, and the continuance of his life, depend on five things—a father, a mother, children, servants, food, the last of which is required by all. Moreover, money is required, as our furniture and utensils break; they last in no case very long. But money does last long, on account of the strength and compactness of its material, and even a little of it may produce much. It also enables men to travel. How difficult would it be to carry provisions for several days, let alone for several months or years!

By the help of God's goodness this excellent precious metal (gold) has come to the shore of existence, and filled the store of life without much labour on the part of man. By means of gold, man carries out noble plans, and even performs Divine worship in a proper manner. Gold has many valuable qualities: it possesses softness, a good taste, and smell. Its component parts are nearly equal¹ in weight; and the marks of the four elements are visible in its properties. Its colour reminds us of fire, its purity of air, its softness of water, its heaviness of earth; hence gold possesses many life-giving rays. Nor can any of the four elements injure it; for it does not burn in the fire; it remains unaffected by air; retains for ages its appearance although kept in water; and does not get altered when buried in the ground, whereby gold is distinguished from the other metals. It is for this reason that in old books on philosophy in which man's intellect is termed *the greater principle*, gold is called *the lesser principle*,² as the things required for human life depend upon it. Among its epithets I may mention "the guardian of justice"; "the universal adjuster"—and, indeed, the adjustment of things depends on gold,

¹ According to the chemists of the middle ages, gold consists of quicksilver and sulphur taken in equal proportions; the latter must, however, possess colouring properties. *Vide* the thirteenth *Ā'in*.

² "Were it not for piety, I would bow down to gold and say, 'Hallowed be thy name!'"—*Hariri*.

and the basis of justice rests upon it. To render it service, God has allowed silver and brass to come into use, thus creating additional means for the welfare of man. Hence just kings and energetic rulers have paid much attention to these metals, and erected mints, where their properties may be thoroughly studied. The success of this department lies in the appointment of intelligent, zealous, and upright workmen, and the edifice of the world is built upon their attention and carefulness.

Ā'in 5.

THE WORKMEN OF THE MINT.

1. The *Dārōgha*. He must be a circumspect and intelligent man, of broad principles, who takes the cumbrous burden of his colleagues upon the shoulder of despatch. He must keep every one to his work, and show zeal and integrity.

2. The *Şayrafī*.¹ The success of this important department depends upon his experience, as he determines the degrees of purity of the coins. On account of the prosperity of the present age, there are now numbers of skilful *şarrāfs*; ¹ and by the attention of his Majesty, gold and silver are refined to the highest degree of purity. The highest degree of purity is called in Persia *dahdahī*, but they do not know above 10 degrees of fineness; whilst in India it is called *bārakhbānī*, as they have twelve degrees. Formerly the old *hun*, which is a gold coin current in the Deccan, was thought to be pure, and reckoned at ten degrees; but his Majesty has now fixed it at 8½: and the round, small gold *dīnār* of 'Alā' 'd-Dīn,² which was considered to be 12 degrees, now turns out to be 10½.

Those who are experienced in this business have related wonderful stories of the purity of gold at the present time, and referred it to witchcraft and alchemy; for they maintain, that gold ore does not come up to this fineness. But by the attention of his Majesty, it has come up to this degree; hence the astonishment of people acquainted with this branch. It is, however, certain, that gold cannot be made finer, and of a higher degree. Honest describers and truthful travellers have indeed never mentioned this degree; but, when gold is put into fusion, small particles separate from it, and mix with the ashes, which ignorant men look upon as useless dross, whilst the skilful recover the metal from it. Although malleable gold ore be calcined and reduced to ashes, yet by a

¹ The same as *Şayraf* or *Şarrāf*; hence a *shroff*, a money lender.

certain operation, it is brought back to its original state: but a part of it is lost. Through the wisdom of his Majesty, the real circumstances connected with this loss, were brought to light, and the fraudulent practices of the workmen thus put to the test.

A⁴in 6.

BANWĀRĪ.¹

An abbreviation for *bānwārī*. Although in this country clever *ṣayrafis* are able from experience to tell the degree of fineness by the colour and the brightness of the metal, the following admirable rule has been introduced for the satisfaction of others.

To the ends of a few long needles, made of brass or such like metal, small pieces of gold are affixed, having their degree of fineness written on them. When the workmen wish to assay a new piece of gold, they first draw with it a few lines on a touchstone, and some other lines with the needles. By comparing both sets of lines, they discover the degree of fineness of the gold. It is, however, necessary that the lines be drawn in the same manner, and with the same force, so as to avoid deception.

To apply this rule, it is necessary to have gold of various degrees of fineness. This is obtained as follows. They melt together one *māsha* of pure silver with the same quantity of best copper; and let it get solid. This mixture they again melt with 6 *māshas* of pure gold of 10½ degrees of fineness. Of this composition one *māsha*² is taken, and divided into sixteen parts of half a *surkh* each. If now 7½ *surkhs* of pure gold (of 10½ degrees) are mixed with one of the sixteen parts of the composition, the touch of the new mixture will only be 10½ *bān*.³ Similarly, 7 *surkhs* pure gold and two parts of the composition melted together, will give gold of 10 *bān*; 6½ *s.* pure gold and three parts composition, 9½ *bān*; 6 *s.* gold and four parts composition, 9½ *bān*; 5½ *s.* gold and five parts composition, 9½ *bān*; 5 *s.* gold and six parts composition, 9 *bān*; 4½ *s.* gold and seven parts composition, 8½ *bān*; 4 *s.* gold and eight parts composition, 8½ *bān*; 3½ *s.* gold and nine parts composition, 8½ *bān*; 3 *s.* gold and ten parts composition, 8 *bān*; 2½ *s.* gold and eleven parts composition, 7½ *bān*; 2 *s.* gold and twelve parts composition, 7½ *bān*; 1½ *s.* gold and thirteen parts composition, 7½ *bān*; 1 *s.* gold and fourteen parts composition, 7 *bān*; and

lastly, ½ *s.* gold and fifteen parts composition, 6½ *bān*. Or generally, every additional half *surkh* (or one part) of the composition diminishes the fineness of the gold by a quarter *bān*, the touch of the composition itself being 6½ *bān*.

If it be required to have a degree less than 6½ *bān*, they mix together ½ *surkh* of the first mixture which consisted, as I said, of silver and copper, with 7½ *surkhs* of the second composition (consisting of gold, copper, and silver), which, when melted together, gives gold of 6½ *bān*; and if 1 *surkh* of the first mixture be melted together with 7 *surkhs* of the second composition, the result will be 6 *bān*; and if they require still baser compositions, they increase the mixtures by half *surkhs*. But in the *Banwārī*, they reckon to 6 *bāns* only, rejecting all baser compositions.

All this is performed by a man who understands the tests.

3. *The Amīn*. He must possess impartiality and integrity, so that friends and enemies can be sure of him. Should there be any differences, he assists the *dīroqha* and the other workmen, maintains that which is right, and prevents quarrels.

4. *The Mushrif*. He writes down the daily expenditure in an upright and practical manner, and keeps a systematic day-book.

5. *The Merchant*. He buys up gold, silver, and copper, by which he gains a profit for himself, assists the department, and benefits the revenues of the State. Trade will flourish, when justice is everywhere to be had, and when rulers are not avaricious.

6. *The Treasurer*. He watches over the profits, and is upright in all his dealings.

The salaries of the first four and the sixth officers differ from each other, the lowest of them holding the rank of an *Akhādī*.¹

7. *The Weighman*. He weighs the coins. For weighing 100 *jalālī* gold-muhra he gets 1½ *dāms*; for weighing 1000 rupees, 6½ *dāms*; and for weighing 1000 copper *dāms*, ½ of a *dām*; and, after this rate, according to the quantity.

8. *The Melter of the Ore*. He makes small and large trenches in a tablet of clay, which he besmears with grease, and pours into them the melted gold and silver, to cast them into ingots. In the case of copper, instead of using grease, it is sufficient to sprinkle ashes. For the above-

¹ The *Aladis* corresponds to our warrant officers. Most clerks of the Imperial offices, the painters of the court, the foremen in Akbar's workshops, etc., belonged to this corps. They were called *Aladis*, or *single men*, because they stood under Akbar's immediate orders. The word *Akhādī*, the *h* of which is the Arabic *hā*, was spelt in official returns with the Persian *h*. So deep-rooted, says Badāonī, was Akbar's hatred for everything which was Arabic.

¹ This Hind word, which is not given in the dictionaries, means the *testing of gold*.

² This *māsha* contains 6 parts gold, 1 part silver, and 1 part copper, i.e., ¾ gold and ¼ alloy.

³ The Hind. term *bān* means "temper, degree".

mentioned quantity of gold, he gets $2\frac{3}{4}$ *dāms*; for the same quantity of silver, 5 *dāms* and $13\frac{1}{2}$ *jetals*; ¹ for the same quantity of copper, 4 *dāms* and $21\frac{1}{2}$ *jetals*.

9. *The Platemaker.* He makes the adulterated gold into plates of six or seven *māshas* each, six fingers in length and breadth; these he carries to the assay master, who measures them in a mould made of copper, and stamps such as are suitable, in order to prevent alterations and to show the work done. He receives as wages for the above-mentioned quantity of gold, 42 $\frac{1}{2}$ *dāms*.

Ā'in 7.

THE MANNER OF REFINING GOLD.

When the above-mentioned plates have been stamped, the owner of the gold, for the weight of every 100 *jalālī* gold *muhrs*, must furnish ² four sers of saltpetre, and four sers of brickdust of raw bricks. The plates, after having been washed in clean water, are stratified with the above mixture (of the saltpetre and brickdust), and put one above the other, the whole being covered with cowdung, which in Hindi is called *upla*. It is the dry dung of the Wild ³ *Cow*. Then they set fire to it, and let it gently burn, till the dung is reduced to ashes, when they leave it to cool; then, these ashes being removed from the sides, are preserved. They are called in Persian *khāk-i khālī*, and in Hindi *salonī*. By a process, to be mentioned hereafter, they recover silver from it. The plates, and the ashes below them, are left as they are. This process of setting fire to the dung, and removing the ashes at the sides, is twice repeated. When three fires have been applied, they call the plates *siātī*. They are then again washed in clean water, and stratified three times with the above mixture, the ashes of the sides being removed.

This operation must be repeated till six mixtures and eighteen fires have been applied, when the plates are again washed. Then the assay master breaks one of them; and if there comes out a soft and mild sound, it is a sign of its being sufficiently pure; but if the sound is harsh, the plates must undergo three more fires. Then from each of the plates one *māsha* is taken away, of which aggregate a plate is made. This is tried on the touchstone; if it is not sufficiently fine, the gold has again to pass through one or two fires. In most cases, however, the desired effect is obtained by three or four fires.

¹ Twenty-five *jetals* make one *dām*. Vide the 10th Ā'in.

The following method of assaying is also used. They take two *tolās* of pure gold, and two *tolās* of the gold which passed through the fire, and make twenty plates of each, of equal weight. They then spread the above mixture, apply the fire, wash them, and weigh them with an exact balance. If both kinds are found to be equal in weight, it is a proof of pureness.

10. *The Melter of the refined metal.* He melts the refined plates of gold, and casts them, as described above, into ingots. His fee for 100 gold *muhrs* is three *dāms*.

11. *The Zarrāb.* He cuts off the gold, silver and copper ingots, as exactly as he can, round pieces of the size of coined money. His fees are, for 100 gold *muhrs*, 21 *dāms*, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *jetals*; for the weight of 1000 rupees, 53 *dāms*, $8\frac{3}{4}$ *jetals*, if he cuts rupees; and 28 *dāms* in addition, if he cuts the same weight of silver into quarter rupees. For 1000 copper *dāms* his fee is 20 *dāms*; for the same weight of half and quarter *dāms*, 25 *dāms*; and for half-quarter *dāms*, which are called *damrīs*, 69 *dāms*.

In Irān and Tūrān they cannot cut these pieces without a proper anvil; but Hindustani workmen cut them without such an instrument, so exactly, that there is not the difference of a single hair, which is remarkable enough.

12. *The Engraver.* He engraves the dies of the coins on steel, and such like metals. Coins are then stamped with these dies. At this day, Mawlā-nā 'Alī Aḥmad of Delhi, who has not his equal in any country, cuts different kinds of letters in steel, in such a manner as to equal the copylips of the most skilful calligraphers. He holds the rank of a *yūzbāshī*; ¹ and two of his men serve in the mint. Both have a monthly salary of 600 *dāms*.

13. *The Sikkachī.* He places the round pieces of metal between two dies; and by the strength of the hammerer (*putk-chī*) both sides are stamped. His fees are for 100 gold *muhrs*, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *dāms*; for 1000 rupees, 5 *dāms*, $9\frac{1}{2}$ *jetals*; and for the weight of 1000 rupees of small silver pieces, 1 *dām*, 3 *jetals* in addition; for 1000 copper *dāms*, 3 *dāms*; for 2000 half-*dāms*, and 4000 quarter-*dāms*, 3 *dāms*, $18\frac{3}{4}$ *jetals*; and for 8000 half-quarter *dāms*, $10\frac{1}{2}$ *dāms*. Out of these fees the *sikkachī* has to give one-sixth to the hammerer, for whom there is no separate allowance.

14. *The Sabbāk* makes the refined silver into round plates. For every 1000 rupees weight, he receives 54 *dāms*.

¹ This Turkish word signifies a commander of one hundred men, a captain. *Ahadir* of distinction were promoted to this military rank. The salary of a *Yūzbāshī* varied from five to seven hundred rupees *per mensem*; vide the third Ā'in of the second book.

The discovery of an alloy in silver. Silver may be alloyed with lead, tin and copper. In Irân and Tûrkân, they also call the highest degree of fineness of silver *dehshî*; in Hindustân, the *syaghi* use for it the term *lîrîkân*. According to the quantity of the alloy, it descends in degree; but it is not made less than five, and no one would care for silver lower than ten degrees. Practical men can discover from the colour of the compound, which of the alloys is prevailing, whilst by filing and heating it, the quality of the inside is ascertained. They also try it by heating it when hot, and then throwing it into water, when blackness denotes lead, redness copper, a white greyish colour tin, and whiteness a large proportion of silver.

THE METHOD OF REFINING SILVER.

They dig a hole, and having sprinkled into it a small quantity of wild cow dung, they fill it with the ashes of *maghîlî* wood; then they moisten it, and work it up into the shape of a dish; into this they put the adulterated silver, together with a proportionate quantity of lead. First, they put a fourth part of the lead on the top of the silver, and having surrounded the whole with coals, blow the fire with a pair of bellows, till the metals are melted, which operation is generally repeated four times. The proofs of the metal being pure are a lightning-like brightness, and its beginning to harden at the sides. As soon as it is hardened in the middle, they sprinkle it with water, when fumes resembling in shape the horns of wild goats, issue from it. It then turns itself into a disc, and is perfectly refined. If this disc be melted again, half a *surî* in every *tola* will burn away, i.e., 6 *mâshas* and 2 *surîs* in 100 *tolas*. The ashes of the disc, which are mixed with silver and lead, form a kind of litharge, called in Hindi *lharal*, and in Persian *kutna*; the use of which will be hereafter explained. Before this refined silver is given over to the *Zarrûb*, 5 *mâshas* and 5 *surîs* are taken away for the Imperial exchequer out of every hundred *tolas* of it; after which the assay master marks the mass with the usual stamp, that it may not be altered or exchanged.

In former times silver also was assayed by the *lânuvîrî* system; now it is calculated as follows:—if by refining 100 *tolas*, of *shâhî* silver, which is current in Irân and Khurâsân, and of the *lîrî* and *misgîrî*, which are

current in Tûrkân, there are lost three *tolas* and one *surî*; and of the same quantity of the European and Turkish *argîl*, and the *maşmûdî* and *maşgûrî* of Gujrat and Mîlwa, 15 *tolas* and 6½ *mâshas* are lost, they become then of Imperial standard.

15. The Qura'î having heated the refined silver, hammers it till it has lost all smell of the lead. His fee for the weight of 1000 rupees, is 4½ *dîna*.

16. The *Châshîghî* examines the refined gold and silver, and fixes its purity as follows.—Having made two *tolas* of the refined gold into eight plates, he applies layers of the mixture as above described, and sets fire to it, keeping out, however, all draught; he then washes the plates, and melts them. If they have not lost anything by this process, the gold is pure. The assay-master then tries it upon the touchstone, to satisfy himself and others. For assaying that quantity, he gets 1½ *dîna*. In the case of silver, he takes one *tola* with a like quantity of lead, which he puts together into a bone crucible, and keeps it on the fire till the lead is all burnt. Having then sprinkled the silver with water, he hammers it till it has lost all smell of the lead; and having melted it in a new crucible, he weighs it; and if it has lost in weight three *binj* (rice grains), it is sufficiently pure; otherwise he melts it again, till it comes to that degree. For assaying that quantity, his fee is 3 *dîna*, 4½ *jetah*.

17. The *Nigârî* collects the *lîrî* and *misgîrî* and washes it, taking two *tolas* at the time; whatever gold there may be amongst it will settle, from its weight, to the bottom. The *lîrî*, when thus washed, is called in Hindi *kutrah*, and still contains some gold, for the recovery of which, directions shall hereafter be given. The above-mentioned adulterated sediment is rubbed together with quicksilver, at the rate of six *mâshas* quicksilver per *tolâ*. The quicksilver from its predilective affinity, draws the gold to itself, and forms an amalgam which is kept over the fire in a retort, till the gold is separated from the quicksilver.

For extracting the gold from this quantity of *lîrî*, the *Nigârî* receives 20 *dîna*, 2 *jetah*.

The process of *Kutrah*.

They mix with the *kutrah* an equal quantity of *purîl*, and form a paste of *ruvî* (aqua fortis), and cowdung. They then pound the first composition, and mixing it with the paste, work it up into balls of two *rom* weight, which they dry on a cloth.

¹ Called in Hind. *batûl*, a kind of acacia. Its bark is used in tanning.

² Some MSS. have *kutah*.

¹ One MS. has *etc.*

Punhar is obtained as follows :—

They make a hole in the earth, and fill it with the ashes of *Babūl*-wood, at the rate of six fingers height of ashes for every maund of lead. The lead itself is put at the bottom of the hole, which has been smoothed ; then they cover it with charcoals, and melt the lead. After that, having removed the coals, they place over it two plates of clay, fixed by means of thorns, and close up the bellows hole, but not the vent. This they keep covered with bricks, till the ashes have thoroughly soaked up the lead. The bricks they frequently remove to learn the state of the lead. For the above-mentioned quantity of lead, there are 4 *māshas* of silver mixed up with the ashes. These ashes they cool in water, when they are called *punhar*. Out of every *man* of lead two *sers* are burnt ; but the mass is increased by four *sers* of ashes, so that the weight of the whole mass will be one *man* and two *sers*.

Rasī is a kind of acid, made of *ashkhār*¹ and saltpetre.

Having thus explained what *punhar* and *rasī* are, I return to the description of the process of *Kulrah*. They make an oven-like vessel, narrow at both ends, and wide in the middle, one and a half yards in height, with a hole at the bottom. Then having filled the vessel with coals within four fingers of the top, they place it over a pit dug in the earth, and blow the fire with two bellows. After that, the afore-mentioned balls being broken into pieces, they throw them into the fire and melt them, when the gold, silver, copper and lead fall through the hole in the bottom of the vessel into the pit below. Whatever remains in the vessel, is softened and washed, and the lead separated from it. They likewise collect the ashes, from whence also by a certain process profit may be derived. The metal is then taken out of the pit, and melted according to the *punhar* system. The lead will mix with the ashes, from which thirty *sers* will be recovered, and ten *sers* will be burnt. The gold, silver and copper remain together in a mass, and this they call *bugrāwāṣī*, or according to some, *gubrāwāṣī*.

The process of Bugrāwāṣī.

They make a hole, and fill it with the ashes of *babūl*-wood, half a *ser* for every 100 *tolas* of *bugrāwāṣī*. These ashes they then make up in form of a dish, and mix them up with the *bugrāwāṣī*, adding one *tola* of copper, and twenty-five *tolas* of lead. They now fill the dish with coals, and cover it with bricks. When the whole has melted, they remove the coals and the

bricks, and make a fire of *babūl*-wood, till the lead and copper unite with the ashes, leaving the gold and silver together. These ashes are also called *kharaḷ*, and the lead and copper can be recovered from them by a process, which will be hereafter explained.

Ā'in 8.

THE METHOD OF SEPARATING THE SILVER FROM THE GOLD.

They melt this composition six times ; three times with copper, and three times with sulphur, called in Hind. *chhāchhiyā*. For every *tola* of the alloy, they take a *māsha* of copper, and two *māshas*, two *surkhs* of sulphur. First they melt it with copper, and then with sulphur. If the alloy be of 100 *tolas* weight, the 100 *māshas* of copper are employed as follows :—they first melt fifty *māshas* with it, and then twice again twenty-five *māshas*. The sulphur is used in similar proportions. After reducing the mixture of gold and silver to small bits, they mix with it fifty *māshas* of copper, and melt it in a crucible. They have near at hand a vessel full of cold water, on the surface of which is laid a broom-like bundle of hay. Upon it they pour the melted metal, and prevent it, by stirring it with a stick, from forming into a mass. Then having again melted these bits, after mixing them with the remaining copper in a crucible, they set it to cool in the shade ; and for every *tola* of this mixture two *māshas* and two *surkhs* of sulphur are used, *i.e.*, at the rate of one and one-half quarter *ser* ($1\frac{1}{2}$ *ser*) per 100 *tolas*. When it has been three times melted in this manner, there appears on the surface a whitish kind of ash, which is silver. This is taken off, and kept separate ; and its process shall hereafter be explained. When the mixture of gold and silver has thus been subjected to three fires for the copper, and three for the sulphur, the solid part left is the gold. In the language of the Panjāb, this gold is called *kail*, whilst about Dihlī, it is termed *pinjar*. If the mixture contains much gold, it generally turns out to be of $6\frac{1}{2}$ *bān*, but it is often only five, and even four.

In order to refine this gold, one of the following methods must be used : Either they mix fifty *tolas* of this with 400 *tolas* of purer gold, and refine it by the *Salonī* process ; or else they use the *Alonī* process. For the latter they make a mixture of two parts of wild-cow dung, and one part of saltpetre. Having then cast the aforesaid *pinjar* into ingots, they make it into plates, none of which ought to be lighter than $1\frac{1}{2}$ *tolas*, but a little broader than those which they make in the *salonī* process. Then having

¹ The margins of some of the MSS. explain this word by the Hind. *sijji*, impure carbonate of soda.

besmeared them with sesame-oil, they strew the above mixture over them, giving them for every strewing two gentle fires. This operation they repeat three or four times; and if they want the metal very pure, they repeat the process till it comes up to nine *bān*. The ashes are also collected, being a kind of *kharal*.

Ā'in 9.

THE METHOD OF EXTRACTING THE SILVER FROM ASHES.

Whatever ashes and drores have been collected, both before and after the process of *alonī*, they mix with double the quantity of pure lead, put them into a crucible, and keep them for one watch over the fire. When the metal is cold, they refine it as described under the article *Sabbāk*, p. 22. The ashes of it are also *kharal*. The *salonī* process is also performed in other ways well known to those conversant with the business.

18. The *Panīūr* having melted the *kharal*, separates the silver from the copper. His fee for every tola of silver is $1\frac{1}{2}$ *dāms*. As a return for the profit he makes, he pays monthly 300 *dāms* to the *diwān*. Having reduced the *kharal* to small bits, he adds to every *man* of it $1\frac{1}{2}$ *sera* of *ṭangār* (borax), and three *sera* of pounded natron, and kneads them together. He then puts this mass, *ser* by *ser*, into the vessel above described, and melts it, when lead mixed with silver collects in the pit. This is afterwards refined by the process of the *sabbāk*, and the lead which separates from this, and mixes with the ashes, turns *panīūr*.

19. The *Paikār* buys the *salonī* and *kharal* from the goldsmiths of the city, and carries them to the mint to be melted, and makes a profit on the gold and silver. For every *man* of *salonī*, he gives 17 *dāms*, and for the same quantity of *kharal* 14 *dāms*, to the *exchequer*.

20. The *Nicho'i-rāla* brings old copper coins, which are mixed with silver, to be melted; and from 100 tolas of silver, $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees go to the *diwān*; and when he wishes to coin the silver, he pays a fixed quantity for it as duty.

21. The *Khāk-shoy*. When the owners of the metals get their gold and silver in the various ways which have now been described, the *Khāk-shoy* sweeps the mint, takes the sweepings to his own house, washes them, and gains a profit. Some of the sweepers carry on a very flourishing trade. The state receives from this man a monthly gift of $12\frac{1}{2}$ rupees.

And in like manner all the officers of the mint pay a monthly duty to the state, at the rate of three *dāms* for every 100 *dāms*.

Ā'in 10.

THE COINS OF THIS GLORIOUS EMPIRE.

As through the attention of his Majesty, gold and silver have been brought to the greatest degree of purity, in like manner the form of the coins has also been improved. The coins are now an ornament to the treasury, and much liked by the people. I shall give a few particulars.

A. Gold Coins.

1. The *sahansāh* is a round coin weighing 101 *tolas*, 9 *māshas*, and 7 *surkhs*, in value equal to 100 *la'li jalālī*-muhrs. On the field of one side is engraved the name of his Majesty, and on the five arches in the border, *Aḡ-shūltān* 'l-aḡzam' 'l-khāgān' 'l-muḡazz' *khallad* *Allāh* *mulkaḥ* *wa* *shūltān* *h*-*ṣarb* *dār* 'l-khūlāfat' *Āgra*, "the great sultan, the distinguished emperor, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign! Struck at the capital *Āgra*." On the field of the reverse is the beautiful formula, and the following verse of the *Qur'ān*: *Allāh* *yazraq* *man yashā* *bi-ghayr* *hisāb*, "God is bountiful unto whom He pleaseth, without measure"; and roundabout are the names of the first four *Khālifas*. This is what was first cut by *Maulānā Maqṣūd*, the engraver; after which *Mullā 'Alī Ahmad* made with great skill the following additions. On one side *Aḡḡal* *dīnār* *yanfuqu* *h*-*ar-rajul* *dīnār* *yanfuqu* *ḥ* *ṣala aḡḡābih* *fī sabīl* *'Ullāh*, "the best coin which a man expends is a coin which he spends on his co-religionists in the path of God."

And on the other side he wrote,

Aḡ-shūltān 'l-*ṣāli al-khālif* *al-mutaḡallī khallad* *allāh* *waḡḡla mulkaḥ* *wa* *shūltān* *h* *abbad* *ṣadlak* *wa* *ihsānah*, "the sublime sultan, the exalted *khālif*, may God the Almighty perpetuate his kingdom and his reign, and given eternity to his justice and bounty!"

Afterwards all this was removed, and the following two *Rubā'īs* of the court-poet and philosopher *Shaykh Fayzī* were engraved by him. On one side,

Khurshīd ki haft bahr azū gauhar yāft
Sang-i siyah az partav-i ān jawhar yāft
Kān az nazar-i tarbiyat-i ū zar yāft
Wān zar sharaf az sikka-yi Shāh Akbar yāft.

¹ Also called *Kalīmah*, or the Confession of Faith, *lā ilāha ill-allāh, Muḥammadun rasūl-ullāh*.

² *Qur. Sur II, 208.*

"It is the Sun¹ from which the seven oceans get their pearls,
The black rocks get their jewels from his lustre.
The mines get their gold from his fostering glance,
And their gold is ennobled by Akbar's stamp."

and, *Allāh akbar jallā jallā-lā*, "God is great, may His glory shine forth!" in the middle. And on the other side,

In sikka ki pīrāya-yi ummīd buvad
Bā naqsh-i davām u nām-i jāvid buvad
Simā-yi sa'ādāt-ash hamīn bas ki bi-dahr
Yak zarra nazar-kardā-yi khurshīd buvad.

"This coin, which is an ornament of hope,
Carries an everlasting stamp, and an immortal name.
As a sign of its auspiciousness, it is sufficient
That, once, for all ages the sun has cast a glimpse upon it."

and the date, according to the *Divine era*, in the middle.

2. There is another gold coin, of the same name and shape, weighing 91 tolas and 8 *māshas*, in value equal to 100 round muhrs, at 11 *māshas* each. It has the same impression as the preceding.

3. The *Rahas* is the half of each of the two preceding coins. It is sometimes made square. On one side it has the same impression as the *sahansa*, and on the other side the following *Rubāʿī* by Fayzī:—

Īn naqd-i ravān-i ganj-i shāhinshāhī
Bā kaukab-i iqbal kunad hamrūhī
Khurshīd bi-parvar-ash az ān rū ki bi-dahr
Yābad sharaf az sikka-yi Akbarshāhī.

"This current coin of the Imperial treasure
Accompanies the star of good fortune.
O sun, foster it, because for all ages
It is ennobled by Akbar's stamp!"

4. The *Ātma* is the fourth part of the *sahansa*, round and square. Some have the same impression as the *sahansa*; and some have on one side the following *Rubāʿī* by Fayzī:—

Īn sikka ki dast-i baḥt rū zewar bād
Pīrāya-yi nuḥ sipīhr u haft akhtar bād

¹ According to the Natural Philosophers of the Middle Ages, the influence of the sun calls the metals, the pearls, and precious stones into existence; vide the thirteenth *Āṭin*. The allusion to the sun is explained by the note to page III.

Zarrīn naqḍīst kār az-ū chūn zar bād
Dar dahr ravān bi-nām-i shāh akbar bād.

"This coin—May it adorn the hand of the fortunate,
And may it be an ornament of the nine heavens and the seven stars—
Is a gold coin,—May golden be its work!

Let it be current for all ages to the glory of Shāh Akbar."
And on the other side the preceding *Rubāʿī*.

5. The *Binsat*, of the same two forms as the *Ātma*, in value equal to one-fifth of the first coin.

There are also gold coins of the same shape and impression, in value equal to one-eighth, one-tenth, one-twentieth, one twenty-fifth, of the *sahansa*.

6. The *Chugul*,¹ of a square form, is the fiftieth part of the *sahansa*, in value equal to two muhrs.²

7. The round *Laṣṭ-i Jalālī*,³ in weight and value equal to two round muhrs, having on one side *Allāh akbar*, and on the other *Yā muḥīn*, "O helper."

8. The *Āftābī* is round, weighs 1 tola, 2 *māshas*, and 4½ *surkhs*, in value equal to 12 rupees. On one side, "*Allāh akbar, jallā jalālu-h*," and on the other the date according to the *Divine era*, and the place where it is struck.

9. The *Ilālī* is round, weighs 12 *māshas*, 1½ *surkhs*, bears the same stamp as the *Āftābī*, and has a value of 10 rupees.

¹ Or *Jugul*. Abū 'l-Faḍl's spelling in the text is ambiguous.

² The MSS. differ. Most of them place the *Chugul* as the sixth coin after the *Binsat*, and read:—

"The *Chugul*, of a square form, weighing 3 tolas, 5½ *surkhs*; its value is thirty rupees. Also, of a round form, weighing 2 tolas, 9 *māshas*, having a value of three round muhrs, of 11 *māshas* each (i.e., 27 rupees). But the impression of both is the same. They are the fiftieth part of the *Sahansa*."

The last sentence does not agree with the value and weight of the *Sahansa*; for the two *Chuguls*, as given by Abū 'l-Faḍl, would each be the hundred and third part of the two kinds of *Sahansa*, not the fiftieth part.

Mr. Thomas in his excellent edition of Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, pp. 5, 6, gives an extract from a MS. of the *Āṭin* in his possession, which appears to agree with the above reading; but he only mentions the square form of the *Chugul*, weighing 3 tolas, 5½ *surkhs*, worth 30 rupees; and then passes on to the eighth coin, the *Āftābī*.

Two other MSS.—among them Col. Hamilton's—read after the *Binsat* (i.e., after the twenty-fifth line of p. 24 of my text edition)—

"6. The *Chahārgosha* (or square), weighing 3 tolas, 5½ *surkhs*, worth 30 rupees.
"7. The *Gird* (or round); weighing 2 tolas, 9 *māshas*, in value equal to the 3 round muhrs of 11 *māshas* each.

"Both have the same impression.

"8. The *Chugul*, of a square form, the fiftieth part of a *Sahansa*, in value equal to two *Laṣṭ-i Jalālī* muhrs."

This reading obviates all difficulties. But the real question is whether the *Chahārgosha*, the *Gird*, and the *Chugul* are three distinct coins.

³ For the round *Laṣṭ-i Jalālī*, some MSS. only read, "*The Gird*," i.e., round, taking the words *Laṣṭ-i Jalālī* to the preceding. Vide the tenth coin.

10. The square *Laṣṭ-i Jalālī* is of the same weight and value; on one side "*Allāh akbar*," and on the other "*jallā jalālu-hu*."

11. The *ʿAdl-ḡuṭka* is round, weighs 11 *māshas*, and has a value of nine rupees. On one side "*Allāh akbar*," and on the other, "*Yā muṣṭin*."

12. The Round *muhr*, in weight and value equal to the *ʿAdl-ḡuṭka*, but of a different¹ stamp.

13. *Mihrābī*² is in weight, value, and stamp, the same as the round *muhr*.

14. The *Muṣṭinī* is both square and round. In weight and value it is equal to the *Laṣṭ-i Jalālī*, and the round *muhr*. It bears the stamp "*yā muṣṭin*."

15. The *Chahārgosha*, in stamp and weight the same as the *Āstābī*.

16. The *Gird* is the half of the *Ilāhī*, and has the same stamp.

17. The *Dhan*³ is half a *Laṣṭ-i Jalālī*.⁴

18. The *Salīmī* is the half of the *ʿAdl-ḡuṭka*.

19. The *Rabī*⁵ is a quarter of the *Āstābī*.

20. The *Man*, is a quarter of the *Ilāhī*, and *Jalālī*.

21. The *Half Salīmī* is a quarter of the *ʿAdl-ḡuṭka*.

22. The *Panj* is the fifth part of the *Ilāhī*.

23. The *Pandau* is the fifth part of the *Laṣṭ-i Jalālī*; on one side is a lily, and on the other a wild rose.


24. The *Sumnī*, or *Ashṣidd*, is one-eighth of the *Ilāhī*; on one side "*Allāh akbar*," and on the other "*jallā jalālu-hu*."

25. The *Kalā* is the sixteenth part of the *Ilāhī*. It has on both sides a wild rose.

26. The *Zara* is the thirty-second part of an *Ilāhī* and has the same stamp as the *kalā*.

As regards gold coins, the custom followed in the imperial mint is to coin *Laṣṭ-i jalālīs*, *Dhans*, and *Mans*, each coin for the space of a month. The other gold coins are never stamped without special orders.

¹ It has the *Kalima*. (Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the *Aḳṣin*.)

² The figure called *mihrābī* is 

³ In Forbes's Dictionary, *dahan*.

⁴ Several MSS. read—"Half a quarter *Ilāhī* and *Laṣṭ-i Jalālī*." Forbes gives six rupees (?).

⁵ Several MSS. have *Rabī*. Perhaps we should write *Rabṭī*.

B. Silver Coins.

1. The *Rūpiya* is round, and weighs eleven and one half *māshas*. It was first introduced in the time of *Sher Khān*. It was perfected during this reign, and received a new stamp, on one side "*Allāh akbar, jallā jalālu-hu*," and on the other the date. Although the market price is sometimes more or less than forty *dāms*, yet this value is always set upon it in the payment of salaries.

2. The *Jalāla* is of a square form, which was introduced during the present reign. In value and stamp it is the same as No. 1.

3. The *Darb* is half a *Jalāla*.

4. The *Chara* is a quarter *Jalāla*.

5. The *Pandau* is a fifth of the *Jalāla*.

6. The *Ashṭ* is the eighth part of the *Jalāla*.

7. The *Dasā* is one-tenth of the *Jalāla*.

8. The *Kalā* is the sixteenth part of the *Jalāla*.

9. The *Sūkī* is one-twentieth of the *Jalāla*.

The same fractional parts are adopted for the [round] *Rūpiya*, which are, however, different in form.

C. Copper Coins.

1. The *Dām* weighs 5 *tāks*, i.e. 1 *tola*, 8 *māshas*, and 7 *surḥās*; it is the fortieth part of the *rūpiya*. At first this coin was called *Paisa*, and also *Bukhlōī*; now it is known under this name (*dām*). On one side the place is given where it was struck, and on the other the date.

For the purpose of calculation, the *dām* is divided into twenty-five parts, each of which is called a *jetal*.¹ This imaginary division is only used by accountants.

2. The *Adhela* is half of a *dām*.

3. The *Pāṭolā* is a quarter *dām*.

4. The *Damrī* is one-eighth of a *dām*.

In the beginning of this reign, gold was coined to the glory of his Majesty in many parts of the empire; now gold coins are struck at four places only, viz. at the seat of the government, Bengal, *Aḥmadābād* (*Gujrāt*), and *Kābul*. Silver and copper are likewise coined in these four places, and besides in the following ten places: *Ilāhabās*, *Āgrā*, *Ujain*, *Sūrat*, *Dihli*, *Patna*, *Kashmīr*, *Lāhor*, *Multān*, *Tānḍa*. In twenty-eight towns copper coins only are struck, viz. *Ajmīr*, *Avadh*, *Atak*, *Alwar*, *Badāʿon*, *Banāras*, *Bhakkar*, *Bahirah*, *Patan*, *Jaunpūr*, *Jālandhar*, *Hardwār*, *Hisār*, *Firūza*, *Kālpī*, *Gwāliyar*, *Gorakhpūr*, *Kolānūr*,

¹ Often misspelt *chetal*. The text gives the correct spelling.

Laknau, Mandū, Nāgor, Sarhind, Siyālkot, Saronj, Sahāranpūr, Sārangpur, Sambal, Qanawj, Rantanbhūr.

Mercantile affairs in this country are mostly transacted in *round muhrs*, *rūpiyas*, and *dāms*.

Unprincipled men cause a great deal of mischief by rubbing down the coins, or by employing similar methods; and, in consequence of the damage done to the nation at large, his Majesty continually consults experienced men, and from his knowledge of the spirit of the age, issues new regulations in order to prevent such detrimental practices.

The currency underwent several changes. *First*, when (in the 27th year) the reins of the government were in the hands of Rāja Todarmal,¹ four kinds of muhrs were allowed to be current; *A*. There was a *Laṣṭi Jalālī*, which had the name of his Majesty stamped on it, and weighed 1 *ṭola*, 1½ *surḥs*. It was quite pure, and had a value of 400 *dāms*. Again, there existed from the beginning of this glorious reign, a muhr with the imperial stamp, of which *three* degrees passed as current, viz.: *B*. This muhr, when perfectly pure, and having the full weight of 11 *nāshas*. Its value was 360 *dāms*. If from wear and tear it had lost in weight within three grains of rice it was still allowed to be of the same degree, and no difference was made. *C*. The same muhr, when it had lost in weight from four to six rice grains; its value was 355 *dāms*. *D*. The same muhr, when it had lost in weight from six to nine rice grains; its value was 350 *dāms*.

¹ Rāja Todarmal, a Khatri by caste, was born at Lāhor. He appears to have entered Akbar's service during the 18th year of the emperor's reign, when he was employed to settle the affairs of Gujarat. In the 19th year, we find him in Bengal in company with *Hunṣim 'Alā*, and three years later again at Gujarat. In the 27th year he was appointed *Dewan* of the empire, when he remodelled the revenue system. After an unsuccessful attempt on his life made by a *Khatri* in the 32nd year, he was sent against the *Yūmfāzīs*, to avenge the death of Bir Bar. In the 34th year, old age and sickness obliged him to send in his resignation, which Akbar unwillingly accepted. Petitioning to the banks of the Ganges, he died—*or, went to hell*, as Badā'oni expresses himself in the case of Hindus—on the 11th day A. H. 938, or 10th November, 1550, the same year in which Rāja Bhargavān Dās died. Todarmal had reached the rank of a *Chalukhazari*, or commander of Four Thousand, and was no less distinguished for his personal courage, than his financial abilities. His eldest son Dhārū, a commander of seven hundred, was killed in the war with Tihāna.

Abū 'I Fazl did not like Todarmal personally, but praised him for his strict integrity and abilities; he charges him with vindictiveness of temper and bigotry. *Avanp'eb* said he had heard from his father that Akbar complained of the raja's independence, vanity, and bigoted adherence to Hinduism. Abū 'I Fazl openly complained of him to Akbar; but the emperor with his usual regard for faithful services, said that he could not drive away an old servant. In his adherence to Hinduism, Todarmal may be contrasted with Bir Bar, who a short time before his death had become a member of the *Divine Faith*. Once when accompanying Akbar to the Panjāb, in the hurry of the departure, Todarmal's idols were lost; and as he transacted no business before his daily worship, he remained for several days without food and drink, and was at last with difficulty cheered up by the emperor.

Muhrs of less weight than this were considered as bullion.

Of *Rūpiyas*, three kinds were then current, viz.: *A*. one of a square form, of pure silver, and weighing 11½ *nāshas*; it went under the name of *Jālāla*, and had a value of 40 *dāms*. *B*. The round, old *Akbarshāhī rūpiya*, which, when of full weight, or even at a *surḥ* less, was valued at 39 *dāms*. *C*. The same rupees, when in weight two *surḥs* less, at 38 *dāms*.

Rupees of less weight than this were considered as bullion.

Secondly, on the 18th Muhr of the 29th year of the Divine era, 'Azud² 'd-Daulah Amīr Faṭḥ³ 'Ilāh⁴ of Shirāz coming at the head of affairs, a royal order was issued, that on the *muhrs*, as far as *three* grains; and on the *rūpiyas*, as far as *six* grains short weight, no account should be taken, but that they should be reckoned of full weight. If muhrs were still less, they should make a deduction for the deficiency, whatever their deficiency might be; but it was not ordered that only muhrs down to nine grains less should be regarded as muhrs. Again, according to the same regulation, the value of a muhr that was one *surḥ* deficient was put down as 355 *dāms* and a fraction; and hence they valued the price of one *surḥ* of *coined* gold at the low rate of *four dāms* and a fraction. According to Todarmal's regulation, a deduction of *five dāms* was made for a deficiency of one *surḥ*; and if the muhr had lost something more than the three grains, for which he had made no account, even if it were only ½ *surḥ*, full five

² Amīr Faṭḥ 'Ilāh of Shirāz was the pupil of Khwāja Jamāl⁵ 'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, Kamāl⁶ d-Dīn of Shirwān, and Mir Ghiyāṣ⁷ 'd-Dīn Maṣṣūr of Shirāz. He so excelled in all branches of natural philosophy, especially mechanics, that Abū 'I Fazl said of him, "If the books of antiquity should be lost, the Amīr will restore them." At the earnest solicitations of 'Adl Shāh of Bijāpūr, he left Shirāz for the Dekhan. In A.H. 991, after the death of 'Adl Shāh, he was invited by Akbar, who raised him to the dignity of a *Sadr*, and bestowed upon him, three years later, the title of Amīn⁸ 'I-Mulk. He was appointed to assist Todarmal, and rendered good service in working up the old revenue books. His title, Amīn⁹ 'I-Mulk, to which Abū 'I Fazl alludes (*vide p. 28, l. 9* of my text edition), was in the same year changed to *'Azud¹⁰ 'd-Daulah*, or *the arm of empire*. The Amīr went afterwards to Khūndesh. After his return in 997 to Akbar, who was then in Kashmir, he was attacked with fever, of which he died. Thinking to understand the medical art, he refused the advice of the famous Hakim 'Alī, and tried to cure the fever by eating *harīra* (*vide* the twenty fourth A²in), which caused his death.

Next to Abū 'I Fazl, Fayṣī, and Bir Bar, the Amīr was perhaps most loved by Akbar. Several of his mechanical inventions, mentioned below, are ascribed by Abū 'I Fazl to Akbar himself (l). The Amīr was, however, on the best terms with Abū 'I Fazl, whose son he instructed. According to the author of the *Mir'at¹¹ 'I 'Alam*, he was "a worldly man, often accompanying the emperor on hunting parties, with a rifle on his shoulder, and a powder-bag in his waistband, treading down science, and performing feats of strength which Rustam could not have performed."

It is stated by the author of the *Ma'asir¹² 'I-Umarā¹³* that according to some, the Amīr was a *Sih-hazārī*, or Commander of three thousand; but I do not find his name among the lists of Akbar's grandees given in the *Tabaqat¹⁴ 'I Akbarī*, and the last A²in of the second book of this work. Instead of *Amīr Faṭḥ¹⁵ 'Ilāh*, we also find, especially in Badā'oni, *Shah Faṭḥ¹⁶ 'Ilāh*. He lies buried on the *Takht¹⁷ 'I Sulaymān*. Fayṣī's ode on his death is very fine

dāms were subtracted; and for a deficiency of $1\frac{1}{2}$ *surkhs* he deducted ten *dāms*, even if the deficiency should not be quite $1\frac{1}{2}$ *surkhs*. By the new law of 'Azud' 'd-Dawlah, the value of a muhr was lessened by six *dāms* and a fraction, as its gold was worth 353 *dāms* and a fraction only.¹

'Azud' 'd-Dawlah abolished also the regulation, according to which the value of a round *rūpiya* had been fixed at one *dām* less than the square one, notwithstanding its perfection in weight and purity, and fixed the value of the round *rūpiya*, when of full weight or not less than one *surkh*, at forty *dāms*; and whilst formerly a deduction of two *dāms* was made for a deficiency of two *surkhs*, they now deduct for the same deficiency only one *dām* and a fraction.

Thirdly, when 'Azud' 'd-Dawlah went to Khāndesh, the Rāja estimated the value of muhrs that had been expressed in Jalālī rupees, in round rupees; and from his obstinate and wrangling disposition, fixed again the deficiencies on muhrs and rupees according to the old rates.

Fourthly, when Qulij Khān² received the charge of the government he adopted the Rāja's manner of estimating the muhrs; but he deducted ten *dāms* for a deficiency in the weight of a muhr, for which the Rāja had deducted five *dāms*; and twenty *dāms* for the former deduction of ten *dāms*; whilst he considered every muhr as bullion, if the deficiency was $1\frac{1}{2}$ *surkhs*. Similarly, every *rūpiya*, the deficiency of which was one *surkh*, was considered as bullion.

¹ For 'Azud' 'd-Dawlah having fixed the value of 1 *surkh* of coined gold at 4 *dāms* and a small fraction, the value of a muhr of full weight (11 *maḥas* = 11×8 *surkhs*) was only $11 \times 8 \times (\frac{1}{4} \times \text{a small fraction})$ *dāms*, i.e., according to Abū 'l-Faḥl, 353 *dāms* and a fraction, instead of 360 *dāms*.

² Qulij Khān is first mentioned during the 17th year of Akbar's reign, when he was made governor of the Fort of Sūrāt, which Akbar after a siege of forty-seven days had conquered. In the 23rd year he was sent to Gujrat; and after the death of Shāh Mansūr, he was, two years later, appointed as *Diwān*. In the 28th year he accompanied the army during the conquest of Gujrat. In the 34th year he received *Sambhal* as *jāgīr*. After the death of Todarmal, he was again appointed as *Diwān*. This is the time to which Abū 'l-Faḥl refers. In 1002 he was made governor of Kābul, where he has not been successful. After his removal, he accompanied, in 1005, his son-in-law Prince Dānyāl as *Atālīq*, or tutor, but he soon returned to Akbar. During the absence, in 1007, of the emperor in Khāndesh, he was governor of Agra. Two years later he was promoted to the governorship of the Panjāb and Kābul. At the accession of Jahāngīr, he was sent to Gujrat, but returned next year to the Panjāb, where he had to fight against the Barahmaniyāhs. He died, at an advanced age, in 1035, or A.D. 1625-26. Abū 'l-Faḥl, in the last *ʿĀ'in* of the second book, mentions him as *Chahārkhāzārī*, or Commander of Four Thousand, which high rank he must have held for some time, as *Nizāmī-i Haravī*, in his *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, mentions him as such, and as *Diwān*. When tutor to Prince Dānyāl, he was promoted to the command of Four Thousand Five Hundred. Qulij Khān was a pious man, and a staunch Sunnī; he was much respected for his learning. As a poet he is known under the name of *Uṣṣafī*; some of his verses may be found in the concluding chapter of the *Mirʿāt-i ʿĀlam*. The high rank which he held was less due to his talents as a statesman than to his family-connection with the kings of Tūrān. Of his two sons, Mirzā Sayyid 'Ilāh and Mirzā Husayn Qulij, the latter is best known. [Vide note 2 to No. 42 of *ʿĀ'in* 30 —B.]

Lastly, his Majesty, trusting to his advisers and being occupied by various important affairs, paid at first but little attention to this subject, till after having received some intimation of the unsatisfactory state of this matter, he issued another regulation, which saved the nation further losses, and was approved of by every one, far and near. On the 26th of Bahman, of the year 36, according to the Divine era (A.D. 1592), he adopted the second [i.e. 'Azud' 'd-Dawlah] method, with one exception, namely, he did not approve of the provision that a muhr the deficiency of which did not exceed three, and a *rūpiya*, the deficiency of which did not exceed six, *surkhs*, should still be regarded as of full weight. And this regulation was the only effectual method for preventing the fraudulent practices of unprincipled men; for the former regulations contained no remedy in cases when the officers of the mint coined money of the above deficiency in weight, or when treasurers reduced full coins to the same deficiency. Besides, shameless thievish people made light grain weights, and used to reduce muhrs, deficient by three grains, to six grains deficiency, whilst they accepted muhrs six grains deficient as muhrs deficient by nine grains. This reduction of coins being continued, large quantities of gold were stolen, and the losses seemed never to end. By the command of his Majesty grain weights of *bābāghūrī* were made, which were to be used in weighing. On the same date other stringent regulations were issued, that the treasurers and revenue collectors should not demand from the tax-payers any particular species of coins, and that the exact deficiency in weight and purity, whatever it might be, should be taken according to the present rate and no more. This order of his Majesty disappointed the wicked, taught covetous men moderation, and freed the nation from the cruelty of oppressors.

ʿĀ'in 11.

THE DIRHAM AND THE DĪNĀR.

Having given some account of the currency of the empire, I shall add a few particulars regarding these two ancient coins, and remark on the value of ancient coinage.

The *Dirham*, or *Dirhām*, as the word is sometimes given, is a silver coin, the shape of which resembled that of a date-stone. During the *khilāfat* of 'Umar, it was changed to a circular form; and in the time of Zubayr it was impressed with the words *Allāh* (God), *barakat* (blessing). *Ḥajjāj*

stamped upon it the chapter of the Qur'ān called *Al-Ū*; and others say that he stamped it with his own name. Others assert, that 'Umar was the first who stamped an impression on *dirhams*, whilst, according to some, Greek, Khurramite, and Hephthalite *dirhams* were in circulation at the time of 'Abd' Ū-Malik, the son Marwān, by whose order Haffij, the son of Yūsuf, had struck *dirhams*. Some say that Haffij refined the base *dirhams*, and coined them with the words *Al-lāh a'c'el* (God is one), and *Al-lāh 'azamed* (God is eternal); and the *dirhams* were called *shakīla* (abominable), because God's holy name was thereby dishonoured, unless this term be a corruption of some other name. After Haffij, at the time of the reign of Yazīd bin 'Abd' Ū-Malik, 'Umar bin Hubayrah coined in the kingdom of Sirāq better *dirhams* than Haffij had made, and afterwards Khālid bin 'Abd' Ū-Ū-Qasī, when governor of Sirāq, made them still finer, but they were brought to the highest degree of purity by Yūsuf son of 'Umar. Again, it has been said that Mus'ab bin Zubayr was the first who struck *dirhams*. Various accounts are given of their weight, some saying that they were of ten or nine, or six or five *misqāls*; whilst others give them weights of twenty, twelve, and ten *qirāts*, asserting at the same time that 'Umar had taken a *dirham* of each kind, and formed a coin of fourteen *qirāts*, being the third part of the aggregate sum. It is likewise said that at the time of 'Umar there were current several kinds of *dirhams*—*first*, some of eight *dāngs*, which were called *baghāl*, after Rās baghāl, who was an army-master, and who struck *dirhams* by the command of 'Umar; but others call them *baghāl*, from *baghāl*, which is the name of a village;² *secondly*, some of four *dāngs*, which were called *tabī*, *thirdly*, some of three *dāngs*, which were known as *maghāl*; and *lastly*, some of one *dāng*, named *gamanī*, the half of which four kinds 'Umar is said to have taken as a uniform average weight. Fā'il of Khujand says that in former days *dirhams* had been of two kinds—*first*, full ones of eight and six *dāngs* (1 *dāng* of his = 2 *qirāts*; 1 *qirāt* = 2 *tasrūj*; 1 *tasrūj* = 2 *habbas*); and *secondly*, deficient ones of four *dāngs* and a fraction. Some hold different opinions on this subject.

The *Dīnār* is a gold coin, weighing one *misqāl*, i.e. 12 *dirhams*, as they put 1 *misqāl* = 6 *dāngs*; 1 *dāng* = 4 *tasrūj*; 1 *tasrūj* = 2 *habbas*; 1 *habba* = 2 *jars* (barley grains); 1 *jar* = 6 *ḥardals* (mustard-grain); 1 *ḥardal* = 12 *faḥs*; 1 *faḥs* = 6 *faḥils*; 1 *faḥil* = 6 *naḥirs*; 1 *naḥir* = 6 *qatmirs*; and 1 *qatmīr* = 12 *ḡaras*. One *misqāl*, by this calculation, would be equal to 96 barley grains. *Misqāl* is a weight, used in weighing gold; and it is

also the name of the coin.¹ From some ancient writings it appears that the Greek *rusqāl* is out of use, and weighs two *qirāts* less than this; and that the Greek *dirham* differs likewise from others, being less in weight by $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *rusqāl*.

Art. 12.

THE PROFIT OF THE DEALERS IN GOLD AND SILVER.

One round muhr of 11 *māshas* buys one tola of gold of 10 *bān*; or one tola, 2 *surūs* of 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ *bān*; or 1 tola, 4 *s.* of 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ *bān*; or 1 tola 6 *s.* of 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ *bān*; or 1 tola, 1 *māsala* of 9 *bān*, and similarly, according to the same proportion, the decrease of one *bān* increases the quantity of gold which a muhr can buy by one *māsha*.

The merchant buys for 100 *Laḥ-i Jalālī* muhrs 130 *t.* 2 *m.* 0 *s.* of Hun gold of 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ *bāns*. Of this quantity 22 *t.* 9 *m.* 7 *s.* burn away in melting, and mix with the *Laḥ-i Jalālī*, so that 107 *t.* 1 *m.* 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *s.* of pure gold remain, which are coined into 105 muhrs, leaving a remainder of nearly half a tola of gold, the value of which is 4 rupees. From the *Laḥ-i Jalālī* are recovered 2 *t.* 11 *m.* 4 *s.* of gold, and 11 *t.* 11 *m.* 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *s.* of silver, the value of both of which is 35 rupees, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ *angas*,² so that altogether the above-mentioned quantity of Hun gold yields 105 muhrs 39 *Rs.* and 25 *dāms*.

This sum is accounted for as follows. *First*, 2 *Rs.* 18 *d.* 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ *j.*, due to the workmen according to the rates which have been explained above; *secondly*, 5 *Rs.* 8 *d.* 8 *j.* for ingredients; which sum is made up of 1 *R.* 4 *d.* 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *j.* on account of articles used in refining the metal, viz. 26 *d.* 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ *j.* dung, 4 *d.* 20 *j.* *siloni*; 1 *d.* 10 *j.* water; 11 *d.* 5 *j.* quicksilver, and 4 *Rs.* 4 *d.* 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ *j.* on account of the *Laḥ-i Jalālī* (viz. 21 *d.* 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ *j.* charcoal, and 3 *Rs.* 22 *d.* 21 *j.* lead); *thirdly*, 6 *Rs.* 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, which the owners of the gold take from the merchant, as a consideration for lending him the gold; this item goes to the *Dīkan* if the gold belongs to the exchequer, *fourthly*, 100 *Laḥ-i Jalālī* muhrs, which the merchant gets in exchange for the gold which he brought; *fifthly*, 12 *Rs.* 57 *d.* 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ *j.* which the merchant takes as his profit; *sixthly*, 5 muhrs 12 *Rs.* 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, which go to the exchequer.⁴ According to this proportion, merchants make their profits.

Although gold is imported into Hindustan, it is to be found in abundance in the northern mountains of the country, as also in Tibet

¹ In text "a gold coin"—B.]

² One *anga* = 2 *dāms*; now a *dāms* one *anga* = 2 *ḡaras*.

⁴ There is a slight mistake of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *ḡatals*, as the several items added up gave 105 *m.* 39 *Rs.* 24 *d.* 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ *j.*, but not 105 *m.* 39 *Rs.* 25 *d.*

² According to some inferior MSS. the name of a kind of gold.

Since no part of it is destitute of *dukhān*, the dryness is perceptible; hence, on touching it, it does not affect the hand, but flees from it; and since its contraction was produced by heat, no warmth can dissolve it. Again, when in a mixture of *bukhār* and *dukhān*, both are nearly in equal proportion, a tenacious greasy moisture is produced. At the time of fermentation, airy particles enter, when cold causes the whole to contract. This mass is inflammable. If the *dukhān* and the greasiness are a little in excess, sulphur will be produced, in colour either red or yellow, or grey or white. If the proportion of the *dukhān* is large, and that of the grease less, arsenic will result, which is red and yellow. And if the quantity of the *bukhār* is greater, pure, black and yellow naphtha will arise, after the mixture gets solid. Since in all, cold was the cause of the contraction, they can be melted; and on account of the prevalence of greasiness and tenacious moistness, they are also inflammable, though, on account of the moistness, not malleable.

Although quicksilver and sulphur are the only component parts of "the seven bodies", there arise various forms from a difference in purity, or from peculiar circumstances of the mixture, or from a variety of the action of the component parts on each other. Thus silver will result, when neither of the two components mixes with earthy particles, when they are pure and become perfectly united, and when the sulphur is white, and less than the quicksilver. Or, when both are in equal proportions and the sulphur red, and capable of colouring, gold will originate. Again, under similar circumstances, if both contract after the mixture, but before a complete union has been effected, *khurchinī* will be produced. This body is also called *Alanchūnī*, and seems really to be raw gold; some say, it is a kind of copper. Again, if only the sulphur be impure, and the quicksilver the larger component, with an additional power of burning, copper will result. And if the mixture be not thorough, and the quicksilver larger, tin will be produced; some say that purity of the components is essential. If both compounds be of an inferior kind, closely mixed, and if the earthy particles of the quicksilver have a tendency of separating, and the power of burning be inherent in the sulphur, iron will result. And if under similar conditions the intermixture be not perfect, and the quicksilver quantitatively larger, lead will come into existence. These seven metals are called the *seven bodies*; and quicksilver has the name of *the mother of the bodies*, and sulphur, *the father of the bodies*. Quicksilver is also denominated *the spirit*, and arsenic and sulphur the *pivots of life*.

Jast (pewter), which, according to the opinions of some, is *Rūh-i*

tūtiyā, and resembles lead, is nowhere mentioned in philosophical books, but there is a mine of it in Hindustan, in the territory of *Jālor*, which is a dependency of the *Śūba* of *Ājmir*. Some practical mechanic¹ are of opinion that the metal called *riṣāp* is a silver in the state of leprosy, and quicksilver a silver in the state of apoplexy; that lead is gold apoplectic and burnt, and bronze crude gold; and that the chemist, like the doctor, can restore these diseased metals by the principles of similarity and opposition.

Practical men form of the above seven bodies, several compounds, used for ornaments, vessels, etc. Among them I may mention: 1. *Safidrū*, which the people of Hindustan call *kāṣī*. It is a mixture of 4 sers of copper to 1 ser of tin, melted together. 2. *Rūy*, 4 sers of copper to 1½ sers of lead. It is called in this country *bhaṅgār*. 3. *Brass*, which the Hindūs call *pītal*, is made in three ways: first, 2½ sers copper to 1 ser *rūh-i tūtiyā*, which is malleable, when cold; secondly, 2 sers of copper to 1 ser of *rūh-i tūtiyā*, which is malleable, when heated; thirdly, 2 sers of copper to 1 ser of *rūh-i tūtiyā*, not worked with the hammer, but by casting. 4. *Sim-i sūkhā*, composed of lead, silver, and bronze; it has a black lustre, and is used in painting. 5. *Haft-josh*, which, like the *Khurchinī*, is nowhere to be found; it is said to consist of six metals. Some call it *tāḡūn*, whilst others give this name to common copper. 6. *Ashṭdhāt*, a compound of eight metals, viz. the six of the *haftjosh*, *rūh-i tūtiyā*, and *kāṣī*. It is also made of seven compounds. 7. *Kaulpatr*, 2 sers of *safidrū*, and 1 ser of copper. It is coloured, and looks well, and belongs to the inventions of his Majesty.²

A*in 14.

ON SPECIFIC GRAVITY.

It has been said above that various compounds result from a mixture of *bukhār* and *dukhān*, which themselves consist of light and heavy elements. Besides, *bukhār* is *wet* or *dry*; and a complete union of the two sets in, sometimes before and after the mixture, and sometimes in either of these conditions. It is on this account that a compound whose fiery and airy particles are more numerous than its watery and earthy particles is lighter than a mineral in which there are more watery and earthy particles; and likewise, every mineral in which the *bukhār* predominates

¹ A. the Hindūs.

² made at the time of Akbar.

over the *dukhān* is lighter than a mineral, in which the opposite is the case. Again, a mineral in which the complete union of the *bukhār* and *dukhān* has set in, is heavier than one which has not reached this degree, because the interstices between the particles, and the entering of air, make a body large and light. Bearing this in mind, we have a means of discovering the weight and lightness of every body. Some one,¹ now long ago dead, has expressed the weight of several bodies in verses (metre *Mujlāss*):—

*Z' rū-yi juḡḡa-yi haftād u yak diram simab,
Chil o shash ast, u z' arziz siy u hasht shumār,
Zahab šad ast surb panjah u nuh, āhan chil,
Birinj o mis khilil o panj, nuḡra panjah u chār.*

"Quicksilver² is 71; Rūy is 46; Tin is 38; Gold 100; Lead 59; Iron 40; Brass and Copper 45; Silver 54." Others have expressed the numbers by mnemo-technical words in rhyme (metre *Ramāl*):—

*Nuh filiz-i mustawiyq "l ḥajm rū chūn bar-kashī,
Ikhtilāf-i wazn dārad har yak-ī bī ishtibāh.
Zar lakan, zibaq alam, usrub dahan, arziz ḥal,
Fiḡza nad, āhan yak-ī, miss u shabah nah, rūy māk.*

"If you weigh equal volumes of the following nine metals, you will doubtlessly find their different weights as follows: gold *lakan*,³ quicksilver *alam*, lead *dahan*, tin *ḥal*, silver *naḍ*, iron *yak-ī*, copper and brass *māk*, rūy *māk*." If of these nine metals, pieces be taken of equal dimensions, their weights will be different. Some sages ascribe this variety in weight to the difference in the qualitative constitution of the bodies, and trace to it their lightness or heaviness, their floating or sinking in water, and their weights as indicated by common and hydrostatic balances. Several deep-sighted philosophers compute the weight of bodies with a reference to water. They fill a suitable vessel with water, and throw into it 100 *misḡāls* of each metal; and from the quantities of water thrown out upon the introduction of the metals, are found the differences between them in volume and weight. The greater the quantity of the water which 100 *misḡāls* of a body displace, the greater is its volume and the less its weight,

¹ *Abū Naṣr-i Farāhī*, of Farāh, a town in Sijistān. His real name is Muḥammad Badr 'd-Dīn. He has written a Vocabulary in rhyme, entitled *Niṣāb* 's-Sīyān, which for centuries has been read in nearly every Madrasa of Persia and India; vide *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, for 1868, p. 7.

² We fix the specific gravities as follows: Gold 19.26; Mercury 13.6; Lead 11.325; Silver 10.47; Copper 9; Tin 7.32; Iron 7.7, for which numbers water is unity. *Abū 'l-Fazl* takes gold as standard; and assuming, for his values, 19.26 as its specific gravity, we would get, Mercury 13.67; Lead 11.36; Silver 10.40; Copper 8.67; Iron 7.76; Tin 7.32; Rūy 8.86.

³ The Arabic consonants of the mnemo-technical words *lakan*, *alam*, etc., represent numbers; thus, $l + k + n = 30 + 20 + 50$; $a + l + m = 1 + 30 + 40$; etc.

and reversely. Thus 100 *m.* of silver displace 9½ *m.* of water, and the same quantity of gold, 5½ *m.* If the weight of the water displaced by a body be subtracted from its weight in air, its weight in water will be found. The scales of the air-balance are both suspended in air; those of the hydrostatic balance are both on the surface of the water. As the heavier body possesses the greater power for sinking, it will, in any case, move in the direction of the perpendicular; but, if either of the two scales be on the surface of the water, and the other in the air, the latter scale, although perhaps the lighter, will necessarily sink, as air, being a finer substance than water, does not offer so much resistance. A body will sink in water if the quantity of water displaced by it be less than the weight of the body, and a body will float if that quantity be greater; and if the water displaced be equal to the weight of the body, its upper side will coincide with the surface of the water. *Abū Rayḥān* has drawn up a table which I shall insert here.

Quantity of water displaced by 100 *misḡāls* of Apparent weight (weight in water) of 100 *misḡāls* of

	Miḡāl. Dāng. Ṭassūj.				Miḡāl. Dāng. Ṭassūj.		
Gold, ²	5	1	2	Gold,	95	4	2
Quicksilver,	7	2	1	Quicksilver,	92	3	3
Lead,	8	5	3	Lead,	91	1	3
Silver,	9	4	1	Silver,	90	2	3
Rūy,	11	2	3	Rūy,	88	4	3
Copper,	11	3	3	Copper,	88	3	3
Brass,	11	4	3	Brass,	88	2	3
Iron,	12	5	2	Iron,	87	3	2
Tin,	13	4	3	Tin,	86	2	3
Yāqūt (light blue),	25	1	2	Yāqūt (light blue),	74	4	2
Yāqūt (red),	26	3	3	Yāqūt (red),	74	3	3
Ruby (la ¹ l),	27	5	2	Ruby (la ¹ l),	72	3	2
Zumurrud,	36	2	3	Zumurrud,	63	4	3
Pearl,	37	1	3	Pearl,	62	5	3
Lapis lazuli,	38	3	3	Lapis lazuli,	61	3	3
Cornelian,	38	3	3	Cornelian,	61	3	3
Amber,	39	3	3	Amber,	60	3	3
Bullūr,	40	3	3	Bullūr,	60	3	3

¹ With the exception of Quicksilver, Silver, and Yāqūt (light blue), the numbers given in the MSS., and the above list, are slightly wrong, because the sum of the weights of the water displaced and the apparent weight, ought to give 100 *misḡāls* (1 *m.* = 6 *d.*; 1 *d.* = 4 *l.*). But in most items there is an excess of one *dāng*.

The weight (in air) of the under-mentioned metals, the volume of 100 mizpils of gold being taken as the unit of volume.

The weight (in air) of the under-mentioned precious stones, the volume of 100 mizpils of the blue yāqūt being taken as the unit of volume.

	Mizpil.	Dir.	Tassil.		Mizpil.	Dir.	Tassil.
Gold,	100	0	0	Yāqūt (light blue),	91	3	3
Quicksilver,	71	1	1	Yāqūt (red),	91	3	3
Lead,	59	2	2	Ruby,	50	2	3
Silver,	54	3	3	Zamrud,	69	3	3
Brass,	46	2	3	Pearls,	67	5	2
Copper,	45	3	5	Lapis lazuli,	65	3	2
Brass,	45	3	5	(1) Cornelian,	64	4	2
Iron,	40	0	0	Amber,	64	3	1
Tin,	38	2	2	Bulār,	63	3	3

Art. 15.

THE IMPERIAL HAREM.

His Majesty is a great friend of good order and propriety in business. Through order, the world becomes a meadow of truth and reality; and that which is but external, receives through it a spiritual meaning. For this reason, the large number of women—a vexatious question even for great statesmen—furnished his Majesty with an opportunity to display his wisdom, and to rise from the low level of worldly dependence to the eminence of perfect freedom. The imperial palace and household are therefore in the best order.

His Majesty forms matrimonial alliances with princes of Hindustan, and of other countries; and secures by these ties of harmony the peace of the world.

As the sovereign, by the light of his wisdom, has raised fit persons from the dust of obscurity, and appointed them to various offices, so does he also elevate faithful persons to the several ranks in the service of the seraglio. Short-sighted men think of impure gold, which will gradually turn into pure gold;¹ but the far-sighted know that his Majesty understands how to use elixirs² and chemical processes. Any kind of growth

will alter the constitution of a body; copper and iron will turn to gold, and tin and lead to silver; hence it is no matter of astonishment if an excellent being changes the worthless into men. "The raying of the wise is true that the eye of the exalted is the elixir for producing goodness." Such also are the results flowing from the love of order of his Majesty, from his wisdom, insight, regard to rank, his respect for others, his activity, his patience. Even when he is angry, he does not deviate from the right path; he looks at everything with kindly feelings, weighs rumours well, and is free from all prejudice; he considers it a great blessing to have the good wishes of the people, and does not allow the intoxicating pleasures of this world to overpower his calm judgment.

His Majesty has made a large enclosure with fine buildings inside, where he resides. Though there are more than five thousand women, he has given to each a separate apartment. He has also divided them into sections, and keeps them attentive to their duties. Several chaste women have been appointed as *dāroglās*, and superintendents over each section, and one has been selected for the duties of writer. Thus, as in the imperial offices, everything is here also in proper order. The salaries are sufficiently liberal. Not counting the presents, which his Majesty most generously bestows, the women of the highest rank receive from 1610 to 1028 Rs. *per mensem*. Some of the servants have from 51 to 20, others from 40 to 2 Rs. Attached to the private audience hall of the palace is a clever and zealous writer, who superintends the expenditure of the Harem, and keeps an account of the cash and the stores. If a woman wants anything, within the limit of her salary, she applies to one of the *Tahsildārs* (cash-keepers) of the seraglio. The *Tahsildār* then sends a memorandum to the writer, who checks it, when the General Treasurer makes the payment in cash, as for claims of this nature no cheques are given.

The writer also makes out an estimate of the annual expenditure, writes out summarily a receipt, which is countersigned by the ministers of the state. It is then stamped with a peculiar imperial seal, which is only used in grants connected with the Harem, when the receipt becomes payable. The money itself is paid by the cash-keeper of the General Treasury to the General *Tahsildār*, who on the order of the writer of the Harem, hands it over to the several Sub-*Tahsildārs* for distribution among the servants of the seraglio. All moneys are reckoned in their salaries at the current rate.³

The inside of the Harem is guarded by sober and active women; the

¹ So according to the opinion of the philosophers of the Middle Ages.

² Elixirs change quickly that which is worthless into pure gold.

³ At 40 *dāms per rupee*.

most trustworthily of them are placed about the apartments of his Majesty. Outside the enclosure the *sunids* are placed; and at a proper distance, there is a guard of faithful *Bajpatis*, by and by, on at the posterns of the palace. Outside, on all four sides, there are guards of *Nobles*, *Mahsis*, and other troops, according to their rank.

Whenever *Bajpatis*, or the wives of nobles, or other women of elevated character, demand representation, they first signify their wish to the servants of the *sunids*, and wait for a reply. Then, therefore, they send their request to the officers of the palace, after which those who are eligible are permitted to enter the Harem. Some women of rank obtain permission to remain there for a whole month.

Notwithstanding the great number of faithful guards, his Majesty does not dispense with his own vigilance, but keeps the whole in proper order.

A'in 16.

THE ENCAMPMENT ON JOURNEYS.¹

It would be difficult to describe a large encampment; but I shall say something on the equipage used for hunting parties and short journeys.

1. The *Gulshad* is a grand enclosure, the invention of his Majesty, the doors of which are made very strong, and secured with locks and keys. It is never less than one hundred yards square. At its eastern end a pavilion of two entrances is erected, containing 54 divisions, 24 yards long and 111 broad; and in the middle there stands a large *châlin râoff*, and round about it a *sarâ-parda*.² Adjoining to the *châlin*, they built up a two-storied pavilion, in which his Majesty performs divine worship, and from the top of which, in the morning, he receives the compliments of the nobility. No one connected with the *seraglio* enters this building without special leave. Outside of it, twenty-four *châlin râoffs* are erected, 10 yards long and 6 yards wide, each separated by a canvas, where the favourite women reside. There are also other pavilions and tents for the servants, with *âyabans*³ of gold embroidery, brocade, and velvet. Adjoining to this is a *sarâ-parda* of carpet, 60 yards square, within which a few tents are erected, the place for the *Urdû-begs*,⁴ and other female

servants. Farther on up to the private audience hall, there is a fine open space, 150 yards long and 100 yards broad, called the *Mahsh*; and on both sides of it, a screen is set up as before described, which is supported by poles 6 yards long, fixed in the ground at distances of two yards. The poles are one yard in the ground, and are ornamented with brass knobs on the top, and kept firm by two ropes, one passing inside and the other outside of the enclosure. The guards watch here, as has been described.

In the midst of the plains a raised platform,⁵ which is protected by an awning, or *Namgha*, supported by four poles. This is the place where his Majesty sits in the evening, and none but those who are particularly favoured are here admitted. Adjoining to the *Gulshad*, there is a circular enclosure, consisting of twelve divisions, each of thirty yards, the door of the enclosure opening into the *Mahsh*, and in the midst of it is a *Châlin râoff*, ten yards long, and a tent containing forty divisions, over which twelve awnings are spread, each of twelve yards, and separated by canvases. This place, in every division of which a convenient closet is constructed, is called *Rehâli*, which is the (*Chagla*)⁶'s name used by his Majesty. Adjoining to this a *Sarâ-parda* is being put up, 150 yards in length and breadth, containing sixteen divisions, of thirty-six square yards, the *Sarâ-parda* being, as before, sustained by poles with knobs. In the midst of it, the *stat-hall* is erected, by means of a thousand carpets, it contains seventy-two rooms, and has an opening fifteen yards wide. A tent-like covering, or *Qilâ'î*, made of wax-cloth, or any other lighter material, is spread over it, which affords protection against the rain and the sun; and round about it, are fifty awnings, of twelve yards each. The pavilion, which serves as *Dîwân-i Mahsur* or private audience hall, has proper doors and locks. Here the nobles and the officers of the army, after having obtained leave through the *Bajpatis*,⁴ pass before the Emperor, the list of officers eligible for admission being changed on the first of every month. The place is decorated, both inside and outside with carpets of various colours, and resembles a beautiful flower-bed. Outside of it, to a distance of 350 yards, ropes are drawn, fastened to poles, which are set up at a distance of three yards from each other. Watchmen are stationed about them. This is the *Dîwân-i Aram*, or public audience hall, round which, as above described,

¹ As may be still seen in the ruins of Fatihpâr Sâhib.

² Paymasters. The Commanding Officers were at the same time paymasters, as they collected the rents of the lands assigned to them for the payment of their contingents.

³ Described in the twenty-first A'in.

⁴ Awnings.

⁵ Armed women.

There is also a shining white stone, called *Chandrkrānt*, which, upon being exposed to the beams of the moon, drips water.

Every afternoon, one *gharī*¹ before sunset, his Majesty, if riding, alights, or, if sleeping, he is awakened. He then lays aside the splendour of royalty, and brings his external appearance in harmony with his heart. And when the sun sets, the attendants light twelve white candles, on twelve candlesticks of gold and silver, and bring them before his Majesty, when a singer of sweet melodies, with a candle in his hand, sings a variety of delightful airs to the praise of God, beginning and concluding with a prayer for the continuance of this auspicious reign. His Majesty attaches the utmost importance to praise and prayer, and earnestly asks God for renewed light.

It is impossible to describe the beauty and various forms of the candlesticks and shades, and to give an account of the offices of the workmen. Some of the candlesticks weigh ten *mans* and upwards, and are adorned with various designs; some single, others of two branches and more: they give light to the internal eye. His Majesty has invented a candlestick, one yard high. Five others are placed on the top of it, and each is adorned with the figure of an animal. White wax candles, three yards and upwards in length, are cast for it, so that a ladder is required to snuff it. Besides there are everywhere flambeaux,² both inside and outside, which increase the light very much. The first, second, and third nights of every lunar month, when there is moonlight but for a short time, eight wicks are used; ³ from the fourth to the tenth, they decrease one in number every night, so that on the tenth night, when the moon is very bright, one is sufficient; and they continue in this state till the fifteenth, and increase one wick every day from the sixteenth to the nineteenth. For the twentieth night the number is the same as on the nineteenth; on the twenty-first and twenty-second they increase one daily; the twenty-third is the same as the twenty-second; and from the twenty-fourth to the last, eight wicks are lighted up. They allow for every wick one ser of oil, and half a ser of cotton. In some places there are fat-burners, where grease is burnt instead of oil. The allowance varies according to the size of the wick.

In order to render the royal camp conspicuous to those who come from far, his Majesty has caused to be erected, in front of the Durbār, a pole upwards of forty yards high, which is supported by sixteen ropes;

¹ One *gharī* = 24 minutes.

² Oil-burners with several wicks are very common in India.

³ For each flambeau.

and on the top of the pole is a large lantern, which they call *Ākās-diya*.¹ Its light, seen from great distances, guides the soldiers to the imperial camp, and helps them to find their tents. In former times, before the lamp was erected, the men had to suffer hardships from not being able to find the road.

In this department *Manṣabdārs*, *Aḥadis*, and other troops are employed. The allowance of a foot soldier never exceeds 2400, and is never less than 80 *dāms*.

Ā'in 19.

THE ENSIGNS OF ROYALTY.

The *Shamsa*² of the arch of royalty is a divine light, which God directly transfers to kings, without the assistance of men; and kings are fond of external splendour, because they consider it an image of the Divine glory. I shall mention some of the insignia used at present.

1. The *Aurang*, or throne, is made of several forms; some are inlaid with precious stones, and others are made of gold, silver, etc. 2. The *Chatr*, or umbrella, is adorned with the most precious jewels, of which there are never less than seven. 3. The *Sāya-bān* is of an oval form, a yard in length, and its handle, like that of the umbrella, is covered with brocade and ornamented with precious stones. One of the attendants holds it, to keep off the rays of the sun. It is also called *Āstāgīr*. 4. The *Kawkaba*,³ of which several are hung up before the assembly hall.

These four insignia are used by kings only.

5. The *Ālam*, or standard. When the king rides out, not less than five of these are carried along with the *Qūr*,⁴ wrapped up in scarlet cloth bags. On days of festivity, and in battle, they are unfurled. 6. The *Chatrtog*, a kind of *Ālam*, but smaller than it, is adorned with the tails of Tibetan yaks. 7. The *Tumantog* is like the *Chatrtog*, but longer. Both insignia are flags of the highest dignity, and the latter is bestowed upon great nobles only. 8. The *Jhandā* is an Indian flag. The *Qūr* necessarily contains a flag of each kind; but on great occasions many are displayed.

Of musical instruments used in the *Naḡārakhāna*, I may mention, 1. the *Kuwarga*, commonly called *damāms*; there are eighteen pair of

¹ From *Ākās* sky, and *diya* lamp. The *Ākādiya* is also mentioned by *Bernier*.

² *Shamsa* is a picture of the sun affixed to the gates or walls of the palaces of kings. At night these pictures are illuminated.

³ Vide the plates.

⁴ The *Qūr* is a collection of flags, arms, and other insignia, which follow the king wherever he goes.

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1. The "Hill Country" area is a part of the "Hill Country" area.

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various *mis̄ars*¹ which he made, were much admired by people of experience. The patronage of his Majesty perfected his art.

2. *Tamk̄in of Kābul*. He was educated in his native country, and brought his art to such a perfection as to excite the jealousy of the preceding engraver, whom he surpassed in the *nastaʿliq*.

3. *Mīr Dost of Kābul*. He cuts both the *riqāʿ* and *nastaʿliq* characters in cornelian. He does not come up to the preceding artists. His *riqāʿ* is better than his *nastaʿliq*. He also understands assaying

4. *Mawlānā Ibrāhīm*. In the art of cutting cornelians he is the pupil of his brother Sharaf of Yazd. He surpasses the ancient engravers; and it is impossible to distinguish his *riqāʿ* and *nastaʿliq* from the masterpieces of the best calligraphers. He engraved the words *laʾl jalālī*, or the glorious ruby, upon all imperial rubies of value.

5. *Mawlānā ʿAlī Aḥmad*² of Dihli who, according to all calligraphers, stands unsurpassed as a steel-engraver, so much so that his engravings are used as copies. His *nastaʿliq* is charming; but he writes also other characters as well. He learned the trade from his father Shayḫ Ḥusayn, studied the manner of Mawlānā Maqṣūd, and eventually surpassed all.

Āʿin 21.

THE FARRĀSH KHĀNA.

His Majesty considers this department as an excellent dwelling-place, a shelter from heat and cold, a protector against the rain, as the ornament of royalty. He looks upon its efficiency as one of the insignia of a ruler, and therefore considers the care bestowed upon it as a part of Divine worship. The department has been much improved, both in the quality and the quantity of the stores, and also by the introduction of new fashions. I shall mention a few particulars as specimens for future enquirers.

1. The *Bārgāh*, when large, is able to contain more than ten thousand

¹ Copyists take a piece a pasteboard of the same size as the paper on which they write. Then they draw two parallel vertical lines, each about an inch from the two vertical sides of the pasteboard. Along these lines they make small holes at equal intervals, and draw a string from the first hole at the left hand to the first hole of the right of the pasteboard. Similarly, the two second holes are joined, and so on, care being taken that the horizontal strings are parallel. This contrivance is called *mis̄tar*, from *satar*, a line. The copyist then puts the blank sheets on the top of the *mis̄tar*, and presses on them with the hands, when the strings will leave marks on the paper sufficiently clear to prevent the writer from writing crookedly.

² *Nizām of Hirāt*, in his *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, mentions him among the contemporaneous Persian poets, and gives a few of his verses.

people. It takes a thousand *farrāshes*, a week to erect with the help of machines. There are generally two door poles, fastened with hinges. If plain (i.e. without brocade, velvet, or gold ornaments) a *bārgāh* costs 10,000 rupees and upwards, whilst the price of one full of ornaments is unlimited. The price of others may be estimated from the price of a plain one. 2. The *Chūbīn rāwaqī* is raised on ten pillars. They go a little into the ground, and are of equal height, with the exception of two, which are a little higher, as the crossbeam rests upon them. The pillars have, above and below, a *dāsa*,¹ to keep them firm, and several rafters pass over the *dāsas* and the crossbeam, the whole being kept tightly together by clamps and bolts and nuts. The walls and the roof consist of mats. There is one door or two; and at the height of the lower *dāsas* there is a raised platform. The inside is ornamented with brocade and velvet, and the outside with scarlet-sackcloth, tied to the walls with silk tape. 3. The *Do-āshiyāna manzil*, or house of two storeys, is raised upon eighteen pillars, six yards in height, which support a wooden platform; and into this, pillars of four cubits in length are fixed with bolt and nuts, forming an upper storey. The inside and outside are ornamented, as in the preceding. On the march it is used by his Majesty as a sleeping apartment, and also as a place of divine worship, where he prays to the Sun; and hence the building resembles a man who strives after God without forgetting his worldly duties whose one eye is directed to the solitude of pure devotion, and the other eye to the motley *surā* of the world. After the devotions are over, the women are allowed to enter to pay their compliments, and after them, outsiders. On journeys his Majesty inspects in this building the rations (of the elephants, camels, etc.), which is called *gharāka*, or window. 4. The *Zamīndoz* is a tent made of various forms, sometimes with one, sometimes with two door poles: screens are also hung up within it, so as to form divisions. 5. The *ʿAjāʿibī* consists of nine awnings on four pillars. Five of the awnings are square, and four tapering; sometimes they make it so as to contain one division only, and four tapering; sometimes they make it so as to contain one division only, supported by a single pole. 6. The *Mandal* is composed of five awnings joined together, and is supported by four poles. Four of the awnings are let down so as to form a private room; sometimes all four are drawn up, or one side only is left open. 7. The *Ath-khamba* consists of seventeen awnings, sometimes

¹ A triangular piece of wood fixed into the angle formed by the vertical beam and the cross-beam, a support.

and in the average,¹ 5 d. 15½ j. If it is brought by bearers, twenty-eight men are required for the fourteen stages. They bring every day one load, containing four parcels. In the beginning of the year, the ice costs 5 d. 19½ j.; in the middle 16 d. 2½ j.; and in the end 19 d. 15½ j. per ser; in the average,¹ 8½ d.

All ranks use ice in summer; the nobles use it throughout the whole year.

Art. 23.

THE IMPERIAL KITCHEN.

His Majesty even extends his attention to this department, and has given many wise regulations for it; nor can a reason be given why he should not do so, as the equilibrium of man's nature, the strength of the body, the capability of receiving external and internal blessings, and the acquisition of worldly and religious advantages, depend ultimately on proper care being shown for appropriate food. This knowledge distinguishes man from beasts, with whom, as far as mere eating is concerned, he stands upon the same level. If his Majesty did not possess so lofty a mind, so comprehensive an understanding, so universal a kindness, he would have chosen the path of solitude, and given up sleep and food altogether; and even now, when he has taken upon himself the temporal and spiritual leadership of the people, the question, "What dinner has been prepared to-day?" never passes over his tongue. In the course of twenty-four hours his Majesty eats but once, and leaves off before he is fully satisfied; neither is there any fixed time for this meal, but the servants have always things so far ready, that in the space of an hour, after the order has been given, a hundred dishes are served up. The food allowed to the women of the seraglio commences to be taken from the kitchen in the morning, and goes on till night.

Trustworthy and experienced people are appointed to this department; and all good servants attached to the court, are resolved to perform well whatever service they have undertaken. Their head is assisted by the Prime Minister himself. His Majesty has entrusted to the latter the affairs of the state, but especially this important department. Notwithstanding all this, his Majesty is not unmindful of the conduct of the servants. He appoints a zealous and sincere man as *Mīr Bakāwal*, or

Master of the Kitchen, upon whose insight the success of the department depends, and gives him several upright persons as assistants. There are also treasurers for the cash and the stores, several tasters, and a clever writer. Cooks from all countries prepare a great variety of dishes of all kinds of grains, greens, meats; also oily, sweet, and spicy dishes. Every day such dishes are prepared as the nobles can scarcely command at their feasts, from which you may infer how exquisite the dishes are which are prepared for his Majesty.

In the beginning of the year the Sub-treasurers make out an annual estimate, and receive the amount; the money bags and the door of the store-house being sealed with the seals of the *Mīr Bakāwal* and the writer; and every month a correct statement of the daily expenditure is drawn up, the receipt for which is sealed by the same two officers, when it is entered under the head of the expenditure. At the beginning of every quarter, the *Diwān-i buyūtāl*² and the *Mīr Bakāwal*, collect whatever they think will be necessary; e.g. *Sukhdās* rice from *Bharāij*,³ *Bewzira* rice from *Gwālār*, *Jinjin* rice from *Rājōri* and *Nimlah*, *ghī* from *Hīṣār Firūza*; ducks, water-fowls, and certain vegetables from *Kashmīr*. Patterns are always kept. The sheep, goats, berberies, fowls, ducks, etc., are fattened by the cooks; fowls are never kept less than a month. The slaughter-house is without the city or the camp, in the neighbourhood of rivers and tanks, where the meat is washed, when it is sent to the kitchen in sacks sealed by the cooks. There it is again washed, and thrown into the pots. The water-carriers pour the water out of their leather bags into earthen vessels, the mouths of which are covered with pieces of cloth, and sealed up; and the water is left to settle before it is used. A place is also told off as a kitchen garden, that there may be a continual supply of fresh greens. The *Mīr Bakāwal* and the writer determine the price of every eatable, which becomes a fixed rule; and they sign the day-book, the estimates, the receipts for transfers, the list of wages of the servants, etc., and watch every transaction. Bad characters, idle talkers, unknown persons are never employed; no one is entertained without a personal security, nor is personal acquaintance sufficient.

The victuals are served up in dishes of gold and silver, stone and earthenware; some of the dishes being in charge of each of the Sub-

¹ The text has *ṣarāsārī*, which may mean the average; but the price given by *Abū'l-Faṣl* is not an average. The charges for ice at the time of Akbar may be compared to the prices of the present age. Here, in Calcutta, one ser of American ice costs two annas, or ½ rupee, i.e., ½ = 5 *dāms* of Akbar.

² Superintendent of the stores, workshops, etc.

³ *Bahrāich*.—B.]

Bakhsals. During the time of cooking, and when the victuals are taken out, an awning is spread, and lookers-on kept away. The cooks tuck up their sleeves, and the hems of their garments, and hold their hands before their mouths and noses when the food is taken out; the cook and the *Bakhsal* taste it, after which it is tasted by the *Mir Bakhsal*, and then put into the dishes. The gold and silver dishes are tied up in red cloths, and those of copper and china in white ones. The *Mir Bakhsal* attaches his seal, and writes on it the names of the contents, whilst the clerk of the pantry writes out on a sheet of paper a list of all vessels and dishes, which he sends inside, with the seal of the *Mir Bakhsal*, that none of the dishes may be changed. The dishes are carried by the *Bakhsals*, the cooks, and the other servants, and macebearers precede and follow, to prevent people from approaching them. The servants of the pantry send at the same time, in bags containing the seal of the *Bakhsal*, various kinds of bread, saucers of curds piled up, and small stands containing plates of pickles, fresh ginger, limes, and various greens. The servants of the palace again taste the food, spread the table cloth on the ground, and arrange the dishes; and when after some time his Majesty commences to dine, the table servants sit opposite him in attendance; first, the share of the derwishes is put apart, when his Majesty commences with milk or curds. After he has dined, he prostrates himself in prayer. The *Mir Bakhsal* is always in attendance. The dishes are taken away according to the above list. Some victuals are also kept half ready, should they be called for.

The copper utensils are tinned twice a month; those of the princes, etc., once; whatever is broken is given to the braziers, who make new ones.

Art. 24.

RECIPES FOR DISHES.

There are many dishes, but the description is difficult. I shall give some particulars. Cooked victuals may be arranged under three heads, *first*, such in which no meat is used, called now-a-days *sūfiyāna*; *secondly*, such in which meat and rice, etc., are used; *thirdly*, meats with spices. I shall give ten recipes of each kind.

First, 1. *Zard birinj*: 10 s. of rice; 5 s. of sugarcandy; 3½ s. of ghī; raisins, almonds, and pistachio, ½ s. of each; ¼ s. of salt; ¼ s. of fresh ginger; 1½ dāms saffron, 2½ misgāls of cinnamon. This will make four ordinary dishes. Some make this dish with fewer spices, and even witho-

any; and instead of without meat and sweets, they prepare it also with meat and salt. 2. *Khushka*: 10 s. rice; ¼ s. salt; but it is made in different ways. This will likewise give four dishes. One maund of *Deuzāra* paddy yields 25 s. of rice, of which 17 sers make a full pot; *jinjin* rice yields 22 sers. 3. *Klichyī*: Rice, *mūng dāl*, and ghī 5 s. of each; ¼ s. salt; this gives seven dishes. 4. *Shīrbirinj*: 10 s. milk; 1 s. rice; 1 s. sugarcandy; 1 d. salt; this gives five full dishes. 5. *Thūli*: 10 s. of wheat, ground, of which one-third will be lost; half of that quantity of ghī; 10 misgāls of pepper; 4 m. cinnamon; 3½ m. cloves and cardamums; ¼ s. salt; some add milk and sweetmeats: this gives four dishes. 6. *Chikhī*: 10 s. of wheat-flour, made into a paste, and washed till it is reduced to 2 s. of fine paste. This is mixed with spices, and dressed with various kinds of meat. 1 s. ghī; 1 s. onions; saffron, cardamums, and cloves, ½ d. of each; cinnamon, round pepper, and coriander seed, 1 d. of each; fresh ginger, salt 3 d. of each: this gives two dishes; some add lime juice. 7. *Bādīn-jān*: 10 s.; 1½ s. ghī; 3½ s. onions; ¼ s. ginger and lime juice; pepper and coriander seed, 5 m. of each; cloves, cardamums, and asafoetida, each ½ m. This gives six dishes. 8. *Pakūt*: For ten sers of dāl of vetches (or gram, or skinned lentils, etc.) take 2½ s. ghī; ¼ s. of salt and fresh ginger; 2 m. cuminseed; 1½ m. asafoetida: this yields fifteen dishes. It is mostly eaten with *Khushka*. 9. *Sāg*: It is made of spinach, and other greens, and is one of the most pleasant dishes. 10 s. spinach, fennel, etc., 1½ s. ghī; 1 s. onions; ½ s. fresh ginger; 5½ m. of pepper; ½ m. of cardamums and cloves; this gives six dishes. 10. *Halwā*: Flour, sugarcandy, ghī, 10 s. of each, which will give fifteen dishes; it is eaten in various ways.

There are also various kinds of sugared fruits, and drinks, which I cannot here describe.

Secondly, 1. *Qabūli*: 10 s. rice; 7 s. meat; 3½ s. ghī; 1 s. gram skinned; 2 s. onions; ½ s. salt; ¼ s. fresh ginger; cinnamon, round pepper, cuminseed, of each 1 d.; cardamums and cloves, ½ d. of each; some add almonds and raisins: this gives five dishes. 2. *Duzdbiryān*. 10 s. rice, 3½ s. ghī; 10 s. meat; ½ s. salt: this gives five dishes. 3. *Qīma Palāo*: Rice and meat as in the preceding; 4 s. ghī; 1 s. peeled gram; 2 s. onions; ½ s. salt; ¼ s. fresh ginger, and pepper; cuminseed, cardamums and cloves, 1 d. of each; this gives five dishes. 4. *Shulla*: 10 s. meat, 3½ s. rice; 2 s. ghī; 1 s. gram; 2 s. onions; ½ s. salt; ¼ s. fresh

ginger; 2 d. garlic, and round pepper, cinnamon, cardamums, cloves, 1 d. of each: this gives six dishes. 5. *Buḥrā*: 10 s. meat; 3 s. flour; 1½ s. gñi, 1 s. gram; 1½ s. vinegar; 1 s. sugarcandy; onions, carrots, beets, turnips, spinach, fennel, ginger, ¼ s. of each; saffron, cloves, cardamums, cuminsced, 1 d. of each; 2 d. cinnamon; 8 m. round pepper: this gives twelve dishes. 6. *Qīma Skūrbā*: 10 s. meat; 1 s. rice; 1 s. gñi; ½ s. gram, and the rest as in the *Shulla*: this gives ten full dishes. 7. *Harīsa*: 10 s. meat; 5 s. crushed wheat; 2 s. gñi; ½ s. salt; 2 d. cinnamon: this gives five dishes. 8. *Kashk*: 10 s. meat; 5 s. crushed wheat; 3 s. gñi; 1 s. gram; ¼ s. salt; 1½ s. onions; ½ s. ginger; 1 d. cinnamon; saffron, cloves, cardamums, cuminsced, 2 m. of each: this gives five dishes. 9. *Halim*: The meat, wheat, gram, spices, and saffron, as in the preceding; 1 s. gñi; turnips, carrots, spinach, fennel, ¼ s. of each: this gives ten dishes. 10. *Qutāb*, which the people of Hind call *sanbūsa*: This is made in several ways. 10 s. meat; 4 s. fine flour; 2 s. gñi; 1 s. onions; ¼ s. fresh ginger; ½ s. salt; 2 d. pepper and coriander seed; cardamums, cuminsced, cloves, 1 d. of each; ¼ s. of *sumnāg*. This can be cooked in twenty different ways, and gives four full dishes.

Thirdly, 1. *Biryān*. For a whole *Dashmandī* sheep, take 2 s. salt; 1 s. gñi; 2 m. saffron, cloves, pepper, cuminsced: it is made in various ways. 2. *Yakhnī*: for 10 s. meat, take 1 s. onions, and ½ s. salt. 3. *Yulma*: A sheep is scalded in water till all the wool comes off; it is then prepared like *yakhnī*, or any other way; but a lamb, or a kid, is more preferable. 4. *Kabāb* is of various kinds. 10 s. meat; ½ s. gñi; salt, fresh ginger, onions, ¼ s. of each; cuminsced, coriander seed, pepper, cardamums, cloves, 1½ d. of each. 5. *Musamman*: They take all the bones out of a fowl through the neck, the fowl remaining whole; ½ s. minced meat; ½ s. gñi; 5 eggs; ¼ s. onions; 10 m. coriander; 10 m. fresh ginger; 5 m. salt; 3 m. round pepper; ½ m. saffron. It is prepared as the preceding. 6. *Dupiyāza*: 10 s. meat that is middling fat; 2 s. gñi; 2 s. onions; ¼ s. salt; ½ s. fresh pepper; cuminsced, coriander seed, cardamums, cloves, 1 d. of each; 2 d. pepper: this will give five dishes. 7. *Mutanjana*² sheep: 10 s. meat that is middling fat; 2 s. gñi; ½ s. gram; ¼ s. ginger; 1 d. cuminsced; round pepper, cloves, cardamums, coriander seed, 2 d. of each; this will give seven dishes-full. It is also made of fowl and fish. 8. *Dampukht*: 10 s. meat; 2 s. gñi; 1 s. onions; 11 m. fresh ginger; 10 m. pepper; 2 d. cloves; 2 d. cardamums. 9. *Qaliyy*:

10 s. meat; 2 s. gñi; 1 s. onions; 2 d. pepper; cloves, cardamums, 1 d. each; ½ s. salt: this will give eight dishes. In preparing *qaliya*, the meat is minced and the gravy rather thick, in opposition to the *mutanjana*. Here in Hind they prepare it in various ways. 10. *Malqūba*: 10 s. meat; 10 s. curds; 1 s. gñi; 1 s. onions; ¼ s. ginger; 5 d. cloves: this will give ten dishes.

A'in 25.

OF BREAD.

This belongs, properly speaking, to the preceding chapter. Bread is made in the pantry. There is a *large* kind, baked in an oven, made of 10 s. flour; 5 s. milk; 1½ s. gñi; ¼ s. salt. They make also smaller ones. The *thin* kind is baked on an iron plate. One ser will give fifteen, or even more. There are various ways of making it; one kind is called *chapāṭi*, which is sometimes made of *khushka*; it tastes very well when served hot. For the bread used at court, one man of wheat is made to yield ½ m. of fine flour; 2 s. coarsely pounded flour; and the rest bran; if this degree of fineness be not required, the proportions are altered.

A'in 26.

THE DAYS OF ABSTINENCE. (*Sūfiyāna*).²

His Majesty cares very little for meat, and often expresses himself to that effect. It is indeed from ignorance and cruelty that, although various kinds of food are obtainable, men are bent upon injuring living creatures, and lending a ready hand in killing and eating them; none seems to have an eye for the beauty inherent in the prevention of cruelty, but makes himself a tomb for animals. If his Majesty had not the burden of the world on his shoulders, he would at once totally abstain from meat; and now it is his intention to quit it by degrees, conforming, however, a little to the spirit of the age. His Majesty abstained from meat for some time on Fridays, and then on Sundays; now on the first day of every solar month, on Sundays, on solar and lunar eclipses, on days between two fasts, on the Mondays of the month of Rajab³ on the feast-day of every

[² Does this mean fried?]

² Living according to the manners of the Sūfis.

³ Akbar was born on the fifth of Rajab A.H. 949, a Sunday. This corresponds to the 15th October, 1542. The Mondays of the month of Rajab were observed as fasts, because the Sundays had been included in the list of fast days. The members of the Divine Faith fasted likewise during the month of their birth.

reler month, during the whole month of *Farvardin*, and during the month in which his Majesty was born, viz. the month of *Abin*. Again, when the number of fast days of the month of *Abin* had become equal to the number of years his Majesty had lived, some days of the month of *Āzar* also were kept as fasts. At present the fast extends over the whole month. The 6 fast days, however, from pious motives, are annually increased by at least five days. Should fasts fall together, they keep the longer one, and transfer the smaller by distributing its days over other months. Whenever long fasts are ended, the first dishes of meat come dressed from the apartments of Maryam Mahāni, next from the other begums, the prince, and the principal nobility.

In this department nobles, *ghazis*, and other military, are employed. The pay of a foot soldier varies from 100 to 400 *dāms*.

Art. 27.

STATISTICS OF THE PRICES OF CERTAIN ARTICLES.

The prices of course vary, as on marches, or during the rains, and for other reasons; but I shall give here the average prices for the information of future enquirers.

A. The spring harvest.

Wheat, per man . . . 12 d.	Safflower seed (carthamus), do. 8 d.
Kābul gram, do. . . . 16 d.	Fenugreek, do. . . . 10 d.
Black gram, do. . . . 8 d.	Pear, do. 6 d.
Lentils, do. 12 d.	Mustard seed, do. . . 12 d.
Barley, do. 8 d.	Keirū, do. 7 d.
Millet, do. 6 d.	
Linseed, per man . . . 10 d.	

B. The autumnal harvest.

Mushlīn, paddy per man 110 d.	Jinjin rice, do. . . . 80 d.
Sāza paddy, do. . . . 100 d.	Dakah (?) rice, do. . . 50 d.
Sukhdās rice, do. . . . 100 d.	Zirhī rice, do. . . . 40 d.
Dūnaparād rice, do. . . 90 d.	Sāthī rice, do. . . . 20 d.
Sāmzira rice, do. . . . 90 d.	Mūng (black gram) do. . 18 d.
Shakarchini rice, do. . . 90 d.	Māsh (a kind of vetch) per man 16 d.
Dewzira rice, do. . . . 90 d.	

Mofh (a kind of vetch), per man 12 d.	Lahdara, do. 8 d.
White sesame, do. . . . 20 d.	Kodram, do. 7 d.
Black sesame, do. . . . 19 d.	Kūri, do. 7 d.
Lobiya (a kind of bean), do. 12 d.	Shamākh (Hind. Sāwanā), do. 6 d.
Jucārī (a kind of millet), do. 10 d.	Gal (Hind. Kangni), do. . 8 d.
	Millet (Hind. china), do. . 8 d.
Mūng dāl, per man . . . 18 d.	Dāl of Lentils, per man . 16 d.
Nukhūd dāl, do. . . . 16½ d.	Mofh dāl, do. 12 d.

Wheat flour, per man . . 22 d.	Nukhūd flour, per man . 22 d.
Do. coarse, do. . . . 15 d.	Barley flour, do. . . . 11 d.

C. Vegetables.

Fennel, per man 10 d.	Garlic flowers, per ser . . 1 d.
Spinach, do. 16 d.	Uppāhāk, (from Kashmir) do. 1 d.
Mint, do. 40 d.	Jitū, do. 3 d.
Onions, do. 6 d.	Ginger (green), do. . . . 2½ d.
Garlic, do. 40 d.	Poī, do. 1 d.
Turnips, do. 21 d.	Kachnār buds, do. . . . ½ d.
Cabbage, per ser 1 d.	Chūlā (sorrel), do. . . . ½ d.
Kankachhā, from Kashmir, do 4 d.	Bathua, do. ½ d.
Dunurda, 2 d.	Ratsalā, do. 1 d.
Shaqāqul (wild carrot), do. 3 d.	Chaulāī, do. ½ d.

D. Living animals and meats.

Dāshmandsheep, per head 6½ R.	Mutton, per man . . . 65 d.
Afghān sheep, 1st kind, do. 2 R.	Goat, do. 54 d.
Do., 2nd kind, do. . . . 1½ R.	Geese, per head . . . 20 d.
Do., 3rd kind, do. . . . 1¼ R.	Duck, per head 1 R.
Kashmir sheep, do. . . . 1½ R.	Tughdārī (bustard), do. . 20 d.
Hindustānī sheep, do. . . 1½ R.	Kulāng (crane), do. . . . 20 d.
Barbari goat, 1st kind, do. 1 R.	Jarz (a kind of bustard), do. 18 d.
Do., 2nd kind, do. . . . ¾ R.	

<i>Durrāj</i> (black partridge), per head 3 d.	<i>Lāwah</i> , do. 1 d.
<i>Kabg</i> (partridge), do. 20 d.	<i>Karwānak</i> (stone curlew), do. 20 d.
<i>Būdana</i> , do. 1 d.	<i>Fākhla</i> (ringdove), do. 4 d.

E. Butter, Sugar, etc.

Ghi, per man 105 d.	Refined Sugar, per ser 6 d.
Oil, do. 80 d.	White sugar candy, do. 5½ d.
Milk, do. 25 d.	White sugar, per man 128 d.
Curds, do. 18 d.	Brown sugar, do. 56 d.

F. Spices.

Saffron, per ser 400 d.	Turmeric (Hind. <i>haldī</i>) do. 10 d.
Cloves, do. 60 d.	Coriander seed, do. 3 d.
Cardamums, do. 52 d.	<i>Siyāhūdāna</i> (Hind. <i>kalaunji</i>), do. 1½ d.
Round pepper, do. 17 d.	Assafoetida, do. 2 d.
Long pepper, do. 16 d.	Sweet fennel, do. 1 d.
Dry ginger, do. 4 d.	Cinnamon, do. 40 d.
Fresh do., do. 2½ d.	Salt, per man 16 d.
Cuminseed, do. 2 d.	
Aniseed, per ser 2 d.	

G. Pickles.

Sour limes, per ser 6 d.	Pickled bamboo, per ser 4 d.
Lemon-juice, do. 5 d.	Do. apples, do. 8 d.
Wine vinegar 5 d.	Do. quinces, do. 9 d.
Sugarcane vinegar, do. 1 d.	Do. garlic, do. 1 d.
Pickled <i>ashtaraghār</i> , do. 8 d.	Do. onions, do. ½ d.
Mangoes in oil, do. 2 d.	Do. <i>bādīnjān</i> (egg-plant), do. 1 d.
Do. in vinegar, do. 2 d.	Do. raisins and <i>munagga</i> , do. 8 d.
Lemons in oil, do. 2 d.	Do. <i>kachnār</i> , do. 2 d.
Do. in vinegar, do. 2 d.	Do. peaches, do. 1 d.
Do. in salt, do. 1½ d.	Do. <i>sahajna</i> (horse- radish) 1 d.
Do. in lemon-juice, do. 3 d.	Do. <i>karīl buds</i> (capparis), do. ½ d.
Pickled ginger 2½ d.	
<i>Adarshākh</i> , do. 2½ d.	
Turnips in vinegar, do. 1 d.	
Pickled carrots, do. ½ d.	

Pickled <i>karīl berries</i> , per ser ½ d.	Do. cucumbers, do. ½ d.
Do. <i>sūran</i> , do. 1 d.	Do. <i>bādrang</i> , (gourd) do. ½ d.
Do. mustard ¼ d.	Do. <i>kachālū</i> , do. ½ d.
Do. <i>torī</i> (a kind of cu- cumber) ½ d.	Do. radishes, do. ½ d.

A^cin 28.

THE FRUITERY.

His Majesty looks upon fruits as one of the greatest gifts of the Creator, and pays much attention to them. The horticulturists of Īrān and Tūrān have, therefore, settled here, and the cultivation of trees is in a flourishing state. Melons and grapes have become very plentiful and excellent; and water-melons, peaches, almonds, pistachios, pomegranates, etc., are everywhere to be found. Ever since the conquest of Kābul, Qandahār, and Kashmir, loads of fruit are imported; throughout the whole year the stores of the dealers are full, and the bāzārs well supplied. Muskmelons come in season, in Hindūstān, in the month of *Farwardīn* (February-March), and are plenty in *Urdūbihish* (March-April). They are delicious, tender, opening, sweet smelling, especially the kinds called *nāshpātī*, *bābāshaykhī*, *salisherī*, *alcha*, *barg-i nay*, *dūd-i chirāgh*, etc. They continue in season for two months longer. In the beginning of *Shari'ar* (August), they come from Kashmir, and before they are out of season plenty are brought from Kābul; during the month of *Āzar* (November), they are imported by the caravans from Badakhshān, and continue to be had during *Day* (December). When they are in season in Zābulistān, good ones also are obtainable in the Panjāb; and in Bhakkar and its vicinity they are plentiful in season, except during the forty cold days of winter. Various kinds of grapes are here to be had from *Khurdād* (May) to *Amurdād* (July), whilst the markets are stocked with Kashmir grapes during *Shari'ar*. Eight sers of grapes sell in Kashmir for one *dām*, and the cost of the transport is two rupees per *man*. The Kashmiris bring them on their backs in conical baskets, which look very curious.

From *Mīr* (September) till *Urdūbilist*² grapes come from Kābul, together with cherries,³ which his Majesty calls *shātālū*, seedless pomegranates, apples, pears, quinces, guavas, peaches, apricots, *girdālūs*, and *chīnās*, etc., many of which fruits grow also in Hindūstān. From Samarqand even they bring melons, pears, and apples.

Whenever his Majesty wishes to take wine, opium, or *kūknār* (he calls the latter *sābrs*), the servants in charge place before him stands of fruits; he eats a little, but most is distributed. The fruits are marked according to their degree of excellence: melons of the first quality are marked with a line drawn round the top; those of the second, with two lines; and so on.

In this department *Mangalārs*, *Afāzīs*, and other soldiers are employed; the pay of a foot soldier varies from 140 to 100 d.

The following tables contain particulars regarding the names, seasons, taste, and prices of various fruits.

A. Tūrānī Fruits.

<i>Ahrāg</i> melons, 1st quality, at 2½ R.	Plums, do. 8 d.
Do., 2nd and 3rd do., at 1 to 2½ R.	<i>Khūshnī</i> (dried apricots), per ser 8 d.
Kābul melons, 1st do., at 1 to 1½ R.	Qandahar dry grapes, do. 7 d.
Do., 2nd do., at ¾ to 1 R.	Figs, per ser 7 d.
Do., 3rd do., at ½ to ¾ R.	<i>Munagga</i> , do. 6½ d.
Samarqand apples, 7 to 15 for 1 R.	Jujubes, do. 3½ d.
Quinces, 10 to 30 for 1 R.	Almonds, without the shell, do. 28 d.
Pomegranates, per man, 6½ to 15 R.	Do., with do., do. 11 d.
Guavas, 10 to 100 for 1 R.	Pistachios, do., do. 9 d.
Kābul and European apples, 5 to 10 for 1 R.	<i>Chilghūza</i> nuts, per ser 8 d.
Kashmir grapes, per man 108 d.	<i>Sinjā</i> (jujubes), do. 6½ d.
Dates, per ser 10 d.	Pistachios, without shell, do. 6 d.
Raisins (<i>kishmish</i>), do. 9 d.	<i>Jaurz</i> (nuts), do. 4½ d.
<i>Ābjosh</i> (large raisins), do. 9 d.	Filberts, do. 3 d.
	Hazel nuts, do. 2½ d.

B. The sweet fruits of Hindustan.

Mangoes, per hundred, up to 40 d.	<i>Tendū</i> , do. 2 d.
Pine-apples, one for 4 d.	<i>Ūsirā</i> *
Oranges, ¹ two for 1 d.	Dates, per ser 4 d.
Sugarcanes, two for 1 d.	<i>Angūhl</i> *
Jackfruits, two for 1 d.	<i>Delā</i> , do. 1 d.
Plantains, do. 1 d.	<i>Gūla</i> *
<i>Ber</i> , per ser 2 d.	<i>Bholsarī</i> , per ser 4 d.
Pomegranates, per man, 80 to 100 d.	<i>Tarkul</i> , two for 1 d.
Guavas, two for 1 d.	<i>Paniyāla</i> , per ser 2 d.
Figs, per ser 1 d.	<i>Lahsaura</i> , do. 1 d.
Mulberry, do. 2 d.	<i>Gumbhīs</i> , do. 4 d.
Custard-apples, one for 1 d.	<i>Karahī</i> 4 d.
Melons, per man 40 d.	<i>Tarrī</i> *
Water-melons, one 2 to 10 d.	<i>Banga</i> , two for 1 d.
<i>Khirmī</i> , per ser 4 d.	<i>Gūlar</i> , per ser 2 d.
<i>Mahurā</i> , do. 1 d.	<i>Pilā</i> , do. 2 d.
<i>Dephal</i> , do. 4 d.	<i>Baraula</i> *
	<i>Piyār</i> , do. 4 d.

* The original does not mention the price.

Mulberries and *gūlars* are in season during *spring*; pine-apples, oranges, sugarcane, *bers*, *ūsirās*, *bholsarīs*, *gumbhīs*, *dēphals* during *winter*; jackfruits, *tarkuls*, figs, melons, *lahsauras*, *Larahris*, *mahurās*, *tendūs*, *pilūs*, *baraulas*, during *summer*; and mangoes, plantains, dates, *delās*, *gūlas*, pomegranates, guavas, water-melons, *paniyālas*, *bangas*, *khirmīs*, *piyārs*, during the rains.

C. Dried Fruits.

Coco-nuts, one for 4 d.	<i>Makhānā</i> , per ser 4 d.
Dry Dates, per ser 6 d.	<i>Sāpyārī</i> , do. 8 d.
Walnuts, do. 8 d.	<i>Kaulgatta</i> , do. 2 d.
<i>Chiraunchī</i> , do. 4 d.	

Dates, walnuts, *chiraunchīs*, and *laulgattas* are in seasons during *summer*, and coco-nuts, *makhānās*, and *sāpyārīs*, during *winter*.

¹ The original has a word *līlās*, which is not to be found in our dictionaries. It may be *cerasus* sweet cherry.—P.]

² A town in Bada Khrān.

[¹ *Kāra* ?]

D. Vegetables.

<i>Palra</i> , per ser 2 d.	<i>Kachālū</i> , per ser 2 d.
Gourd, one 2½ d.	<i>Chachīndā</i> , do. 2 d.
<i>Bādinjān</i> , per ser 1½ d.	<i>Sūran</i> , do. 1 d.
<i>Tura</i> , do. 1½ d.	Carrots, do. 1 d.
<i>Kandūrī</i> , do. 1½ d.	<i>Singhāra</i> , do. 3 d.
<i>Sēb</i> , do. 1½ d.	<i>Sālak</i> , do. 2 d.
<i>Peth</i> , do. 1½ d.	<i>Pindālū</i> , do. 2 d.
<i>Karīla</i> , do. 1½ d.	<i>Siyālī</i> *
<i>Kakūra</i> , do. 1½ d.	<i>Kaserū</i> , do. 3 d.

Sūrans and *siyālīs* are in season during summer; *palra*s, gourds, *tura*s, *kachālūs*, *chachīndās*, *kandūrīs*, *sēbs*, *peths*, *karīlas*, *kakūras*, and *singhāras* during the rains; and carrots, *sālaks*, *pindālūs*, and *kaserūs*, during winter. *Bādinjāns* are to be had throughout the year.

E. Sour Fruits.

Limes, four up to 1 d.	<i>Ghep</i> *
<i>Amalbet</i> , do. 1 d.	<i>Bijaurā</i> , one for 8 d.
<i>Galgal</i> , two up to 1 d.	<i>Āwla</i> , per ser 2 d.

Limes and *āwlas* are to be had in summer, the others during the rains.

F. Fruits somewhat acid.

<i>Ambhīlī</i> , per ser 2 d.	<i>Kait</i> , four up to 1 d.
<i>Badhal</i> , one for 1 d.	<i>Kānkū</i> *
<i>Kamrak</i> , four up to 1 d.	<i>Pākar</i> , per ser ½ d.
<i>Nārangī</i> , ⁴ two up to 1 d.	<i>Karnā</i> , one for 1 d.
Mountain grapes *	<i>Labhīrā</i> *
<i>Jāman</i> , per ser 1 d.	<i>Janbhīrī</i> , five up to 1 d.
<i>Phālsa</i> , do. 1½ d.	<i>Garnal</i> *
<i>Karaundā</i> , do. 1 d.	

* The original does not mention the price.

Kamraks and *nārangīs*, are in season during winter; *ambhīlīs*, *badhals*, mountain-grapes, *phālsas*, *labhīrās*, during summer; and *kait*s, *pākar*s, *karnās*, *jāmans*, *karaundās*, *ghanbhīrīs*, during the rains.

The fruits of Hindustan are either sweet, or subacid, or sour; each kind is numerous. Some fruits also taste well when dry; others as above described are used when cooked. I shall give now a few details.

The Mangoe: The Persians call this fruit *Naghzak*, as appears from a verse of *Khusraw*.¹ This fruit is unrivalled in colour, smell, and taste; and some of the gourmets of *Tūrān* and *Īrān* place it above muskmelons and grapes. In shape it resembles an apricot, or a quince, or a pear, or a melon, and weighs even one ser and upwards. There are green, yellow, red, variegated, sweet, and subacid mangoes. The tree looks well, especially when young; it is larger than a walnut-tree, and its leaves resemble those of the willow, but are larger. The new leaves appear soon after the fall of the old ones in autumn, and look green and yellow, orange, peach-coloured, and bright red. The flower, which opens in spring, resembles that of the vine, has a good smell, and looks very curious. About a month after the leaves have made their appearance, the fruit is sour, and is used for preserves and pickles. It improves the taste of *galyas* (p. 61), as long as the stone has not become hard. If a fruit gets injured whilst on the tree, its good smell will increase. Such mangoes are called *koyūās*. The fruit is generally taken down when unripe, and kept in a particular manner. Mangoes ripened in this manner are much finer. They mostly commence to ripen during summer, and are fit to be eaten during the rains; others commence in the rainy season, and are ripe in the beginning of winter; the latter are called *Bhadiyya*. Some trees bloom and yield fruit the whole year; but this is rare. Others commence to ripen, although they look unripe; they must be quickly taken down, else the sweetness would produce worms. Mangoes are to be found everywhere in India, especially in Bengal, Gujrāt, Mālwa, Khandesh, and the Dekhan. They are rarer in the Panjāb, where their cultivation has, however, increased, since his Majesty made *Lāhor* his capital. A young tree will bear fruit after four years. They put milk and treacle round about the tree, which makes the fruits sweeter. Some trees yield in one year a rich harvest, and less in the next one; others yield for one year no fruit at all. When many mangoes are eaten, digestion is assisted by drinking milk with the kernels of the mango stones. The kernels of old stones are subacid, and taste well; when two or three years old they are used as medicine. If a half-ripe mango, together with its stalk to a length of about two fingers, be taken from the tree, and the broken end of its stalk be closed with warm wax, and kept in butter, or honey, the fruit will retain its taste for two or three months, whilst the colour will remain even for a year.

¹ Vide the fourth note on p. 75 of my Persian text edition.

*Pine-apples*¹ are also called *kāṭhal-i safārī*, or travelling jackfruits, because young plants, put into a vessel, may be taken on travels and will yield fruits. In colour and shape they resemble an oblong orange; and in taste and smell, a mangoe. The plant is about a yard long, and its leaves have the shape of a hand. The edges of the leaves are like a saw. The fruit forms at the end of the stalk and has a few leaves on its top. When the fruit is plucked, they cut out these leaves, separate them, and put them singly into the ground; they are the seedlings. Each plant bears only once, and one fruit only.

Oranges have the colour of saffron, and the shape of quinces. They belong to the best fruits to be had in Hindūstān. The tree resembles the lime tree; its flower has a weak, but fine smell.

Sugarcane, which the Persians call *Nayshakar*, is of various kinds; one species is so tender and so full of juice, that a sparrow can make it flow out by pecking it; and it would break to pieces, if let fall. Sugarcane is either soft, or hard. The latter is used for the preparation of brown sugarcandy, common sugar, white candy, and refined sugar, and thus becomes useful for all kinds of sweetmeats. It is cultivated as follows. They put some healthy sugarcane in a cool place, and sprinkle it daily with water. When the sun enters the sign of Aquarius, they cut off pieces, a cubit and upwards in length, put them into soft ground, and cover them up with earth. The harder the sugarcane is, the deeper they put it. Constant irrigation is required. After seven or eight months it will come up.

Sugarcane is also used for the preparation of intoxicating liquor, but brown sugar is better for this purpose. There are various ways of preparing it. One way is as follows. They pound *Babul* bark mixing it at the rate of *ten seers to one man* of sugarcane, and put three times as much water over it. Then they take large jars, fill them with the mixture, and put them into the ground, surrounding them with dry horse-dung. From seven to ten days are required to produce fermentation. It is a sign of perfection, when it has a sweet, but a stringent taste. When the liquor is to be strong, they again put to the mixture some brown sugar, and sometimes even drugs and perfumes, as ambergris, camphor, etc. They also let meat dissolve in it. This beverage, when strained, may be used, but it is mostly employed for the preparation of arrack.

They have several methods of distilling it; *first*, they put the above liquor into brass vessels, in the interior of which a cup is put, so as not to shake, nor must the liquid flow into it. The vessels are then covered with inverted lids which are fastened with clay. After pouring cold water on the lids, they kindle the fire, changing the water as often as it gets warm. As soon as the vapour inside reaches the cold lid, it condenses, and falls as arrack into the cup. *Secondly*, they close the same vessel with an earthen pot, fastened in the same manner with clay, and fix to it two pipes, the free ends of which have each a jar attached to them, which stands in cold water. The vapour through the pipes will enter the jars and condense. *Thirdly*, they fill an earthen vessel with the above-mentioned liquor, and fasten to it a large spoon with a hollow handle. The end of the handle they attach to a pipe, which leads into a jar. The vessel is covered with a lid, which is kept full with cold water. The arrack, when condensed, flows through the spoon into the jar. Some distil the arrack twice, when it is called *Duñtasha*, or twice burned. It is very strong. If you wet your hands with it, and hold them near the fire, the spirit will burn in flames of different colours without injuring the hands. It is remarkable that when a vessel containing arrack is set on fire you cannot put it out by any means; but if you cover the vessel, the fire gets extinguished at once.

The *Jackfruit* has the shape of a black-pudding, looks greenish, and is sometimes a yard long, and half a yard broad. When small, it resembles a water-melon; its peel is full of thorns. It grows out of the branches, the trunk, and the roots. Those that grow below the ground are sweetest. On opening you see round clusters, so viscous, that the fingers stick together, when you take them out. The tree looks like a nut tree, but is somewhat bigger and has larger leaves. The flower, like the fruit, has a good smell. The fruits are also taken down when unripe. They then apply lime, etc., when the fruits will get ripe.

The *Plantain* tree looks straight like a spear; the leaves come out of the trunk thick and soft, and resemble an unsewn plaited sleeve, but are much larger and wider. Out of the middle rises something looking like a spindle, of a lilac colour; this is the bud. The fruit consists of a cluster of seventy to eighty plantains. In shape they resemble small cucumbers; the peel is easily removed. As plantains are very heavy, you cannot eat many. There are various kinds of plantains. The plant is every year

¹ Jahangir in his *Memoirs* (*Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, ed. Sayyid Ahmad, p. 3) states that the pine-apples at his time came from the harbour towns held by the Portuguese.

cut down, and a stump only is left of it : if this is not done, it will no longer bear fruit. The vulgar believe that the plantain tree yields camphor, but this is wrong ; for the camphor tree, as shall be hereafter explained, is a different tree, although it has the same name. They also say that pearls originate in plantain trees—another statement upon which the light of truth does not shine.

The *Mahuwā* tree resembles the mangoe tree ; its wood is used for building purposes. The fruit, which is also called *Gilaunda*, yields an intoxicating liquor.

The *Bholsīrī* tree is large and handsome,¹ the fruit has an orange colour, and resembles the jujube.

The *Tarkul* tree, and its fruit, resemble the coco-nut palm and its fruit. When the stalk of a new leaf comes out of a branch, they cut off its end and hang a vessel to it to receive the out-flowing juice. The vessel will fill twice or three times a day. The juice is called *tārī* ; when fresh it is sweet ; when it is allowed to stand for some time it turns subacid and is inebriating.

The *Paniyāla* fruit resembles the *Zardālū* and its tree the lime tree ; the leaves are like those of the willow. When unripe the fruit is green, and red when ripe.

The *Gumbhī* has a stem the branches of which are like creepers ; its leaves and fruits, as those of the *kunār*, come from below the roots.

The *Tarrī* forms at the root ; it grows mostly in the mountains, and weighs a *man*, more or less, when the creeper is a year old ; and two, when two years old. It looks like a millstone. When older it grows larger according to the same proportion. Its leaves resemble those of the water melon.

The *Piyār* is like a small grape ; brownish and sweet. The inside of the kernel is like butter, and is used in the preparation of food ; it is called *Chiraunjī*. Its tree is about a yard high.

The *Coco-nut* is called by the Persians *Jawz-i Hindī* : the tree resembles the date tree, but is larger ; its wood, however, looks better, and the leaves are larger. The tree bears fruit throughout the whole year ; the fruits ripen in three months. They are also taken down, when unripe and green, and kept for some time. Their inside contains a cup full of milk-like juice, which tastes well, and is very often drunk in summer, mixed with sugar. When ripe, the fruit looks brown. The juice has now become solid, and

gets black when mixed with butter ; it is sweet and greasy. When eaten with *pān*-leaves, it makes the tongue soft and fresh. The shell is used for spoons, cups, and *ghichaks* (a kind of violin). There are nuts having four, three, two, and one, holes or eyes ; each kind is said to possess certain qualities, the last being considered the best. Another kind is used for the preparation of an antidote against poison. The nuts weigh sometimes twelve *sers* and upwards. The bark of the tree is used for ropes ; the large ropes used on ships are made of it.

Dates are called in Hindi *Pinḍ-khajūr*. The tree has a short stem, rising little above the ground, and produces from four to five hundred fruits.

The *Sūpyārī*, or betel nut, is called in Persian *fīṣal*. The tree is graceful and slender, like the cypress. The wind often bends it, so that its crown touches the ground ; but it rises up again. There are various kinds. The fruit when eaten raw tastes somewhat like an almond, but gets hard when ripe. It is eaten with betel leaves.

The *Singhāra* is a triangular fruit ; its creeper grows in tanks, and the fruit is on the surface of the water. It is eaten raw or roasted.

The *Sālak* grows in tanks under the earth. They go into the water and dig it up.

The *Pinḍālū* is reared on lattice work, and grows about two yards high. Its leaf resembles the betel leaf ; they dig up the root.

The *Kaserū* grows in tanks. When the water gets low, they take it out of the ground and eat it, raw or boiled.

The *Siyālī* root is long and conical ; the plant is a creeper, to whose root the fruit is attached.

The *Orange*¹ has the shape of an egg. One kind is called *kāghaṣī*. Between the peel and the fruit is a thin white membrane. The fruit is juicy, and tastes well ; one kind is to be had throughout the whole year.

The *Amalbet* is like a lime, and very sour. If you put a steel needle into this fruit, the needle in a short time will dissolve ; and a white shell when put into its juice will soon disappear.

The *Karnā* resembles an apple, and appears after the plant has reached the third year. At first the fruit is green, sour, and also somewhat bitter, but turns afterwards yellow and bitter ; when ripe it is red and sweet. When it is kept long, it turns green again. The tree looks like an orange tree, but the leaves are somewhat broader, and the buds like fine arppws.

¹ The text has here a few words the meaning of which I do not understand.

The flower is white, and has four petals and yellow stamens. It has a fine smell, and is used for ambergris; but it is beyond my power to describe the process of the manufacture.

The Betel leaf is, properly speaking, a vegetable, but connoisseurs call it an excellent fruit. Mir Khuraw of Dilli, in one of his verses, says, "It is an excellent fruit like the flower of a garden, the finest fruit in Hindustān." The eating of the leaf renders the breath agreeable, and repasts odorous. It strengthens the gums, and makes the hungry satisfied, and the satisfied hungry. I shall describe some of the various kinds. 1. The leaf called *Bilāhri* is white and shining, and does not make the tongue harsh and hard. It tastes best of all kinds. After it has been taken away from the creeper it turns white, with some care, after a month, or even after twenty days when greater efforts are made. 2. The *Kāker* leaf is white with spots, and full, and has hard veins. When much of it is eaten, the tongue gets hard. 3. The *Jaisiār* leaf does not get white, and is profitably sold mixed with other kinds. 4. The *Kapūri* leaf is yellowish, hard, and full of veins, but has a good taste and smell. 5. The *Kapūrkānt* leaf is yellowish-green, and pungent like pepper; it smells like camphor. You could not eat more than ten leaves. It is to be had at Banāras; but even there it does not thrive in every soil. 6. The *Bangla* leaf is broad, full, hard, plushy, hot, and pungent.

The cultivation is as follows. In the month of *Chait* (March-April), about New-Year's time, they take a part of a creeper four or five fingers long with *Karhanj* leaves on it, and put it below the ground. From fifteen to twenty days after, according as leaves and knots form, a new creeper will appear from a knot, and as soon as another knot forms, a leaf will grow up. The creepers and new leaves form for seven months, when the plant ceases to grow. No creeper has more than thirty leaves. As the plant grows, they prop it with canes, and cover it, on the top and the sides, with wood and straw, so as to rear it up in the shade. The plant requires continually to be watered, except during the rains. Sometimes they put milk, sesame oil and its dregs, etc., about the plant. There are seven kinds of leaves, known under nine names: 1. The *Karhanj* leaf, which they separate for seedlings and call *Peri*. The new leaf is called *Gadāuta*. 2. The *Nauā* leaf. 3. The *Bahūā* leaf. 4. The *Chhūā* leaf. 5. The *Adhinidā* leaf. 6. The *Agahniya* or *Lewār* leaf. 7. The *Karhanj* leaf itself. With the exception of the *Gadāuta*, the leaves are taken away from the creeper when a month old. The last kind of leaf is eaten by some;

others keep it for seeding: they consider it very excellent, but connoisseurs prefer the *Peri*.

A bundle of 11,000 leaves was formerly called *Lahāsa*, which name is now given to a bundle of 14,000. Bundles of 200 are called *Pholā*; a *lahāsa* is made up of *dholis*. In winter they turn and arrange the leaves after four or five days; in summer every day. From 5 to 25 leaves, and sometimes more, are placed above each other, and displayed in various ways. They also put some betel nut and *kath*¹ on one leaf, and some lime² paste on another, and roll them up; this is called a *bīrā*. Some put camphor and musk into it, and tie both leaves with a silk thread. Others put single leaves on plates, and use them thus. They are also prepared as a dish.

Ā'in 29.

ON FLAVOURS.

As I have mentioned various kinds of food, I shall also say something on flavour. *Heat* renders pungent that which is agreeable, bitter that which is greasy, and brackish that which has the proper flavour; *cold* makes the first acid, the second astringent, and the third tart. Astringency when affecting the tongue merely, is called in Arabic *qabḥ*; and *ṣufūṣat* when affecting the whole frame. A moderate temperature renders the first quality greasy, the second sweet, and the last tasteless. These are the fundamental flavours. Others count four, viz., the sweet, the bitter, the acid, the brackish. The flavours produced by combinations are endless; some have, however, names, e.g. *baḥāṣat* is a bitter and tart flavour, and *zuṣūga* a combination of the brackish and the bitter.

Ā'in 30.

ON PERFUMES.

His Majesty is very fond of perfumes, and encourages this department from religious motives. The court-hall is continually scented with ambergris, aloewood, and compositions according to ancient recipes, or mixtures invented by his Majesty; and incense is daily burnt in gold and silver censers of various shapes; whilst sweet-smelling flowers are used

¹ An astringent vegetable extract eaten by the natives of India with the *pān* leaf. It looks brown, and stains the tongue and the gums red.

² In Persian *chāna*; but in Anglo-Indic, *chunām*.

in large quantities. Oils are also extracted from flowers, and used for the skin and the hair. I shall give a few recipes.

1. *Santāl* is used for keeping the skin fresh: $1\frac{1}{2}$ *tolā*s Civet; 1 *t. Chūra*¹; 2 *m. 7* *Chambeli* essence; 2 bottles of rose-water. 2. *Argja* $\frac{1}{2}$ *s.* sandalwood; 2 *t. Ilār* and *Mīd*; 3 *t. Chūra*, 1 *t.* violet root, and *gella* (the seed of a plant); $\frac{1}{2}$ *m.* camphor; 11 bottles of rose-water. It is used in summer for keeping the skin cool. 3. *Gullāma*: Pound together 1 *t.* best Ambergris; $\frac{1}{2}$ *t. Lādan*; 2 *t.* best musk; 4 *t.* wood of aloe, and 8 *t. Iksīr-i-Sabūr*; and put it into a porcelain vessel, mix with it a *scr.* of the juice of the flower called *Gul-i-surkh*, and expose it to the sun, till it dries up. Wet it in the evening with rose-water and with the extract of the flower called *Bahār*, and pound it again on *Samāj* stone. Let it stand for ten days, mix it with the juice of the flower called *Bahār-i-Nāranj*,² and let it dry. During the next twenty days, add occasionally some juice of the black *Raylān* (also called black *Nāshū*). A part of this mixture is added to the preceding. 4. *Rūh-afzā*, 5 *s.* Aloewood, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *s.* Sandalwood; $1\frac{1}{2}$ *s. Lādan*; *Iksīr*, *Lūbān*, *Dhūp* (a root brought from Kashmir), $3\frac{1}{2}$ *t.* of each; 20 *t.* violet root; 10 *t. Ushna*, called in Hind. *Chārila*: Press till it gets tenacious like syrup. To be made into discs with four bottles of rose-water. It is burnt in censers, and smells very fine. 5. *Opāna* is a scented soap: 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *s. Lādan*; $1\frac{1}{2}$ *s. 5 d.* Aloewood; the same quantity of *Bahār-i-Nāranj*, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ *s.* of its bark; 1 *s. 10 d.* Sandalwood; 1 *s. 5 d. Sumbul*³ 't-tib, called in Hind *Chhar*; the same quantity of *Ushna*; 38 $\frac{1}{2}$ *t.* musk; 1 *s. 4 t. pāchā* leaves; 36 *t.* apples; 11 *t. Suḍ*, called in Hind *Moth*; 5 *d.* violet root; 1 *t. 2 m. Dhūp*; $1\frac{1}{2}$ *t. Ilankī* (a kind of grass); the same quantity of *Zurumbid*, called in Hind. *kechūr* (zurumbet); 1 *t. 2 m. Lūbān*; 106 bottles of rose-water; 5 bottles of extract of *Bahār*. Pound the whole, sift it, and boil slowly in rose-water. When it has become less moist let it dry. 6. *Abirmāya*, 4 *d.* Aloewood; 2 *d.* Sandalwood; 1 *d.* violet root; 3 *d. Sumbul*³ 't-tib; 3 *d. Duvālak*; 4 *t.* musk of *Khatā* (Cathay); $2\frac{1}{2}$ *d. Lādan*; $7\frac{1}{2}$ *d. Bahār-i-Nāranj*. Pound and sift, boil over a slow fire in 10 bottles of rose-water, and put it into the shade to dry. 7. *Kishka*, 21 *t.* Aloewood; 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ *Lādan*, *Lūbān*, and Sandalwood; *Iksīr* and *Dhūp*, 2 *t.* of each; violet root and musk, 2 *t.*;

1 *t. Ushna*, mix with 50 *t.* refined sugar, and boil gently in two bottles of rose-water. It is made into discs. It smells very fine when burnt, and is exhilarating. 8. *Bukhār*: 1 *s.* Aloewood and Sandalwood; $\frac{1}{4}$ *s. Lādan*; 2 *t.* musk; 5 *t. Ilār*; mix with two *scr.* of refined sugar and one bottle of rose-water over a slow fire. 9. *Fafila*: 5 *s.* Aloewood; 72 *t.* Sandalwood; *Iksīr* and *Lādan*, 20 *t.* of each; 5 *t.* Violet root; 10 *t. Lūbān*; 3 *t.* refined sugar, mix with two bottles of rose-water, and make into tapers. 10. *Bārjāt*; 1 *s.* Aloewood; 5 *t. Lādan*; 2 *t.* musk; 2 *t.* Sandalwood; 1 *t. Lūbān*; $\frac{1}{2}$ *t.* Camphor. Then distill it like *Chūra* (vide below). 11. *Abīr-Iksīr*: $\frac{3}{4}$ *s.* Sandalwood; 26 *t. Iksīr*; 2 *t. 8 m.* musk. Pound it, and dry it in the shade. 12. *Ghasul* (a liquid soap), 35 *t.* Sandalwood; 17 *t. Katul* (1)¹; 1 *t.* musk; 1 *t. Chūra*; 2 *m.* Camphor; 2 *m. Mīd*. Mix with 2 bottles of rose-water.

A List of Perfumes² and their Prices.

<i>Ambar-i ashkhab</i>	1 to 3 Muhurs, per <i>tolā</i> .
<i>Zabād</i> (civet)	$\frac{1}{2}$ <i>R.</i> to 1 <i>M.</i> , do.
Musk	1 to 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>R.</i> , do.
Lignum aloes Hind. <i>Agar</i>	2 <i>R.</i> to 1 <i>M.</i> , per <i>scr.</i>
<i>Chūra</i> (Distilled wood of Aloes)	$\frac{1}{2}$ <i>R.</i> to 1 <i>R.</i> , per <i>tolā</i> .
<i>Gaura</i> ³	3 to 5 <i>R.</i> , do.
<i>Bhimsini</i> Camphor	3 <i>R.</i> to 2 <i>M.</i> , do.
<i>Mīd</i>	1 to 3 <i>R.</i> , do.
<i>Zaḥarān</i>	12 to 22 <i>R.</i> , per <i>scr.</i>
<i>Zaḥarān-i Kamandī</i>	1 to 3 <i>M.</i> , do.
<i>Zaḥarān</i> (from Kashmir)	8 to 12 <i>R.</i> , do.
Sandalwood	32 to 55 <i>R.</i> , per man.
<i>Nāfa-yi mushk</i>	3 to 12 <i>M.</i> , per <i>scr.</i>
<i>Kalanbak</i> (Calembic)	10 to 40 <i>R.</i> , per man.
<i>Silāras</i>	3 to 5 <i>R.</i> , per <i>scr.</i>
<i>Ambar-i Lādan</i>	$1\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 <i>R.</i> , do.
<i>Kāfur-i Chīna</i>	1 to 2 <i>R.</i> , do.
<i>Araq-i Fitna</i>	1 to 3 <i>R.</i> , per bottle.
<i>Araq-i Bīd-i Mushk</i>	1 to 4 <i>R.</i> , do.
Rosewater	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 <i>R.</i> , do.
<i>Araq-i Bahār</i>	1 to 5 <i>R.</i> , do.
<i>Araq-i Chambeli</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ <i>R.</i> , do.
Violet-root	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 <i>R.</i> , per <i>scr.</i>

¹ This and the following names of perfumes are explained further on in this chapter.

¹ According to some MSS. *Kanzal*.

² Most of the following names are explained below.

³ In the text, p. 85, by mistake *Kaurā*. Vide my text edition, p. 94, L. 6.

<i>Azfār</i> "t-tīb	1½ to 2 R., per ser.
<i>Barg-i Māj</i> (brought from Gujrāt)	½ to 1 R., do.
<i>Sugandh Gūgalā</i>	10 to 13 R., do.
<i>Lūbān</i> (from Sargard ?)	½ to 3 R., per tolā.
<i>Lūbān</i> (other kinds)	1 to 2 R., per ser.
<i>Alak</i> , Hind. <i>Chhar</i>	¼ to ½ R., do.
<i>Duwālak</i> , Hind. <i>Chharīla</i>	3 to 4 d., do.
<i>Gehla</i>	*
<i>Suḍ</i>	*
<i>Ikankī</i>	*
<i>Zurumbād</i>	*

* The original does not mention the prices.

A List of fine smelling Flowers.

1. The *Sevī*. Whitish; blooms the whole year, especially towards the end of the rains.
2. The *Bholsarī*. Whitish; in the rains.
3. The *Chambelī*. White, yellow, and blue. In the rains, and partly during winter.
4. *Rāy-bel*. White and pale yellow. In the end of the hot season, and the beginning of the rains.
5. The *Mongrā*. Yellow. In summer.
6. The *Champa*. Yellow. All the year; especially when the sun stands in Pisces and Aries.
7. *Ketki*. The upper leaves are green, the inner ones yellowish-white. It blooms during the hot summer.
8. *Kūza*. White. During the hot season.
9. The *Pādal*. Brownish lilac. In spring.
10. The *Jūhī*. White and yellow, like jasmin. During the rains.
11. The *Niwārī*. Whitish. In spring.
12. The *Nargis*. White. In spring.
13. The *Kewara*. From Leo to Libra.
14. The *Chalta*.
15. The *Gulāl*. In spring.
16. The *Taşbīḥ Gulāl*. White. In winter.
17. The *Singārkhār*. It has small white petals. In the hot season.
18. The *Violet*. Violet. In the hot season.
19. The *Karna*. White. In spring.
20. The *Kapūr bel*.
21. The *Gul-i Zaʿfarān*. Lilac-colour. In autumn.

A List of Flowers notable for their beauty.

1. The *Gul-i Āfrāb*. Yellow.
2. The *Gul-i Kāwal*. White and also bluish. In the rains.
3. The *Jaʿfarī*. A golden yellow, or orange coloured, or greenish In spring.
4. The *Gudhal*. Of different colours, red, yellow, orange, white. In the rains.
5. The *Ratan-manjanī*. Bright red. It is smaller than jasmin. All the year.
6. The *Kesū*. In the hot season.
7. The *Senbal*. Dark red. In spring.
8. The *Ratan-mālā*. Yellow. In spring.
9. The *Sonzard*. Yellow. In spring.
10. The *Gul-i Mālū*.
11. The *Karnphūl*. A golden red.
12. The *Karīl*. In spring.
13. The *Kaner*. Red and white.
14. The *Kadam*. Outside green; in the middle yellow threads; the inside leaves white. In spring.
15. The *Nāg-kesar*. In spring.
16. The *Surpan*. White, with red and yellow stripes in the middle During the rains.
17. The *Sirī khandī*. Inside yellowish white, outside reddish. In spring.
18. The *Jait*. Inside yellow, outside a blackish red. In the rains.
19. The *Champala*. White, like orange blossoms. In spring.
20. The *Lāhī*. It blooms in Pisces.
21. The *Gul-i Karaunda*. White. It is smaller than the *Chambelī*, and blooms during the rains.
22. The *Dhanantar* resembles the *Nilūfar*. During the rains.
23. The *Gul-i Hinnā*.
24. The *Dupahriyā*. Bright red and white. All the year.
25. The *Bhūn Champā*. Peach coloured.
26. The *Sudarsan*. Yellow; it resembles the *Nilūfar*, but is smaller.
27. The *Kanglāḥ*. There are two kinds, red and white.
28. The *Sirs*. Yellowish green. It is full of stamens. In spring.
29. The *San*. Yellow. During the rains.

On the Preparation of some Perfumes.

1. *Āmbar*. Some say that *Āmbar* grows at the bottom of the sea, and that it is the food brought up again after eating, by various animals living in the sea. Others say that fishes eat it and die from it, and that it is taken from their intestines. According to some, it is the dung of the sea-cow, called *sānā*; or the foam of the sea. Others again say, it trickles from the mountains of islands. Many look upon it as marine gum; others whose opinion I adopt, take it to be wax. It is said that on some mountains a great deal of honey is to be found, so much in fact that it runs into the sea; the wax rises to the surface, when the heat of the sun reduces it to a solid state. As the bees collect the honey from sweet smelling flowers, *Āmbar* is, naturally, scented. Bees are also occasionally found in it. *Abū Sīnā* thinks that there is a fountain at the bottom of the sea, from which *Āmbar* rises, when it is carried by waves to the shore. *Āmbar*, when fresh, is moist; the heat of the sun causes it to dry up. It is of various colours: the white is the best, and the black is the worst; the middling sort is pistachio-coloured and yellow. The best kind goes by the name of *ashhab*. It feels greasy, and consists of layers. If you break it, it looks yellowish white. The whiter, lighter, and more flexible it is the better. Next in quality is the pistachio-coloured *Āmbar*; and the inferior to it the yellow kind, called *Khashhlāshī*. The black kind is bad; it is inflammable. Greedy *bāzār*-dealers will mix it with wax, *Mandal*, and *Lādan*, etc.; but not every one has recourse to such practices. *Mandal* is a kind of *Āmbar* taken from the intestines of dead fishes; it does not smell much.

2. *Lādan* is also often called *Āmbar*. It is taken from a tree which grows in the confines of *Qībrus* (Cyprus) and *Qīsūs* (Chios) or *Qistūs*. It is a moisture that settles on the leaves of the tree. When goats in grazing pass near it, the hairs of their thighs and the horn of their hoofs stick to it, and the whole then dries up. Such *Lādan* as is mixed with goat's-hair is counted superior. It looks greenish, and has a good smell. But *Lādan* which is mixed with horn is looked upon as inferior. Sometimes people tie ropes round about the trees, and collect the *Lādan* which sticks to them. Afterwards they boil it in water, clean it, and make it into discs.

3. The *Camphor tree* is a large tree growing in the ghauts of Hindustan and in China. A hundred horsemen and upwards may rest in the shade of a single tree. Camphor is collected from the trunk and the branches. Some say that during summer a large number of snakes wind themselves round about the tree for the sake of its coolness; people then mark such trees by shooting an arrow into the trunks, and collect the camphor during

the winter. Others say that camphor trees are much frequented by leopards, which like camphor so much that they seldom leave them. The camphor within the tree looks like small bits of salt; that on the outside like resin. It often flows from the tree on the ground, and gets, after some time, solid. If there are earthquakes during the year or any other unusual disturbance, camphor is found in large quantities.

Of the various kinds of camphor the best is called *Ribāhī*, or *Qaysūrī*.² Although different in name, they are the same; for it is said that the first camphor was found by a king of the name of *Ribāhī* near *Qaysūr*, which is a place near the island of Ceylon. According to some books, it is white like snow; and this is true, for I have broken it myself from the tree. *Ibn Baytār*, however, said that it was originally red and shining, and only got white by artificial crystallization. Whatever the case may be, there is certainly a kind of camphor which is white in its natural state. And of all kinds it is the best, the whitest, has the thinnest layers, and is the cleanest and largest. Inferior to it is the kind called *Qurgūy*, which is blackish and dirty. Still inferior is the light brown kind called *Kaurāb*. The worst camphor is mixed with pieces of wood; it goes under the name of *Bilūs*. By artificial crystallization each kind will become clean and white. In some books, camphor in its natural state is called *Jādāra* or *Bhāmsīnī*. If kept with a few barley grains, or peppercorns,³ or *surrh dāna*, it will evaporate the less. The camphor which is made of *Zurumbād* by mixing it with other ingredients, is called *Chīnī* or *Meyyit*-camphor. White *Zurumbād* is finely pounded, and mixed with four cream of cow, or buffalo; on the fourth day they put fresh cream to it, and beat it with the hand till foam appears, which they take away. With this they mix some camphor, put it into a box, and keep it for some time in the husks of grains. Or, they reduce some white stone to fine powder, mix it at the rate of ten dirhams of it with two dirhams of wax, and half a dirham of oil of Violet, or oil of *Surrh Gul*. The wax is first melted, and then mixed with the powder, so as to form a paste. They then put it between two stones, and make it thin and flat. When it gets cold, it looks like camphor, bits of which are mixed with it. Unprincipled men profit in this manner by the loss of others.

4. *Zabād* (civet) is also called *Shāhī*. It is a moist substance secreted during the rutting season by an animal which resembles a cat, having, how-

¹ *Fansūrī* according to Marco Polo. *Fansūr* is a state in Sumatra.—B.

² *Bāzār* dealers give a few peppercorns along with every piece of camphor

ever, a larger face and mouth. The *zabād* which is brought from the harbour-town of Sumatra, from the territory of Āchin, goes by the name of *Sumatra zabād*, and is by far the best. The moist substance itself is yellowish white. The animal has below its tail a bag, of the size of a small hazel nut, in which there are from five to six holes. The bag may be emptied every week or fortnight, and yields from half a *tolā* to eight *nāshas*. Some civet cats become so tame as to keep still when the bag is being emptied; but in the case of most animals, they have to catch hold of the tail and draw it through the cage when they take out the *zabād* with a shell, or by pressing gently against the bag. The price of a civet cat varies from 300 to 500 Rs. The *zabād* of the male is better than that of the female, because in the latter the vulva is just above the bag. When removed, the *zabād* is washed, and becomes afterwards one of the finest perfumes. The perfume will remain a long time in the clothes, and even on the skin. There are several ways of washing it. If the quantity be small, they put it in into a cup, or if greater, into a larger vessel, and wash it thirty times in cold water, and three times in warm water. The latter renders it thin and removes impurities. Then they wash it again in cold water till it gets solid, when they wash it three times in lime juice, which removes all unpleasant smell. After this, they wash it again three times in cold water, pass it through a piece of cloth, put it into a China cup, and wash it three times in rose-water. They then smear the *zabād* on the inside of the cup, keep it at night inverted in extract of *Chambeli*, or *Rāy-bel*, or *Surkh gul*, or *Gul-i Karnā*, and expose it at daytime to the rays of the sun, covered with a piece of white cloth till all moisture goes away. It may then be used, mixed with a little rose-water.

5. *Gaura* looks greyish white, but does not smell so well as the preceding. It is a moisture secreted during the rutting season by an animal like the civet cat, but somewhat larger. It is also brought from the confines of Āchin. The price of this animal varies from 100 to 200 Rs.

6. *Mīd*¹ resembles the preceding, but is inferior to it. They mix it with other substances; hence they sell it in larger quantities. The animal which yields *Mīd* is found in various countries, and sells for from five to six *dāms* only. Some say that *Mīd* is the dried bag of the civet cat, pounded and boiled in water; the greasy substance which rises to the surface is the *Mīd*.

7. *ʿUd*, or wood of Aloes, called in Hind. *Agar*, is the root of a tree. They lop it off and bury it in the earth, when whatever is bad rots, and the

remainder is pure aloes. Some say that they do so with the whole tree. The statement occasionally found in some old books that the habitat of the tree is Central India, is an absurdity of fanciful writers. There are several kinds; the best is called *Mandalī*, and the second in quality, *Jabalī* or *Hindī*. The smell of the wood, especially that of the first kind, is a preventive against fleas; but some think both kinds equal in this respect. Of other good kinds I may mention the *Samandūri*; the *Qumārī*, which is inferior to it; the *Qāqulī*, next in rank; the *Barri*; the *Qīʿī*; and the Chinese, also called *Qismūrī*, which is wet and sweet. Still inferior are the *Jalālī*, the *Māyātāqī*, the *Lavāqī*, the *Rītālī*.¹ But of all kinds, the *Mandalī* is the best. The *Samandūri* is grey, fatty, thick, hard, juicy, without the slightest sign of whiteness, and burns long. The best of all is the black and heavy; in water it settles at the bottom, is not fibrous, and may be easily pounded. The wood which floats is looked upon as bad. Former kings transplanted the tree to Gujrāt, and nowadays it grows in Chānpānir. It is generally brought from Āchin and Datnāsari. Nothing is known of the *habitat* mentioned in old books. Aloewood is often used in compound perfumes; when eaten, it is exhilarating. It is generally employed in incense; the better qualities, in form of a powder, are often used for rubbing into the skin and clothes.

8. *Chūwa* is distilled wood of aloes; it is in general use. The preparation is as follows: They take fine clay, mix it with cotton or rice bran and beat it well. When properly intermixed, they take a small bottle large enough to put a finger in, smear it all over with the clay, and let it dry. After this, they put very small pieces of wood of aloes into it, so as nearly to fill the bottle. The wood must have been kept wet for a week before. Another vessel, with a hole in the middle, is now placed on a three-legged stand. Into this vessel, they pass the neck of the little bottle inverted, placing a cup full of water at the bottom of the vessel in such a manner that the mouth of the bottle reaches the surface of the water. On the top of the vessel they then put cow's dung, and light a gentle fire. Should flames break out they extinguish them with water. The wood of aloes will then secrete a moisture which trickles on the surface of the water where it remains. This is collected, and washed several times with water and rose water, to take off all smell of smoke. The oftener it is washed, and the older it gets, the better will be the scent. It looks black; although experienced people make it white. One *ser* of wood aloes will yield from two to fifteen *tolās* of *Chūwa*. Some avaricious dealers mix sandalwood or almonds with it, thereby to cheat people.

¹ *جيد* with the *kasrab*, a kind of perfume. *Kashf* "ʿl-*luḡāt*

¹ The last three names are doubtful.

9. *Sundalwood* is called in Hind. *Chandan*. The tree grows in China. During the present reign, it has been successfully planted in India. There are three kinds, the white, the yellow, the red. Some take the red to be more refreshing than the white; others prefer the white. The latter is certainly more cooling than the red, and the red more so than the yellow. The best is that which is yellow and oily; it goes by the name of *Maqāṣarī*. Sandalwood is pounded and rubbed over the skin; but it is also used in other ways.

10. *Silāras* (storax) is called in Arabic *Mīṣah*. It is the gum of a tree that grows in Turkey. The kind which is clear is called *Mīṣah-yi sāyila* (liquid); the other kinds, *Mīṣah-yi yābisa* (dry). The best kind is that which spontaneously flows out of the trunk; it is yellowish.

11. *Kalanbak* (calembic) is the wood of a tree brought from Zīrbād (?)¹: it is heavy and full of veins. Some believe it to be raw wood of aloes. When pounded it looks grey. They use it for compound perfumes; and they also make rosaries of it.

12. The *Malāgīr* is a tree resembling the former, only that the wood is lighter and not veined. When pounded it looks reddish white.

13. *Lubān* (frankincense) is the odorous gum of a tree which is found in Java. Some take it to be the same as *Mīṣah-yi yābisa*. When exposed to fire it evaporates like camphor. The *Lubān* which the Persians call *Kundur-i daryāʿī* (mastix) is a resin brought from Yaman; but it is not odorous.

14. *Azfār* 'l-ṭīb, or scented finger nails, are called in Hind *Nakh*, and in Persian *Nākhun-i boyā*. It is the house of an animal, consisting, like a shell, of two parts. It has a sweet smell, as the animal feeds on *sumbul*; it is found in the large rivers of Hindustan, Baṣrah, and Bahrayan, the latter being considered the best. It is also found in the Red Sea, and many prefer it to the other kinds. It is heated in butter; some expose it to the fire, pound it, and mix it with other perfumes.

15. *Sugandh gūgalā* (bdellium) is a plant very common in Hindustan; it is used in perfumes.

As I have said something on perfumes, I shall make a few remarks on several beautiful flowers.

1. The *Scitī* resembles the *Gul-i Surkh*, but is smaller. It has in

the middle golden stamens and from four to six petals. *Habitat*, Gujrāt and the Dakhīn.

2. Of the *Chambelī* there are two kinds. The *Rāy Chambelī* has from five to six petals, outside red. The *Chambelī proper* is smaller, and has on the top a red stripe. Its stem is one and a half or two yards high, and trails over the ground. It has many long and broad branches. It flowers from the first year.

3. The *Rāybel* resembles the *jasmin*. There are various kinds; single and double, etc. A quintuple is very common, so that each petal might be separated as a distinct flower. Its stem grows a yard high. The leaves of the tree resemble those of the lime tree; but they are somewhat smaller and softer.

4. The *Mungrā* resembles the *Rāybel*. It is larger, but inferior in perfume. It has more than a hundred petals; the plant grows to a large tree.

5. The *Champa* flower has a conical shape, of the size of a finger,² and consists of ten petals and more, lying in folds one above the other. It has several stamens. The tree looks graceful, and resembles in leaf and trunk the nut tree. It flowers after seven years.

6. The *Ketkī* has the form of spindle of the size of a quarter of a yard, with twelve or more petals. Its smell is delicate and fragrant. It bears flowers in six or seven years.

7. The *Kewra* resembles the preceding, but is more than twice as big. The petals have thorns. As they grow on different places, they are not all equal. In the midst of the flower, there is a small branch with honey-coloured threads, not without smell. The flower smells even after it is withered. Hence people put it into clothes when the perfume remains for a long time. The stem of the tree is above four yards high; the leaves are like those of the maize, only longer, and triangular, with three thorns in each corner. It flowers from the fourth year. Every year they put new earth round about the roots. The plant is chiefly found in the Dakhīn, Gujrāt, Mālwah, and Bihār.

8. The *Chalta* resembles a large tulip. It consists of eighteen petals, six green ones above, six others, some red, some green, some greyish yellow, and six white. In the midst of the flower, as in the flower called *Hamesha Bahār*, there are nearly two hundred little yellow leaves, with a red globe in the centre. The flower will remain quite fresh for five or six

¹ Zīrbād (Zirābād), a town near the frontiers of Bengal. *Qhiyās* 'l-luḡhāt. [The Persian translation of the Malay *Bāwah angin*, "below the wind, leeward," being the Malay name for the countries and islands to the East of Sumatra.—B.]

² Orientals, as a rule, have very small hands and fingers.

days after having been plucked. It smells like the violet. When withered, the flower is cooked and eaten. The tree resembles the pomegranate tree, and its leaves look like those of the lime tree. It blooms in seven years.

9. The *Tasbīh gulāl* has a fine smell. The petals have the form of a dagger. The stem of the plant is two yards high. It flowers after four years. They make rosaries of the flowers, which keep fresh for a week.

10. The *Bholsarī* is smaller than the jasmine; its petals are indented. When dry the flower smells better. The tree resembles the walnut tree, and flowers in the tenth year.

11. The *Singārhar* is shaped like a clove, and has an orange-coloured stalk. The stamens look like poppy seeds. The tree resembles the pomegranate tree, and the leaves are like the leaves of a peach tree. It flowers in five years.

12. The *Kūza* looks like a *Gul-i surkh*; but the plant and the leaves are larger. It has five or a hundred petals and golden coloured stamens in the middle. They make *ʿAbīrmāya* and an extract from it.

13. The *Pādāl* has five or six long petals. It gives water an agreeable flavour and smell. It is on this account that people preserve the flowers, mixed with clay, for such times when the flower is out of season. The leaves and the stem are like those of a nut tree. It flowers in the twelfth year.

14. The *Jūhī* has small leaves. This creeper winds itself round about trees, and flowers in three years.

15. The *Niwārī* looks like a simple *Rāy-bel*, but has larger petals. The flowers are often so numerous as to conceal the leaves and branches of the plant. It flowers in the first year.

16. The *Kapūr bēl* has five petals, and resembles the saffron flower. This flower was brought during the present reign from Europe.

17. The *Zaʿfarān* (saffron).¹ In the beginning of the month of *Urdībihisht*, the saffron seeds are put into the ground, which has been carefully prepared and rendered soft. After this, the field is irrigated with rain-water. The seed itself is a bulb resembling garlic. The flower appears in the middle of the month of *Ābān*; the plant is about a quarter of a yard long; but, according to the difference of the soil in which it stands, there are sometimes two-thirds of it above, and sometimes two-thirds below the ground. The flower stands on the top of the stalk, and consists of six petals and six stamens. Three of the six petals have a fresh lilac colour, and stand round about the remaining three petals. The stamens

are similarly placed, three of a yellow colour standing round about the other three, which are red. The latter yield the saffron. Yellow stamens are often cunningly intermixed. In former times saffron was collected by compulsory labour; they pressed men daily, and made them separate the saffron from the petals and the stamens, and gave them salt instead of wages, a man who cleaned two *pals* receiving two *pals* of salt. At the time of *Ghāzī Khān*,¹ the son of (*Khājī*) Chak, another custom became general; they gave the workmen eleven *tarks* of saffron flowers, of which one *tark* was given them as wages; and for the remaining ten they had to furnish two Akbarshāhī sers of clean, dry saffron, i.e., for two Akbarshāhī *māns*² of saffron flowers they had to give two sers of cleaned saffron. This custom, however, was abolished by his Majesty on his third visit to Kashmir, to the great relief of the people.

When the bulb has been put into the ground, it will produce flowers for six years, provided the soil be annually softened. For the first two years, the flowers will grow sparingly; but in the third year the plant reaches its state of perfection. After six years the bulbs must be taken out; else they get rotten. They plant them again on some other place; and leave the old ground uncultivated for five years.

Saffron comes chiefly from the place Panpūr, which belongs to the district of Mararāj.³ The fields there extend over nearly twelve *kōs*: Another place of cultivation is in the Parganah of Paraspūr, near Indrakol, not far from Kamrāj, where the fields extend about a *kos*.

18. The *Aftābī* (sun-flower) is round, broad, and large, has a large number of petals, and turns continually to the sun. Its stem reaches a height of three yards.

19. The *Kamval*. There are two kinds. One opens when the sublime Sun shines, turning wherever he goes, and closing at night. It resembles the *shaqāyiq*, but its red is paler. Its petals which are never less than six in number, enclose yellow stamens, in the midst of which there is an excrescence of the form of a cone with the base upwards, which is the fruit, and contains the seeds. The other kind has four white petals, opens at night, and turns itself according to the moon, but does not close.

¹ He was the contemporary of Shēr Khān; vide Abū 'l-Fazl's list of Kashmir Rulers in the third book. A good biography of Ghāzī Khān may be found in the beginning of the *Maʿāz-i Raḥīmī*, Persian MS. No. 45 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

² One Kashmirī *Tark* = 8 sers (of Akbar) = 4 Kashm. māns; 1 Kash man = 4 Kash. sers; 1 Kash. ser = 7½ pals.

³ These places lie to the south of Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir; for Mararāj the text has ماراج. Vide Sūba Kābul, third book.

¹ Vide a similar account of the saffron flower in the third book (Sūba Kābul).

20. The *Jasfuri* is a pretty, round flower, and grows larger than the *sadburg*. One kind has five, another a hundred petals. The latter remains fresh for two months and upwards. The plant is of the size of a man, and the leaves resemble those of the willow, but are indented. It flowers in two months.

21. The *Gudhal* resembles the *jūghāsū* tulip, and has a great number of petals. Its stem reaches a height of two yards and upwards; the leaves look like mulberry leaves. It flowers in two years.

22. The *Ratanmanjari* has four petals, and is smaller than the jasmine. The tree and the leaves resemble the *rāy-bel*. It flowers in two years.

23. The *Kesū* has five petals resembling a tiger's claw. In their midst is a yellow stamen of the shape of a tongue. The plant is very large, and is found on every meadow; when it flowers, it is as if a beautiful fire surrounded the scenery.

24. The *Kaner* remains a long time in bloom. It looks well, but it is poisonous. Whoever puts it on his head is sure to fall in battle. It has mostly five petals. The branches are full of the flowers; the plant itself grows to a height of two yards. It flowers in the first year.

25. The *Kadam* resembles a *tumāgha* (a royal cap). The leaves are like those of the walnut tree, which the whole tree resembles.

26. The *Nāg Kesar*, like the *Gul-i surkh*, has five petals and is full of fine stamens. It resembles the walnut tree in the leaves and the stem; and flowers in seven years.

27. The *Surpan* resembles the sesame flower, and has yellow stamens in the middle. The stem resembles the *Hinnā* plant, and the leaves those of the willow.

28. The *Srikandhi* is like the *Chambeli*, but smaller. It flowers in two years.

29. The *Hinna* has four petals, and resembles the flower called *Nāfarmān*. Different plants have often flowers of a different colour.

30. The *Dupahriyā* is round and small, and looks like the flower called *Hamesha-bahār*. It opens at noon. The stem is about two yards high.

31. The *Bhūn champā* resembles the *Nilūfar*, and has five petals. The stem is about a span long. It grows on such places as are periodically under water. Occasionally a plant is found above the water.

32. The *Sudarsan* resembles the *Rāy-bel*, and has yellow threads inside. The stem looks like that of the *Sūsan* flower.

33. *Senbal* has five petals, each ten fingers long, and three fingers broad.

34. The *Ratanmālā* is round and small. Its juice, boiled and mixed with vitriol and *mu'asfar*, furnishes a fast dye for stuffs. Butter, sesame oil, are also boiled together with the root of the plant, when the mixture becomes a purple dye.

35. The *Sinzard* resembles the jasmine, but is a little larger, and has from five to six petals. The stem is like that of the *Chambeli*. It flowers in two years.

36. The *Mālū* is like the *Chambeli*, but smaller. In the middle there are little stamens looking like poppyseed. It flowers in two years more or less.

37. The *Karūl* has three small petals. It flowers luxuriantly, and looks very well. The flower is also boiled and eaten; they also make pickles of it.

38. The *Jait* plant grows to a large tree; its leaves look like Tamarind leaves.

39. The *Chanpala* is like a nosegay. The leaves of the plant are like walnut leaves. It flowers in two years. The bark of the plant, when boiled in water, makes the water red. It grows chiefly in the hills; its wood burns bright like a candle.

40. The *Lālū* has a stem one and a half yards high. The branches before the flowers appear are made into a dish, which is eaten with bread. When camels feed on this plant they get fat and unruly.

41. The *Karaunda* resembles the *Jūhī* flower.

42. The *Dhanantar* resembles the *Nilūfar*, and looks very well. It is a creeper.

43. The *Siras* flower consists of silk-like threads, and resembles a *tumāgha*. It sends its fragrance to a great distance. It is the king of the trees, although the Hindus rather worship the *Pīpal* and *Bar* trees. The tree grows very large; its wood is used in building. Within the stem the wood is black, and resists the stroke of the axe.

44. The *Kanglā* has five petals, each four fingers long, and looks very beautiful. Each branch produces only one flower.

45. The *San* (hemp) looks like a nosegay. The leaves of the plant resemble those of the *Chinār*. Of the bark of the plant strong ropes are made. One kind of this plant bears a flower like the cotton tree, and is called *Paṭ-san*. It makes a very soft rope.

It is really too difficult for me, ignorant as I am, to give a description of the flowers of the country: I have mentioned a few for those who wish to know something about them. There are also found many flowers of Iran and Tûrân, as the *Gul-i-shahî*, the *Nargis*, the violet, the *Yâsmîn-i Jubelî*, the *Sûm*, the *Rûz-bû*, the *Rûfâs*, the *Zêrî*, the *Shâzîvîz*, the *Tâj-i-Bûrûk*, the *Qubûlî*, the *Nîfâr-i-n*, the *Khâfî*, etc. Garden and flower beds are every where to be found. Formerly people used to plant their gardens without any order, but since the time of the arrival in India of the emperor Babur, a more methodical arrangement of the gardens has obtained; and travellers nowadays admire the beauty of the palaces and their murmuring fountains.

It would be impossible to give an account of these trees of the country, whose flowers, fruits, barks, leaves, roots, &c. are used as food or medicine. If, according to the books of the Hindus, a man were to collect only one leaf from each tree, he would get a phœnix *kalâ* (or loads) (5 *surûhs* = 1 *maund*; 16 *maunds* = 1 *bag*; 11 *bags* = 1 *pal*; 101 *pals* = 1 *hâ*; 10 *hâs* = 1 *man*); i.e. according to their reckoning, 95 *mans*. The same books also state that the duration of the life of a tree is not less than two *ghatis* (twice 24 minutes), and not more than ten thousand years. The height of the trees is said not to exceed a little above a thousand *ghajans*.¹ When a tree dies, its life is said to pass into one of the following ten things: fire, water, air, earth, plants, animals, animals of two sexes, such as have three, or four, or five senses.²

ART. 31.

THE WARDROBE* AND THE STORES FOR MATTRESSES.

His Majesty pays much attention to various stuffs; hence Indian, European, and Mongolian articles of wear are in abundance. Skillful masters and workmen have settled in this country to teach people an improved system of manufacture. The imperial workshops, the towns of Lâhor, Âgra, Patlipûr, Al-madâid, Gujrât, turn out many masterpieces of workmanship; and the figures and patterns, knots, and variety of

fashions which now prevail, astonish experienced travellers. His Majesty himself acquired in a short time a theoretical and practical knowledge of the whole trade; and on account of the care bestowed upon them the intelligent workmen of this country soon improved. All kinds of hair-weaving and silk spinning were brought to perfection; and the imperial workshops furnish all those stuffs which are made in other countries. A taste for fine material has since become general, and the drapery used at least surpasses every description.

All articles, which have been bought, or woven to order, or received as tribute or presents, are carefully preserved; and according to the order in which they were preserved, they are again taken out for inspection, or given out to be cut and to be made up, or given away as presents. Articles which arrive at the same time, are arranged according to their prices. Experienced people inquire continually into the prices of articles used both formerly and at present, as a knowledge of the exact prices is conducive to the increase of the stock. Even the prices became generally lower. Thus a piece woven by the famous Chiyâ-i Naqshband may now be obtained for fifty mubra, whilst it had formerly been sold for twice that sum; and most other articles have got cheaper at the rate of thirty to ten, or even forty to ten.³ His Majesty also ordered that people of certain ranks should wear certain articles; and this was done in order to regulate the demand.

I shall not say much on this subject, though a few particulars regarding the articles worn by his Majesty may be of interest.

1. The *Takuchiyî* is a coat without lining, of the Indian form. Formerly it had girths in the skirt, and was tied on the left side; but His Majesty has ordered it to be made with a round skirt and to be tied on the right side.⁴ It requires seven yards and seven *giris*,⁵ and five *giris* for the binding. The price for making a plain one varies from one rupee to three rupees; but if the coat be adorned with ornamental stitching, from one to four and three quarters rupees. Besides a *mirzî* of silk is required.

2. The *peshtîz* (a coat open in front) is of the same form, but ties in front. It is sometimes made without strings.

¹ Or as we would say, the prices have become less by 66 2/3, and even 75 per cent.

² The coats used nowadays both by Hindus and Muhammadans resemble in shape our dressing gowns (*Germischelstock*) but fitting tight where the lower ribs are. There the coat is tied; the Muhammadans make the tie on the left, and the Hindus on the right side. In the Eastern parts of Bengal, many Muhammadans adopt the old Hindu fashion of wearing a simple unsewn piece of muslin (*chadar*).

³ It is not stated in Aⁿ how many *giris* the tailor's *gaz*, or yard contains. It is usually 16 *giris* = 1 *gaz*, which is the usual division at present. For other side the 8th and 80th Aⁿs of this book. The Persian word *giris* is a *giral*.

* Regarding this measure, vide the fourth book.

⁴ The text has a word *ghajans* which occurs about three times in this work. I have also found it in Sayyid Aⁿ's edition of the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangirî*; but I cannot find it in any Persian or Chaghatai Dictionary. The meaning, a wardrobe is however clear. (Also *ghajans* *ghajans* *ghajans*.)

3. The *Dutāhī* (a coat with lining) requires six yards and four *girihs* for the outside, six yards lining, four *girihs* for the binding, nine *girihs* for the border. The price of making one varies from one to three rupees. One *mis'al* of silk is required.

4. The *Shāh-ajīda* (or the royal stitch coat) is also called *Shast-khatt* (or sixty rows), as it has sixty ornamental stitches *per giriḥ*. It has generally a double lining, and is sometimes wadded and quilted. The cost of making is two rupees *per yard*.

5. The *Sūzani* requires a quarter of a *ser* of cotton and two *dāms* of silk. If sewed with *bakhyā*¹ stitches, the price of making one is eight rupees; one with *ajīda* stitches costs four rupees.

6. The *Qalamī* requires $\frac{3}{4}$ s. cotton, and one *dām* silk. Cost of making, two rupees.

7. The *Qabā*, which is at present generally called *jāma-yi pumba-dār*, is a wadded coat. It requires 1 s. of cotton, and 2 m. silk. Price, one rupee to a quarter rupee.

8. The *Gadar* is a coat wider and longer than the *qabā*, and contains more wadding. In Hindustan it takes the place of a fur-coat. It requires seven *gaz* of stuff, six yards of lining, four *girihs* binding, nine for bordering, $2\frac{1}{2}$ s. cotton, 3 m. silk. Price, from one-half to one and one-half rupees.

9. The *Fariḥ* has no binding, and is open in front. Some put buttons to it. It is worn over the *jāma* (coat), and requires 5 *gaz* 12 *giriḥ* stuff; 5 *gaz* 5 *giriḥ* lining; 14 *giriḥ* bordering; 1 s. cotton; 1 m. silk. Price, from a quarter to one rupee.

10. The *Fargul* resembles the *yāpanjī*,² but is more comfortable and becoming. It was brought from Europe,³ but everyone nowadays wears it. They make it of various stuffs. It requires 9 *gaz* 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ *giriḥ* stuff, the same quantity of lining, 6 m. silk, 1 s. cotton. It is made both single and double. Price from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 rupees.

¹ *Bakhyā*, in Hind. *bakhiyā*, corresponds to what ladies call *backstitching*. *Ajīda* is the buttonhole stitch. These, at least, are the meanings which *bakhyā* and *ajīda* now have. *Sūzani*, a name which in the text is transferred to the coat, is a kind of embroidery, resembling our *zatin-stitch*. It is used for working leaves and flowers, etc., on stuffs, the leaves lying pretty loosely on the cloth; hence we often find *sūzani* work in rugs, small carpets, etc. The rugs themselves are also called *sūzani*. A term sometimes used in dictionaries as a synonym for *sūzani* is *chikin*; but this is what we call *white embroidery*.

² A coat used in rainy weather. *Calcutta Chagatāi Dictionary*.

³ The etymology of the word *fargul* is not known to me. The names of several articles of wear, nowadays current in India, are Portuguese; as *sōya*, a petticoat; *fila*, a ribbon. Among other Portuguese words, now common in Hindustani, are *padrī*, clergyman; *girjā*, a church, Port. *igreja*; *kobī*, cabbage, Port. *coure*; *chābī*, a key, Port. *chave*.

Abū 'l-Fazl's explanation (*vide* my text edition, p. 102, l. 16) corrects Vullers II. p. 663a.

11. The *Chakman*¹ is made of broadcloth, or woollen stuff, or wax cloth. His Majesty has it made of *Dārā*² wax cloth, which is very light and pretty. The rain cannot go through it. It requires 6 *gaz* stuff, 5 *giriḥ* binding, and 2 m. silk. The price of making one of broadcloth is 2 R.; of wool, $1\frac{1}{2}$ R.; of wax cloth, $\frac{1}{2}$ R.

12. The *Shalwār* (drawers) is made of all kinds of stuff, single and double, and wadded. It requires 3 *gaz* 11 *giriḥ* cloth, 6 *giriḥ* for the hem through which the string runs, 3 *gaz* 5 *giriḥ* lining, $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. silk, $\frac{1}{2}$ s. cotton. Price, from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ rupee.

There are various kinds of each of these garments. It would take me too long to describe the *chīras*, *farās*, and *dupattas*,² or the costly dresses worn at feasts or presented to the grantees of the present time. Every season, there are made one thousand complete suits for the imperial wardrobe, and one hundred and twenty, made up in twelve bundles, are always kept in readiness. From his indifference to everything that is worldly, His Majesty prefers and wears woollen³ stuffs, especially shawls; and I must mention, as a most curious sign of auspiciousness, that his Majesty's clothes becomingly fit every one, whether he be tall or short, a fact which has hitherto puzzled many.

His Majesty has changed the names of several garments, and invented new and pleasing terms.⁴ Instead of *jāma* (coat), he says *sarbgāfi*, i.e. covering the whole body; for *izār* (drawers), he says *yār-pirāhan* (the companion of the coat); for *nūmtana* (a jacket), *tanzeb*; for *fauṭā*, *patgat*; for *burqa*⁵ (a veil), *chitrogupitā*; for *kulāh* (a cap), *sis sobhā*; for *mūy-bāf* (a hair ribbon), *keghān*; for *paṭkhā* (a cloth for the loins), *katzeb*; for *shāl* (shawl), *parmnarm*; for . . . ,⁶ *parngarm*; for *kapārdhūr*, a Tibetan stuff, *kapūrnūr*; for *pāy-afzār* (shoes), *charndharn*; and similarly for other names.

¹ As this word is not given in any dictionary, the vowels are doubtful. So is Vuller's form *chapman*.

² Stuffs of different shapes used for making turbans.

³ In allusion to the practice of *Sūfi*s, who only wear garments made of wool (*ruḥ*). Abū 'l-Fazl often tries to represent Akbar as a *Sūfi* of so high a degree as to be able to work miracles, and he states below that it was his intention to write a book on Akbar's miracles. The charge of fulsome praise has often been brought against Abū 'l-Fazl, though it would more appropriately lie against Fayzī, who—like the poets of imperial Rome—represents the emperor as God, as may be seen in the poetical extracts of the second book. But the praises of the two brothers throw a peculiar light on Akbar's character, who received the most immoderate encomiums with self-complacency.

⁴ The following passage is remarkable, as it shows Akbar's predilection for Hindi terms.

⁵ The MSS. have an unintelligible word. The Banāras MS. has *pardak Firāng*, or European *Pardak* (?).

ON SHAWLS, STUFFS, &c.

His Majesty improved this department in four ways. The improvement is visible, first, in the Shawls, which are made of the wool of an animal of that name; its natural colours are black, white, and red, but chiefly black. Sometimes the colour is a greyish white. The kind of shawl is unsuited for its lightness, warmth, and softness. People generally wear it without altering its natural colour; his Majesty has had it dyed. It is curious that it will not take a red dye. Some *Shawls*, in the *Sofia* collection, also called *Turkish*, in their natural colours. The wool is either white or black. These stuffs may be had in three colours, white, black, or mixed. The first or white kind, was formerly dyed in three ways. His Majesty has given the order to dye it in various ways. *Thirdly*, in stuffs called *Zard-shi*, *Kashaf-shi*, *Kashida*, *Qashaf-shi*, *Shi-shi*, *Chir-shi*, *Al-shi*, *Pash-shi*, to which his Majesty pays much attention. *Fourthly*, an improvement was made in the width of all stuffs; his Majesty had the pieces made large enough to yield the making of a full dress.

The garments entered in the Imperial wardrobe are arranged according to the days, months, and years, of their entry, and according to their colour, price, and weight. Such an arrangement is nowadays called *shik*, or *shik*. The clerks fix accordingly the date of every article of wear, which they write on a strip of cloth, and tack it to the end of the piece. Whatever pieces of the same kind arrive for the Imperial wardrobe on the *Unmud day* (first day) of the month of *Farvardin*, provided they be of a good quality, have a label or rank assigned to them than pieces arriving on other days; and if pieces are equal in value, their precedence or otherwise, is determined by the character of the day of their entry; and if pieces are equal as far as the character of the day is concerned, they put the lighter stuff higher in rank; and if pieces have the same weight, they arrange them according to their colour. The following is the order of colours: *Shi*, *rafid-shi*, ruby-coloured, golden, orange, brass coloured, crimson, grass green, cotton-flower coloured, sandalwood-coloured, almond-coloured, purple, grape coloured, *maur* like the colour of some parrot, honey-coloured, brownish lilac, coloured like the *Ratanmajani*

¹ *Al-shi* or *Al-shi*, any kind of corded (woven) stuff. *Turkish* means *corded*.

² *Zard-shi*, *Kashaf-shi* (Persian, *Isaf-shi*) *Kashida*, *Qashaf-shi* are stuffs with gold and silk threads. *Shi-shi* are stuffs dyed differently in different parts of the piece; *Chir-shi* are stuffs, which is derived from *Chir-shi*. *Al-shi* are all kinds of stuffs the ends of which is plush like.

³ *Al-shi*, like the Persians believed in lucky and unlucky days. The arrangement of the stores of clothing must strike the reader as most impractical. Similar arrangements, equally curious, will be found in the following *Al-shi*. Perhaps they indicate a progress, as they show that some order at least was kept.

flower, coloured like the *Kāshī* flower, apple-coloured, hay-coloured, pistachio. . . *Shajpatra* coloured, pink, light blue, coloured like the *galy* flower, water-coloured, oil-coloured, brown red, emerald, bluish like China-ware, violet, bright pink, mangoe coloured, musk-coloured, coloured like the *Fāli*.

In former times shawls were often brought from Kashmir. People folded them up in four folds, and wore them for a very long time. Nowadays they are generally worn without folds, and merely thrown over the shoulder. His Majesty has commenced to wear them double, which looks very well.

His Majesty encourages, in every possible way, the manufacture of shawls in Kashmir. In Lailor also there are more than a thousand workshops. A kind of shawl, called *ragyān*, is chiefly woven there; it consists of silk and wool mixed. Both are used for *chīras* (turbans), *fofas* (loin bands), etc.

I subjoin the following tabular particulars.

A. Gold stuffs.	
Brocade velvet, from Yezd, ¹ per piece	
Do. from Europe, do.	15 to 150 M.
Do. from Gujrat, do.	10 to 70 M.
Do. from Kāshān, do.	10 to 50 M.
Do. from Hīrāt, do.	10 to 40 M.
Do. from Lāhor, do.	
Do. from Bārsāh (1), do.	10 to 40 M.
<i>Mutālag</i> , do. ²	3 to 70 M.
<i>Mīlā</i> , do.	2 to 70 M.
Brocade, from Gujrat, do.	3 to 70 M.
<i>Tūs</i> & Brocade, from do. do	4 to 60 M.
	1 to 35 M.

¹ The text contains two doubtful words. The next word *Shajpatra* is the bark of a tree used for making *Shajpatra* tulcs.

² Yezd is the principal city in the south of the Persian province of Khurāsān. *Erdān* lies in *Arāj*, *Chāmas*, north of Isfahān. "The axes of Khāshān are wiser than the men of Isfahān" which latter town is for Persia what Bœotia is for Ancient Greece, or the Pretzner for France, of the Kingdom of Fife for Scotland, or the town of Schilde for Germany, or Bihār for India—the home of fools. During the time of Moguls the Sayyids of Bārsāh enjoyed a singular notoriety.

³ *Mutālag*, a kind of cloth, chiefly brought from Kāshān, and *Mīlā* from Nāshād in Turkestan. *Chāmas* is a kind of cloth.

⁴ *Tūs* means generally brocade; *Shajpatra* is a kind of brocade silk; *Magayyash* is silk with stripes of silver—the *Chāmas* says that *Magayyash* comes from the Hind. *Leah*, hair to which the silver-stripes are compared, and that it is an Arabized form of the Hindi word *garasul* a clove for the Hind *garasul*: *strifal*, a kind of medicine for triphal as it consists of three fruits, etc. *Shajpatra* is a kind of silk with leaves and branches woven in it; *Dehā* is coloured silk; *Kāshān*, moiré antique; *Kāshān* is *florette*-silk. For *tassila* (vide Freytag III, p. 353), we also find *tassila*.

<i>Dārā'i-bāf</i> , from Gujrāt	2 to 50 M.
<i>Muqayyash</i> , do.	1 to 20 M.
<i>Shirwānī</i> Brocade, do.	6 to 17 M.
<i>Mushajjar</i> , from Europe, <i>per yard</i>	1 to 4 M.
<i>Dehā</i> silk, do. do.	1 to 4 M.
Do., from Yazd, do.	1 to 1½ M.
<i>Khārū</i> , do.	5 R. to 2 M.
Satin, from Chinese Tartary	
<i>Nairār</i> , from do.	
<i>Khazā</i> silk	
<i>Tafila</i> (a stuff from Mecca)	from 15 to 20 R.
<i>Kurtahūr</i> , from Gujrāt	1 to 20 M.
<i>Mināl</i>	1 to 14 M.
<i>Chira</i> (for turbans)	½ to 8 M.
<i>Dupattā</i> , do.	9 to 8 R.
<i>Fotas</i> (loin bands)	½ to 12 M.
Counterpanes	1 to 20 M.

* The Text does not give the price.

B. Silks, etc., plain.

Velvet from Europe, <i>per yard</i>	1 to 4 M.
Do. from Kāshān, <i>per piece</i>	2 to 7 M.
Do. from Yazd, do.	2 to 4 M.
Do. from Mashhad, do.	2 to 4 M.
Do. from Hirāt, do.	1½ to 3 M.
Do. Khāfi, do.	2 to 4 M.
Do. from Lāhor, do.	2 to 4 M.
Do. from Gujrāt, <i>per yard</i>	1 to 2 R.
<i>Qafīsa-yi i Pūrabi</i> , ¹ do.	1 to 1½ R.
<i>Tāja-bāf</i> , <i>per piece</i>	2 to 30 M.
<i>Dārā'i-bāf</i> , do.	2 to 30 M.
<i>Muṭabbag</i> , do.	1 to 30 M.
<i>Shirwānī</i> , do.	1½ to 10 M.
<i>Milak</i> , do.	1 to 7 M.
<i>Kamkhāb</i> , from Kābul and Persia, do.	1 to 5 M.
<i>Tawār</i> (?), do.	2 R. to 2 M.
<i>Khūrī</i> (?), do.	4 to 10 R.
<i>Mushajjar</i> , from Europe, <i>per yard</i>	2 R. to 1 M.
Do. from Yazd, <i>per piece</i>	1 to 2 M.

¹ A kind of velvet.

Satin, from Europe, <i>per yard</i>	2 R. to 1 M.
Satin, from Hirāt, <i>per piece</i>	5 R. to 2 M.
<i>Khārū</i> , <i>per yard</i>	1 R. to 6 R.
<i>Sikrang</i> , ¹ <i>per piece</i>	1 to 3 M.
<i>Qutnī</i> , ² do.	1½ R. to 2 M.
<i>Kāshān</i> , ³ from Europe, <i>per yard</i>	½ to 1 R.
<i>Tāsta</i> , ⁴ do.	½ to 2 R.
<i>Anbarī</i> , do.	4 d. to ½ R.
<i>Dārā'i</i> , do.	½ R. to 2 R.
<i>Sutipūrī</i> , <i>per piece</i>	6 R. to 2 M.
<i>Qabāband</i> , do.	6 R. to 2 M.
<i>Tāt bandpūrī</i> , do.	2 R. to 1½ M.
<i>Lāh</i> , <i>per yard</i>	½ to ½ R.
<i>Muqri</i> , <i>per piece</i>	½ to 1 M.
<i>Sār</i> , <i>per yard</i>	½ to ½ R.
<i>Tassar</i> , ⁵ <i>per piece</i>	½ to 2 R.
Plain <i>Kurtahūr</i> Satin, <i>per yard</i>	½ to 1 R.
<i>Kapūrnūr</i> , formerly called <i>Kapūrdhūr</i> , do.	½ to 1 R.
<i>Alcha</i> , do.	½ to 2 R.
<i>Tafila</i> , <i>per piece</i>	7 to 12 R.

C. Cotton cloths.

<i>Khāsa</i> , <i>per piece</i>	3 R. to 15 M.
<i>Chautār</i> , do.	2 R. to 9 M.
<i>Malmal</i> , do.	4 R.
<i>Tansukh</i> , do.	4 R. to 5 M.
<i>Sirī Sāf</i> , do.	2 R. to 5 M.
<i>Gangūjal</i> , do.	4 R. to 5 M.
<i>Bhiraun</i> , do.	4 R. to 4 M.
<i>Sāhan</i> , do.	1 to 3 M.
<i>Jhona</i> , do.	1 R. to 1 M.
<i>Alān</i> , do.	2½ R. to 1 M.
<i>Asācalī</i> , do.	1 to 5 M.
<i>Bāsta</i> , do.	1½ R. to 5 M.
<i>Maḥmūdī</i> , do.	½ to 3 M.

¹ Changing silk.

² A stuff made of silk and wool.

³ Generally translated by linen. All dictionaries agree that it is exceedingly thin, so much so that it tears when the moon shines on it; it is *Muslin*.

⁴ Properly, worn; hence *taffeta*.

⁵ Nowadays chiefly made in Berhampore and Patna; *culgo*, *tesse*.

that painters, especially those of Europe, succeed in drawing figures expressive of the conceptions which the artist has of any of the mental states,¹ so much so, that people may mistake a picture for a reality : yet pictures are much inferior to the written letter, inasmuch as the letter may embody the wisdom of bygone ages, and become a means to intellectual progress.

I shall first say something about the art of writing, as it is the more important of the two arts. His Majesty pays much attention to both, and is an excellent judge of form and thought. And indeed, in the eyes of the friends of true beauty, a letter is the source from which the light confined within it beams forth ; and, in the opinion of the far-sighted, it is the world-reflecting cup² in the abstract. The letter, a magical power, is spiritual geometry emanating from the pen of invention ; a heavenly writ from the hand of fate ; it contains the secret word, and is the tongue of the hand. The spoken word goes to the hearts of such as are present to hear it ; the letter gives wisdom to those that are near and far. If it was not for the letter, the spoken word would soon die, and no keepsake would be left us of those that are gone by. Superficial observers see in the letter a sooty figure ; but the deepsighted a lamp of wisdom. The written letter looks black, notwithstanding the thousand rays within it ; or, it is a light with a mole on it that wards off the evil eye.³ A letter is the portrait painter of wisdom ; a rough sketch from the realm of ideas ; a dark night ushering in day ; a black cloud pregnant with knowledge ; the wand for the treasures of insight ; speaking, though dumb ; stationary, and yet travelling ; stretched on the sheet, and yet soaring upwards.

When a ray of God's knowledge falls on man's soul, it is carried by the mind to the realm of thought, which is the intermediate station between that which is conscious of individual existence (*mujarrad*) and that which is material (*maddī*). The result⁴ is a concrete thing mixed with the absolute, or an absolute thing mixed with that which is concrete. This compound steps forward on man's tongue, and enters, with the assistance of the conveying air, into the windows of the ears of others. It then drops the

burden of its concrete component, and returns, as a single ray, to its old place, the realm of thought. But the heavenly traveller occasionally gives his course a different direction by means of man's fingers, and having passed along the continent of the pen and crossed the ocean of the ink, alights on the pleasant expanse of the page, and returns through the eye of the reader to its wonted habitation.

As the letter is a representation of an articulate sound, I think it necessary to give some information regarding the latter.

The sound of a letter is a mode of existence depending on the nature of the air. By *qaraʿ* we mean the striking together of two hard substances ; and by *qalaʿ*, the separation of the same. In both cases the intermediate air, like a wave, is set in motion ; and thus the state is produced which we call *sound*. Some philosophers take sound to be the secondary effect, and define it as the air set in motion ; but others look upon it as the primary effect, i.e. they define sound to be the very *qaraʿ*, or the *qalaʿ*, of any hard substances. Sound may be accompanied by modifying circumstances ; it may be a piano, deep, nasal, or guttural, as when the throat is affected by a cold. Again, from the nature of the organ with which man utters a sound, and the manner in which the particles of the air are divided, another modifying circumstance may arise, as when two pianos, two deep, two nasal, or two guttural sounds separate from each other. Some, as Abū ʿAlī Sinā, call this modifying element (*ʿāriz*) the sound of the letter ; others define it as the original state of the sound thus modified (*maʿrūz*) ; but the far-sighted define an articulate sound as the union of the modifying element and the original state modified. This is evidently the correct view.

There are fifty-two articulate sounds in Hindī, so and so many¹ in Greek, and eighteen in Persian. In Arabic there are twenty-eight letters represented by eighteen signs, or by only fifteen when we count the joined letters, and if we take the *Hamzah* as one with the *alif*. The reason for writing an *alif* and a *lām* (ل) separately as the end of the single letters in the Arabic alphabet is merely to give an example of a *sākin* letter, which must necessarily be joined to another letter ; and the reason why the letter *lām* is preferred² as an example is because the letter *lām* is the

¹ *Khilqī* (from *khilqat*) referring to states of mind natural to us, as benevolence, wrath, etc. These, Abū ʿl-Faʿl says, a painter may succeed in representing ; but the power of writing is greater.

² The fabulous cup of King Jamshēd, which revealed the secrets of the seven heavens.

³ Human beauty is imperfect unless accompanied by a mole. For the mole on the cheek of his sweetheart, Hāfiz would make a present of Samarqand and Būkhārā. Other poets rejoice to see at least one black spot on the beautiful face of the beloved who, without such an amulet, would be subject to the influence of the evil eye.

⁴ The spoken word, the idea expressed by a sound.

¹ Abū ʿl-Faʿl has forgotten to put in the number. He counts eighteen letters, or, rather signs, in Persian, because ط, ظ, and ق have the same fundamental sign.

² Or rather, the *alif* was preferred to the *wāw* or *yā*, because these two letters may be either *sākin* or *mutaharrik*. But the custom has become established to call the *alif*, when *mutaharrik*, *hamzah* ; and to call the *alif*, when *sākin*, merely *alif*. ʿAbdull-wāsi, of Hānsah, in his excellent Persian Grammar, entitled *Risāla-yi ʿAbdull-wāsi*, which is read all over India, says that the *lām-alif* has the meaning of *not*.

middle letter of the word *alif*, and the letter *alif* the middle letter of the word *lām*.

The vowel-signs did not exist in ancient times, instead of which letters were dotted with a different kind of ink; thus a red dot placed over a letter expressed that the letter was followed by an *a*; a red dot in front of the letter signified a *u*; and a red dot below a letter an *i*. It was Khalil ibn-i Ahmad,¹ the famous inventor of the Metrical Art of the Arabians, who fixed the forms of the vowel-signs as they are now in use.

The beauty of a letter and its proportions depend much on personal taste; hence it is that nearly every people has a separate alphabet. Thus we find an Indian, Syrian, Greek, Hebrew, Coptic, *Maṣṣālī*, *Kūfī*, *Kaṣmīrī*, Abyssinian, Dayānī, Arabic, Persian, Himyaritic, Berbery, Andalusian, Rikaṭī, and several other ancient systems of writing. The invention of the Hebrew characters is traced in some poems to Ādam-i Haṭṭāzārī;² but some mention Idrīs³ as the inventor. Others, however, say that Idrīs perfected the *Maṣṣālī* character. According to several statements, the Kūfī character was derived by the K alifah 'Alī from the *Maṣṣālī*.

The difference in the form of a letter in the several systems, lies in the proportion of straight and round strokes; thus the Kūfī character consists of one-sixth curvature and five-sixths straight lines; the *Maṣṣālī* has no curved lines at all; hence the inscriptions which are found on ancient buildings are mostly in this character.

In writing we have to remember that black and white look well, as these colours best prevent ambiguities in reading.

In Irān and Tūrān, India and Turkey, there are eight caligraphical

i.e., "do not read this compound *lām-alif*, but pass over it, when you say the Alphabet: look upon it as a mere example of a *ḥamz* letter."

The term *ḥamz*, as used here in native schools, is carefully distinguished from the terms *Shall-i Ḥamz* and *Harḥ-i Ḥamz*. *Shall-i Ḥamz* is the small sign consisting of a semicircle, one extremity of which stands upon a straight line slightly slanting. *Harḥ-i Ḥamz* is either of the letters *alif*, *wāw*, or *yā*, but chiefly the latter, when accompanied by the *Shall-i Ḥamz*. *Ḥamz* is a general term for either of the three letters *alif*, *wāw*, *yā*, when accompanied by the *Shall-i Ḥamz*. In European grammars, the chapter on the *Ḥamz* is badly treated, because all explain the word *Ḥamz* as the name of a sign.

Another peculiarity of European grammars is this, that in arranging the letters of the alphabet, the *wāw* is placed after the *ḥa*; here in the East, the *ḥa* is invariably put before the *yā*.

¹ He is said to have been born A.H. 100, and died at Basrah, A.H. 175 or 180. He wrote several works on the science which he had established, as also several books on the rhyme, lexicographical compilations, etc.

² Adam is called *Haṭṭāzārī*, because the number of inhabitants on earth at his death had reached the number seven thousand. A better explanation is given by Badkōnī (II, p. 337, l. 10), who puts the creation of Adam seven thousand years before his time. Vide the first *Aḥ* in the Third Book.

³ Idrīs, or Enoch.

systems¹ current, of which each one is liked by some people. Six of them were derived in A.H. 310 by Ibn-i Muḡlah from the *Maṣṣālī* and the Kūfī characters, viz., the *Sulḥ*, *Tawḡṣ*, *Muḥaqqaq*, *Nashḥ*, *Rayḥān*, *Riqāṣ*. Some add the *Qubār*, and say that this seventh character had likewise been invented by him. The *Nashḥ* character is ascribed by many to Yūḡūṭ, a slave of the Khalīfah Muṭaṣṣam Billāh.² The *Sulḥ* and the *Nashḥ* consist each of one-third³ curved lines, and two-thirds straight lines; the former (the *cul*) is *jālī*,⁴ whilst the latter (the *nashḥ*) is *ḥaṣṣī*. The *Tawḡṣ* and *Riqāṣ* consist of three-fourths curved lines and one-fourth straight lines; the former is *jālī*, the latter is *ḥaṣṣī*. The *Muḥaqqaq* and *Rayḥān* contain three-fourths straight lines; the former, as in the preceding, is *jālī*, and the *Rayḥān* is *ḥaṣṣī*.

Among famous copyists I must mention 'Alī ibn-i Hīlāl, better known under the name of Ibn-i Bawwāb;⁵ he wrote well the six characters. Yūḡūṭ brought them to perfection. Six of Yūḡūṭ's pupils are noticeable; 1. Shaykh Aḥmad, so well known under the name of Shaykh-zān-yi Suhrwardī; 2. Arḡūn of Kūbul; 3. Mawlānā Yūsuf Shāh of Mashhad; 4. Mawlānā Muḥarrir Shāh, styled *Zarrīn-qalam* (the golden pen); 5. Haydar, called *Qandaknawīs* (i.e., the writer of the *jālī*); 6. Mir Yahya.

¹ It is remarkable that, in the whole chapter, there is not the slightest allusion to the art of printing. Nor do Abū 'Uṭayyah's letters, where nearly the whole of this *Aḥ* is repeated, contain a reference to printed books. The first book printed in India was the *Præterea Christiana* of Giovanni Gonzalez, a lay brother of the order of the Jesuits, who, as far as I know, first set Tamiul characters in the year 1577. After this appeared, in 1578, a book entitled *Los Sanctos*, which was followed (1) by the Tamiul Dictionary of Father Antonio de Fozza, printed in 1670, at Ambalacate, on the coast of Malabar. From that period the Danish Missionaries at Tranquebar have printed many works, a catalogue of which may be found in Alberti *Patris Solutarius luv Evangelii*. Johnson's translation of Fra P. De San Bartolomeo's *Voyage to the East Indies*, p. 295. The Italian Original has the same years: 1577, 1578, 1670.

² He was the last caliph, and reigned from 1212 to 1258, when he was put to death by Hülāgū, grandson of Chingiz Khān.

³ Hence, the name *cul*, or one-third.

⁴ *Jālī* (i.e., clear) is a term used by copyists to express that letters are thick, and written with a pen full of ink. *Ḥaṣṣī* (hidden) is the opposite.

⁵ Ibn Muḡlah, Ibn Bawwāb, and Yūḡūṭ are the three oldest caligraphists mentioned in various histories. The following notes are chiefly extracted from Balḥūtawar Khān's *Mir'at al-Arā*:

Ibn Muḡlah, or according to his full name Abū 'Alī Muḡlah, was the virier of the Khān and Arḥāzī Billāh, who reigned from A.D. 907 to 925.

Ibn-i Bawwāb, or Abū 'Uṭayyah 'Alī ibn-i Hīlāl, lived under the twenty-fifth Khalīfah, Alqādir Billāh (A.D. 902-1030), the contemporary of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, and died A.H. 416, or A.D. 1025.

Yūḡūṭ, or Shaykh Jamāl 'd-Dīn, was born at Dardhid, and was the Librarian of Muṭaṣṣam Billāh, the thirty-seventh and last Khalīfah, who imprisoned him some time on account of his Shi'ah tendencies. He survived the general slaughter (1258) of Hülāgū Khān, and died, at the age of one hundred and twenty, A.H. 697, or A.D. 1297, during the reign of Ghāzān Khān Hülāgū's great grandson.

The following calligraphists are likewise well-known: *Sūfi Nasr*¹ *Uāh*, also called *Sadr-i 'Irāqī*; *Arqūn*; *'Abd*² *Uāh*; *Khawāja 'Abd*³ *Uāh-i Sayrafi*, *Haji Muhammad*; *Mawlānā 'Abd*⁴ *Uāh-i Āshpaz*; *Mawlānā Muhi of Shirāz*; *Muḥin*⁵ *'d-Din-i Tanūri*; *Shams*⁶ *'d-Din-i Khatā'i*; *'Abd*⁷ *'r-Rahīm-i Khalūli* (?); *'Abd*⁸ *'l-Hayy*; *Mawlānā Ja'far*¹ of *Tabriz*; *Mawlānā Shāh of Mashhad*; *Mawlānā Ma'rūf*² of *Baghdād*; *Mawlānā Shams*³ *'d-Din Bāyasaṅghur*; *Muḥin*⁴ *'d-Din of Farāh*; *'Abd*⁵ *'l-Haqq of Sabzwār*; *Mawlānā Ni'mat*⁶ *Uāh-i Bawwāb*; *Khawājagī Muḥin-i Marwārid*, the inventor of variegated papers and sands for strewing on the paper: *Sultān Ibrāhīm*, son of *Mirzā Shāhrukh*; *Mawlānā Muhammad Ḥakīm Ḥāfiz*; *Mawlānā Maḥmūd Siyā'ush*; *Mawlānā Jamāl*⁷ *'d-Din Husayn*; *Mawlānā Pīr Muhammad*; *Mawlānā Fazl*⁸ *'l-Haqq of Qazwin*.³

A seventh kind of writing is called *Ta'liq*, which has been derived from the *Riqā'* and the *Tawqī'*. It contains very few straight lines, and was brought to perfection by *Khawāja Tāj-i Salmānī*,⁴ who also wrote well the other six characters. Some say that he was the inventor.

Of modern calligraphists I may mention: *Mawlānā 'Abd*¹ *'l-Hayy*, the Private Secretary² of *Sultān Abū Sa'id Mirzā*, who wrote *Ta'liq* well; *Mawlānā Darwish*; ³ *Amir Mansūr*; *Mawlānā Ibrāhīm of Astarābād*; *Khawāja Ikhtiyār*; ⁴ *Munshī Jamāl*⁵ *'d-Din*; *Muhammad of Qazwin*; *Mawlānā Idrīs*; *Khawāja Muhammad Husayn Munshi*; and *Ashraf Khān*.⁶

¹ He lived in the beginning of the fifteenth century, at the time of *Mirzā Shāhrukh* (1404-47).

² A contemporary and rival of the great poet *Salmān of Sawah* (died 769). The name *Ma'rūf* appears to have been common in *Baghdād* since the times of the famous saint *Ma'rūf of Karkh* (a part of *Baghdād*).

³ The *Makhtūbāt* and the *Mir'āt* also mention *Mullā Abū Bakr*, and *Shaykh Maḥmūd*.

⁴ According to the *Makhtūbāt* and several MSS., *Sulaymānī*.

⁵ In the original text, p. 114, l. 5, by mistake, *Mawlānā 'Abd*¹ *'l-Hayy* and the *Munshi of Sultān Abū Sa'id*.

⁶ *Mawlānā Darwish Muhammad* was a friend of the famous *Amir 'Alī Sher*, the vizier of *Sultān Husayn Mirzā*, king of *Khurāsān* (A.D. 1470 to 1505), and the patron of the poet *Jāmi*. *Mawlānā Darwish* entered afterwards the service of *Shāh Junayd-i Safawi*, king of *Persia* (A.D. 1499 to 1525). A biography of the *Mawlānā* may be found in the *Ma'asir-i Rahimī*, p. 751.

⁷ *Khawāja Ikhtiyār*, the contemporary and successful rival of the preceding calligraphist. He was Private Secretary to *Sultān Husayn Mirzā*.

⁸ This is the title of *Muhammad Asghar*, a Sayyid from *Mashhad*—or according to the *Tabaqāt-i Akbari*, from *Arābshāhī*. He served *Humāyūn* as *Mir Munshī*, *Mir 'Arzi*, and *Mir Māli*. He accompanied *Tardi Beg* on his flight from *Dihli*, when *Bayrām*, and had to go to *Mecca*. He rejoined *Akbar* in A.H. 968, when *Bayrām* had just fallen in disgrace, received in the following year the title of *Ashraf Khān*, and served under *Mun'im Khān* in *Bengal*. He died in the tenth year of *Akbar's* reign, A.H. 973. In *Abū 'l-Faṭṭāl's* list of grandees, in the second book, *Ashraf Khān* is quoted as a commander of two thousand *Badāoni* mentions him among the contemporaneous poets. *Abū 'l-Muza'far*, *Ashraf Khān's* son, was, A.D. 1596 a commander of five hundred.

the Private Secretary of his Majesty, who improved the *Ta'liq* very much.

The eighth character which I have to mention is the *Nasta'liq*; it consists entirely of round lines. They say that *Mir 'Alī* of *Tabriz*, a contemporary of *Timūr*, derived it from the *Nashh* and the *Ta'liq*; but this can scarcely be correct because there exist books in the *Nasta'liq* character written before *Timūr's* time. Of *Mir 'Alī's* pupils, I may mention two:¹ *Mawlānā Ja'far* of *Tabriz*, and *Mawlānā Azhar*; and of other calligraphists in *Ta'liq*, *Mawlānā Muhammad* of *Awbah* (near *Hirāt*), an excellent writer; *Mawlānā Bāri* of *Hirāt*; and *Mawlānā Sultān 'Alī*² of *Mashhad*, who surpasses them all. He imitated the writing of *Mawlānā Azhar*, though he did not learn from him personally. Six of his pupils are well known: *Sultān Muhammad-i Khandān*; ³ *Sultān Muhammad Nūr*; *Mawlānā 'Alā'*⁴ *'d-Din*⁵ of *Hirāt*; *Mawlānā Zayn*⁶ *'d-Din* (of *Nishāpūr*); *Mawlānā 'Abd*⁷ *i Nishāpūr*; *Muhammad Qāsim Shādī Shāh*, each of whom possessed some distinguishing qualities.

Besides these, there are a great number of other good calligraphists, who are famous for their skill in *Nasta'liq*; as *Mawlānā Sultān 'Alī*, of *Qāyin*; ⁸ *Mawlānā Sultān 'Alī* of *Mashhad*; ⁹ *Mawlānā Hijrānī*; ⁷ and after them the illustrious *Mawlānā Mir 'Alī*,⁶ the pupil, as it appears, of *Mawlānā Zayn*⁵ *'d-Din*. He brought his art to perfection by imitating the writing of *Sultān 'Alī* of *Mashhad*. The new method, which he established, is a proof of his genius; he has left many masterpieces. Some one asked him once what the difference was between his writing and that of the *Mawlānā*. He said, "I also have brought writing to perfection; but yet, his method has a peculiar charm."

¹ The *Mir'āt* mentions a third immediate pupil of *Mir 'Alī Mawlānā Khawāja Muhammad*, and relates that he put *Mir 'Alī's* name to his own writings, without giving offence to his master.

² He also was a friend of *Amir 'Alī Sher*, and died A.H. 910, during the reign of *Sultān 'Alī*. — the fourth note.

³ He was always happy. He was a friend of *Amir 'Alī Sher*.

⁴ In the *Makhtūbāt* *'Alā'*¹ *'d-Din Muhammad* of *Hirāt*.

⁵ He was the instructor of *Sultān Husayn Mirzā's* children, and died A.H. 914. *Qāyin* is a Persian town, S.E. of *Khurāsān*, near the frontier of *Afghānistān*. It is spelt *Qhayan* on our maps.

⁶ According to the *Makhtūbāt*, *Mawlānā Sultān 'Alī Sher* of *Mashhad*, which is evidently the correct reading.

⁷ A poet and friend of *Amir 'Alī Sher*. He died A.H. 921.

⁸ *Mawlānā Mir 'Alī*, a Sayyid of *Hirāt*, died A.H. 924. As a poet he is often mentioned together with *Mir Ahmad*, son of *Mir Khuraw* of *Dihli*, and *Bayrām Khān*, *Akbār's* *Khānkhānān*, as a master of *Dakhli* poetry. *Dakhli*, or *entering*, is the skillful use which a poet makes of verses, or parts of verses, of another poet.

Thaneer.¹ The book contains nearly one hundred thousand verses: His Majesty call this ancient history *Razm-āra*, the book of Wars. The same learned men translated also into Persian the Rāmīyān, likewise a book of ancient Hindustan, which contains the life of Rām Chandra, but is full of interesting points of Philosophy. Hājī Ibrāhīm of Sarland translated into Persian the *Alfārān*,² which, according to the Hindūs, is one of

II, pp. 326, 327) from the Sanskrit into Persian, receiving for twenty-four thousand *shils* 150 *Ashrafis* and 10,000 *Takas*, and parts of the *Mahābhārata*, extracts from the History of Rashīd, and the *Shah-nāma*, a work on the *Heaven*. A copy of another of his works, entitled *Nasb-i Nāsih*, may be found among the Persian MSS. of the As. Soc. General. His historical work, entitled *Mushtak-i Tawdīh*, is much prized as written by an enemy of Akbar, whose character, in its grandeur and its failings, is much more prominent than in the *Alfārān* or the *Zafar-nāma*. Akbar or the *Mahmūd-i Shām*. It is especially of value for the religious views of the emperor, and contains interesting biographies of most famous men and poets of Akbar's time. The History ends with the beginning of A.H. 1001, or eleven years before Akbar's death, and we may conclude that Badāonī died soon after that year. The book was kept secret, and according to a statement in the *Mushtak-i Tawdīh*, it was made public during the reign of Jahāngīr, who showed his displeasure by disbelieving the statement of Badāonī's children that they themselves had been unaware of the existence of the book. The Tuzuk-i Jahāngīr unfortunately says nothing about this circumstance, but Badāonī's work was certainly not known in A.H. 1025, the tenth year of Jahāngīr's reign, in which the *Mahmūd-i Shām* was written, whose author complained of the want of a history beside the *Tabaqāt*, and the *Alfārān*.

In point of style, Badāonī is much inferior to Bahādur Khān (*Mushtak-i Tawdīh*) and Muhammad Kāsim (the *Shah-nāma*), but somewhat superior to his friend Mirza Nāsim 'd Din Ahmad of Hirat, author of the *Tabaqāt*, and to Akbar 'd Hamīd of Lāhor, author of the *Pidāyān*.

Akbar 'd Qādir of Badaon must not be confounded with Mawlānā Qādir, another learned man contemporaneous with Akbar.

¹ Vide Badāonī II, p. 278, and for Hājī Ibrāhīm, ib. p. 130 (il. p. 278—B).
² "In this year (A.H. 963, or A.D. 1575) a learned Brahmin, Shakhī Bhāwan, had come from the Dakhin and turned *Muslim* in Badaon, when His Majesty gave me the order to translate the *Alfārān*. Several of the religious precepts of this book resemble the laws of Islām. As in translating I found many difficult passages, which Shakhī Bhāwan could not interpret either, I reported the circumstance to His Majesty, who ordered Shakhī Fayz, and then Hājī Ibrāhīm, to translate it. The latter, though willing, did not write anything. Among the precepts of the *Alfārān*, there is one which says that no man will be saved unless he read a certain passage. This passage contains many times the letter *f*, and resembles very much our *Alif-lā ilāh illā 'Alīh*. Besides, I found that a Hindū under certain conditions, may eat cow flesh, and another, that Hindūs bury their dead, but do not burn them. With such passages the Shakhī used to defeat other Brahmins in argument, and they had in fact led him to embrace Islām. Let us praise God for his conversion!" *Badāonī*, II, p. 122.

The translation of the *Mahābhārata* was not quite a failure. "For two nights His Majesty himself translated some passages of the *Mahābhārata*, and told Naqīb Khān to write down the general meaning in Persian; the third night he associated me with Naqīb Khān; and, after three or four months, two of the eighteen chapters of these useless absurdities—enough to confound the eighteen worlds—were laid before His Majesty. But the emperor took exception to my translation, and called me a *Harāmīkār* and a *turnip eater*, as if that was my share of the book. Another part was subsequently finished by Naqīb Khān and Mullā Sherī, and another part by Sulṭān Hajj of Thaneer, then Shakhī Fayz was appointed, who wrote two chapters, prose and poetry, then the Hājī wrote two other parts, adding a verbal translation of the parts that had been left out. He thus got a hundred *guz* together, closely written, so exactly rendered, that even the accidental dirt of flies on the

the four divine books. The *Lilawati*, which is one of the most excellent works written by Indian mathematicians on arithmetic, lost its Hindū veil, and received a Persian garb from the hand of my elder brother, Shakhī Akbar 'd Fayz-i Fayzī.¹ At the command of His Majesty, Mukammal Khān of Gujrāt translated into Persian the *Tajak*, a well-known work on Astronomy. The Memoirs² of Akbar, the Conqueror of the world, which may be called a code of practical wisdom, have been translated from Turkish into Persian by Mirza Akbar 'd-Rahīm Khān, the present Khān Khānān (Commander-in-Chief). The History of Kashmir, which extends over the last four thousand years, has been translated from Kashmīrī into Persian³ by Mawlānā Shāh Muhammad of Shāhābād. The *Musammas-i Buldīn*, an excellent work on towns and countries, has been translated from Arabic into Persian by several Arabic scholars, as Mullā Ahmad of Thathah, Qāsim Beg, Shakhī Munawwar, and others. The *Harībās*, a book containing the life of Krishna, was translated into Persian by Mawlānā Sherī (under the poetical extracts of the second book). By order of His Majesty, the author of this volume composed a new version of the *Kalīdah Dīmāh*, and published it under the title of *Āyūr Dānish*.⁴ The original is a masterpiece of practical wisdom, but is full of rhetorical difficulties; and though Nasir 'd-Hab-i Mustawfi and Mawlānā Husayn-i Wāsi-ba translated it into Persian, their style abounds in rare metaphors and difficult words. The Hindū story of the love of Nal and Daman, which melts the hearts of feeling readers, has been metrically translated by my

original was not left out; but he was soon after driven from Court, and is now in Bhakhar. Other translators not interpreters, however, continue nowadays the fight between Parsīs and the Kurus. May God Almighty protect those that are not engaged in this war, and accept their repentance, and bear the prayer of pardon of every one who does not hide his distrust, and whose heart rests in Islām; for "He allows men to return to Him in repentance." This *Farrūdīn* was illuminated, and repeatedly copied; the graders were ordered to make copies, and Akbar 'd Fayz wrote an introduction to it of about two *guz*, c.c." *Badāonī*, II, p. 302. A copy of this translation in two volumes, containing eighteen *fars* (فارس) is among the MSS. of the As. Soc. of Bengal, No. 1327. One *guz* (فارس) is sixteen pages *quarto*, or two sheets.

¹ This work has been printed. *Abū 'l-Fayz's words Hindū veil* are an allusion to *Lilawati's* sex.

² Vide *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, p. 417. The *Wāqīāt-i Timūr* were translated into Persian, during the reign of Shāhābād, by Mir Abū Tālib-i Turbatī. *Pādshāh-nāma* II, p. 288, edit. Bibl. Indica. "Conqueror of the world," *ghā' al-din*, is Bābar's title. Regarding the titles of the Mughal Emperors from Babar to Bahādur Shāh, vide *Journal As. Soc. Bengal* for 1868, Part I, p. 39.

³ "During this year (A.H. 997, or A.D. 1590-1), I received the order from His Majesty to write in an easy style, the History of Kashmir, which Mullā Shāh Muhammad of Shāhābād, a very learned man, had translated into Persian. I finished this undertaking in two months, when my work was put into the Imperial Library, to be read out to His Majesty in its turn." *Badāonī*, II, p. 374.

⁴ Regarding the tragic end of this "heretic", vide *Badāonī*, II, p. 364. Notices regarding the other two men will be found in the third volume of *Badāonī*.

⁵ For *Āyūr-i Dānish*. Such abbreviations are common in titles.

brother Shaykh Fayzi-i Fayyāzi, in the *maghnawī* metre of the Layi Majnūn, and is now everywhere known under the title of *Nal Daman*.¹

As His Majesty has become acquainted with the treasure of history, he ordered several well-informed writers to compose a work containing the events which have taken place in the seven zones for the last one thousand years. Naqib Khān, and several others, commenced this history. A very large portion was subsequently added by Mullā Ahmad of Thathah, and the whole concluded by Jaṣfar Beg-i Āsaf Khān. The introduction is composed by me. The work has the title of *Tārīkh-i Alfī*,² the History of a thousand years.

The Art of Painting.

Drawing the likeness of anything is called *tasvīr*. His Majesty, from his earliest youth, has shown a great predilection for this art, and gives it every encouragement, as he looks upon it as a means, both of study and amusement. Hence the art flourishes, and many painters have obtained great reputation. The works of all painters are weekly laid before His Majesty by the Dārōghas and the clerks; he then confers rewards according to excellence of workmanship, or increases the monthly salaries. Much progress was made in the commodities required by painters, and the correct prices of such articles were carefully ascertained. The mixture of colours has especially been improved. The pictures thus received a hitherto unknown finish. Most excellent painters are now to be found, and masterpieces, worthy of a *Bihzād*,³ may be placed at the side of the wonderful works of the European painters who have attained world-wide fame. The minuteness in detail, the general finish, the boldness of execution, etc., now observed in pictures, are incomparable; even inanimate

¹ "Fayzi's *Naldaman* (for *Nal o Daman* contains about 4,200 verses, and was composed, A.H. 1003, in the short space of five months). It was presented to Akbar with a few *ashrafis* as *nazar*. It was put among the set of books read at Court, and Naqib Khān was appointed to read it out to His Majesty. It is, indeed, a *masnawī*, the like of which, for the last three hundred years, no poet of Hindustan, after Mir Khusrāw of Dihli, has composed." *Badāonī*, ii, p. 296.

² In A.H. 1000, A.D. 1591-2, the belief appears to have been current among the Muhammadans that Islam and the world were approaching their end. Various men arose, pretending to be *Imām Mahdī*, who is to precede the reappearance of Christ on earth; and even Badāonī's belief got doubtful on this point. Akbar's disciples saw in the common rumour a happy omen for the propagation of the *Din-i Ilāhī*. The *Tārīkh-i Alfī* was likewise to give prominence to this idea.

The copy of the *Tārīkh-i Alfī* in the Library of the As. Soc. of Bengal (No. 10) contains no preface, commences with the events subsequent to the death of the Prophet (8th June, 632), and ends abruptly with the reign of ʿUmar ibn-i ʿAbdū'l-Malik (A.H. 99, or A.D. 717-18). The years are reckoned from the death of the Prophet, not from the Hijrah. For further particulars regarding this book, vide *Badāonī*, ii, p. 317.

³ "Bihzād was a famous painter, who lived at the court of Shāh Ismaʿīl-i Safawī of Persia." *Sirdjullughāt*.

objects look as if they had life. More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of the art, whilst the number of those who approach perfection, or of those who are middling, is very large. This is especially true of the Hindus; ¹ their pictures surpass our conception of things. Few, indeed, in the whole world are found equal to them.

Among the forerunners on the high road of art I may mention :

1. Mir Sayyid ʿAlī of Tabriz.² He learned the art from his father. From the time of his introduction at Court, the ray of royal favour has shone upon him. He has made himself famous in his art, and has met with much success.

2. Khwāja ʿAbd' ʿs-Ṣamad, styled *Shīrīngalam*, or *sweet pen*. He comes from Shirāz. Though he had learnt the art before he was made a grandee ³ of the Court, his perfection was mainly due to the wonderful effect of a look of His Majesty, which caused him to turn from that which is form to that which is spirit. From the instruction they received, the Khwāja's pupils became masters.

3. Daswanth. He is the son of a palkee-bearer. He devoted his whole life to the art, and used, from love of his profession, to draw and paint figures even on walls. One day the eye of His Majesty fell on him; his talent was discovered, and he himself handed over to the Khwāja. In a short time he surpassed all painters, and became the first master of the age. Unfortunately the light of his talents was dimmed by the shadow of madness; he committed suicide. He has left many masterpieces.

4. Basāwan. In back grounding, drawing of features, distribution of colours, portrait painting, and several other branches, he is most excellent; so much so that many critics prefer him to Daswanth.

The following painters have likewise attained fame: Kesū, Lāl, Mukund, Mushkīn, Farrukh the Qalmāq (Calmück), Mādhi,⁴ Jagan, Mohesh, Khemkaran, Tārā, Sāwāl, Haribās, Rām. It would take me too long to describe the excellencies of each. My intention is "to pluck a flower from every meadow, an ear from every sheaf".

I have to notice that the observing of the figures of objects and the making of likenesses of them, which are often looked upon as an idle occupation, are, for a well regulated mind, a source of wisdom, and an

¹ Compare with Abū 'l-Faḍl's opinion, Elphinstone's *History of India*, second edition, p. 174.

² Better known as a poet under the name of Juddī. Vide the poetical extracts of the second book. He illuminated the *Story of Amir Hamzah*, mentioned on the next page.

³ He was a *Chahārgadī*. Vide the list of grantees in the second book, No. 266.

⁴ Mentioned in the *Maʿasir-i Rahīmī* (p. 753) as in the service of ʿAbd' ʿr-Rahīm Khān Khānān, Akbar's commander-in-chief.

antidote against the poison of ignorance. Bigoted followers of the letter of the law are hostile to the art of painting; but their eyes now see the truth. One day at a private party of friends, His Majesty, who had conferred on several the pleasure of drawing near him, remarked: "There are many that hate painting; but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognizing God; for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the giver of life, and will thus increase in knowledge."

The number of masterpieces of painting increased with the encouragement given to the art. Persian books, both prose and poetry, were ornamented with pictures, and a very large number of paintings was thus collected. The *Story of Hamzah* was represented in twelve volumes, and clever painters made the most astonishing illustrations for no less than one thousand and four hundred passages of the story. The *Chingiznāma*, the *Zafarnāma*,¹ this book, the *Razmnāma*, the *Ramāyan*, the *Nal Daman*, the *Kalilah Damnah*, the *ʿAyār Dānish*, etc., were all illustrated. His Majesty himself sat for his likeness, and also ordered to have the likenesses taken of all the grandees of the realm. An immense album was thus formed: those that have passed away have received a new life, and those who are still alive have immortality promised them.

In the same manner, as painters are encouraged, employment is held out to ornamental artists, gilders, line-drawers, and pagers.

Many *Manṣabdārs*, *Aḥadīs*, and other soldiers, hold appointments in this department. The pay of foot soldiers varies from 1,200 to 600 *dāms*.

Ā'in 35.

THE ARSENAL.

The order of the household, the efficiency of the army, and the welfare of the country, are intimately connected with the state of this department; hence His Majesty gives it every attention, and looks scrutinizingly into its working order. He introduces all sorts of new methods, and studies their applicability to practical purposes. Thus a plated armour was brought before His Majesty, and set up as a target; but no bullet was so

powerful as to make an impression on it. A sufficient number of such armours has been made so as to supply whole armies. His Majesty also looks into the prices of such as are sold in the *bāzārs*.

All weapons for the use of His Majesty have names, and a proper rank is assigned to them. Thus there are thirty swords (*khāṣa* swords), one of which is daily sent to His Majesty's sleeping apartments. The old one is returned, and handed over to the servants outside the harem, who keep it till its turn comes again. Forty other swords are kept in readiness; they are called *kotal* swords. When the number of *khāṣa* swords (in consequence of presents, etc.) has decreased to twelve, they supply new ones from the *kotal* swords. There are also twelve *Yakbandī* (?),¹ the turn of every one of which recurs after one week. Of *Jāmdhars* and *Khapwas*, there are forty of each. Their turn recurs every week; and each has thirty *kotals*, from which deficiencies are supplied as before. Besides, eight knives, twenty spears and *barchhas* are required monthly. Of eighty-six *Mashhadī* bows, *Bhadāyan* bows, and twenty-four others, are returned monthly. . . .² In the same manner a rank is assigned to each.

Whenever His Majesty rides out, or at the time of the *Bār-i ʿĀm*, or *Levee*, the sons of the *Amirs*, and other *Manṣabdārs* and *Aḥadīs*, carry the *Qur* in their hands and on their shoulders, i.e. every four of them carry four quivers, four bows, four swords, four shields; and besides, they take up lances, spears, axes, pointed axes, *piyāzī* war-clubs, sticks, bullet bows, pestles, and a footstool, all properly arranged. Several *qatār*³ of camels and mules are loaded with weapons and kept in readiness; and on travels they use Bactrian camels, etc., for that purpose. At court receptions, the *Amirs* and other people stand opposite the *Qur*, ready for any service; and on the march they follow behind it, with the exception of a few who are near His Majesty. Elephants in full trappings, camels, carriages, *naqqāras*, flags, the *kavkabas*, and other Imperial insignia, accompany the *Qur*, while eager macebearers superintend the march, assisted by the *Mirbakhs*. In hunting expeditions several swift runners are in attendance, and a few others are in charge of harnesses.

In order to shorten the trouble of making references, I shall enumerate the weapons now in use in form of a table, and give pictures of some of them.

¹ I doubt the correctness of the translation. The word *yakbandī* is not in the dictionaries.

² The text has an unintelligible sentence.

³ Five camels are called *qatār*, in *Hind*, *qatār*. A string of some length is tied to the tail of the front camel and is drawn through the nose holes of the rest behind it, and so on. Young camels are put on the backs of their mothers.

¹ A History of the House of Tīmūr, by Sharaf 'd-Din of Yazd (died 1446). Vide Morley's Catalogue of Historical MSS., p. 94.

1. Swords (slightly bent)	$\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 15 <i>Muharr.</i>
2. <i>Kīlāh</i> (straight swords)	1 to 10 R.
3. <i>Gupī</i> <i>ṣeqū</i> (a sword in a walking stick)	2 to 20 R.
4. <i>Jamīdār</i> (a broad dagger)	$\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 2½ M.
5. <i>Khānjār</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 R.
6. <i>Kīl</i> <i>ṣeqū</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 1½ M.
7. <i>Jamīdār</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 1½ M.
8. <i>Bil</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 1 M.
9. <i>Jamīdār</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 1 M.
10. <i>Kotāra</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 1 M.
11. <i>Nārsīn</i> <i>ṣeqū</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 2 M.
12. <i>Kamān</i> (bows)	$\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 3 M.
13. <i>Talāh</i> <i>kamān</i>	1 to 4 R.
14. <i>Nārsīn</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 1 M.
15. Arrows, <i>per</i> bundle	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 30 R.
16. Quivers	$\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 2 M.
17. <i>Dādī</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 R.
18. <i>Tīrkandūr</i> (arrow drawers) ¹	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 2½ d.
19. <i>Pailār</i> <i>ṣeqū</i> (do)	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 R.
20. <i>Nārsīn</i> (a lance)	1½ R. to 6 M.
21. <i>Barchha</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 2 M.
22. <i>Sik</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1½ R.
23. <i>Sainthī</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 R.
24. <i>Selara</i>	10 d. to ½ R.
25. <i>Gurz</i> (a war club)	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 R.
26. <i>Shāshpar</i> (do)	$\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 3 M.
27. <i>Ketan</i> (I) ²	1 to 3 R.
28. <i>Tabar</i> (a war axe)	$\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 2 M.
29. <i>Piyāzī</i> (a club)	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 R.
30. <i>Zūghnāl</i> (a pointed axe)	$\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 1 M.
31. <i>Chakar-basola</i>	1 to 6 R.
32. <i>Tabar zūghnāl</i>	1 to 1 R.
33. <i>Tarangāla</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 R.
34. <i>Kūrd</i> (a knife)	2 d. to 1 M.
35. <i>Gupī lārd</i>	3 R. to 1½ M.
36. <i>Qarichī lārd</i>	1 to 3½ R.
37. <i>Chāqū</i> (a clasp knife)	2 d. to 1 R.

¹ If this spelling be correct, it is the same as the next (No. 10); but it may be *ṣeqū* *ṣeqū*, an arrow with a feather at the bottom of the shaft, a barbed arrow.

² This name is doubtful. The MSS. give all sorts of spellings. Vide my text edition, p. 121, l. 1. The dictionaries give no information.

38. <i>Kamān-ı gūrola</i> (bullet bow)	2 d. to 1 R.
39. <i>Kan tha</i>	5 d. to 3 R.
40. <i>Tufāh</i> <i>ı dāhīn</i> (a tube; Germ. Blaserrohr)	10 d. to ½ R.
41. <i>Pushkīlār</i> ²	2 d. to 2 R.
42. <i>Shāshpar</i> ²	2 d. to 1 R.
43. <i>Girākhustī</i>	1 d. to ½ R.
44. <i>Khān-ı rāhī</i>	1 to 5 R.
45. <i>Gobhār</i> (a sling)	1½ d. to ½ R.
46. <i>Gajkēg</i>	1 to 5 R.
47. <i>Sipar</i> (a shield)	1 to 50 R.
48. <i>Dīāl</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 4 M.
49. <i>Kler</i>	1 R. to 1 M.
50. <i>Patrī</i>	1 R. to 1 M.
51. <i>Udāna</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 R.
52. <i>Dubulgān</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 3½ M.
53. <i>Khāghī</i>	1 to 4 R.
54. <i>Zarh kulāh</i>	1 to 5 R.
55. <i>Ghāghūca</i>	1 R. to 2 M.
56. <i>Jaiṣāh</i> ⁴	20 R. to 30 M.
57. <i>Zarh</i>	1½ R. to 100 M.
58. <i>Bagʿar</i>	4 R. to 12 M.
59. <i>Jūrʿan</i>	4 R. to 9 M.
60. <i>Chār āṭina</i>	2 R. to 7 M.
61. <i>Kothī</i>	5 R. to 6 M.
62. <i>Sīdīqī</i>	3 R. to 8 M.
63. <i>Angirīṭa</i>	1½ R. to 5 M.
64. <i>Bhanyū</i>	3 R. to 2 M.
65. <i>Chīrah-zīrīṭ-ı āhanī</i>	1½ R. to 1 M.
66. <i>Salkhabā</i>	5 R. to 8 M.
67. <i>Chīhīlqad</i>	5 to 25 R.
68. <i>Dastūcāna</i>	1½ R. to 2 M.
69. <i>Rāk</i> ⁴	1 R. to 10 M.

¹ Vide *Journal As Société D'engal*, for 1868, p. 61.

² A weapon resembling the following. The word *Shāshpar*, or more correctly *shāshpar*, means a thing by which you can hook anything. In Vullers' Persian Dicty., II, p. 426h, read *ṣeqū* for *ṣeqū* (I).

³ This word is used in a general sense, an armour. It is either Turkish, or a corruption of the Arab *jūṣāh*. The form *jaiṣāh* is occasionally met with, but *jaiṣāh*, as given by Vullers I, p. 508a, is wrong, and against the metre of his quotation.

⁴ According to some MSS *rdg*

70. <i>Kan̄tha sobhā</i> ¹	. . . . .	1 to 10 R.
71. <i>Moza-yi ākan̄i</i>	. . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 R.
72. <i>Kajem</i>	. . . . .	50 to 300 R.
73. <i>Ariak</i> (the quilt) -i <i>kajēm</i>	. . . . .	4 R. to 7 M.
74. <i>Qashqa</i>	. . . . .	1 R. to 2½ M.
75. <i>Gardani</i> ²	. . . . .	1 R. to 1 M.
76. Matchlocks	. . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 1 M.
77. <i>Bān</i> (rockets)	. . . . .	2½ to 4 R.

Ā'in 36.

ON GUNS.

Guns are wonderful locks for protecting the august edifice of the state; and befitting keys for the door of conquest. With the exception of Turkey, there is perhaps no country which in its guns has more means of securing the government than this. There are nowadays guns made of such a size that the ball weighs 12 *mans*; several elephants and a thousand cattle are required to transport one. His Majesty looks upon the care bestowed on the efficiency of this branch as one of the higher objects of a king, and therefore devotes to it much of his time. *Dārōghas* and clever clerks are appointed to keep the whole in proper working order.

His Majesty has made several inventions which have astonished the whole world. He made a gun which, on marches, can easily be taken to pieces, and properly put together again when required. By another invention, His Majesty joins seventeen guns in such a manner as to be able to fire them simultaneously with one match. Again, he made another kind of gun, which can easily be carried by a single elephant; such guns have the name *Gujnā's*. Guns which a single man may carry are called *Narnā's*.

The imperial guns are carefully distributed over the whole kingdom, and each *Šiba* has that kind which is fit for it. For the siege of fortresses and for naval engagements, His Majesty has separate guns made, which accompany his victorious armies on their marches. It is impossible to count every gun; besides clever workmen make continually new ones, especially *Gujnā's* and *Narnā's*.

Amīrs and *Mhadīs* are on staff employ in this branch. The pay of the foot varies from 100 to 400 *d*.

¹ The figure represents a long spear; but the etymology, as also its position in the list of weapons, shows that it must be a part of the armour, a neck piece.

² A round shield like plate of iron attached to the neck of the horse and hanging down so as to protect the chest of the animal.

Ā'in 37.

ON MATCHLOCKS, ETC.

These are in particular favour with His Majesty, who stands unrivalled in their manufacture, and as a marksman. Matchlocks are now made so strong that they do not burst, though let off when filled to the top. Formerly they could not fill them to more than a quarter. Besides, they made them with the hammer and the anvil by flattening pieces of iron, and joining the flattened edges of both sides. Some left them, from foresight, on one edge open; but numerous accidents were the result, especially in the former kind. His Majesty has invented an excellent method of construction. They flatten iron, and twist it round obliquely in form of a roll, so that the folds get longer at every twist; they then join the folds, not edge to edge, but so as to allow them to lie one over the other, and heat them gradually in the fire. They also take cylindrical pieces of iron, and pierce them when hot with an iron pin. Three or four of such pieces make one gun; or, in the case of smaller ones, two. Guns are often made of a length of two yards; those of a smaller kind are one and a quarter yards long, and go by the name of *Damānak*. The gunstocks are differently made. From the practical knowledge of His Majesty, guns are now made in such a manner that they can be fired off, without a match, by a slight movement of the cock. Bullets are also made so as to cut like a sword. Through the assistance of the inventive genius of His Majesty there are now many masters to be found among gunmakers, e.g., *Ustād Kabir* and *Husayn*.

Iron, when heated, loses about one-half of its volume.

When a barrel is completed lengthways, before the transverse bottom-piece is fixed to it, they engrave on it the quantity of its iron and the length, both being expressed in numerals. A barrel thus far finished, is called *Daul*. In this imperfect state they are sent to His Majesty, and delivered, in proper order, at the harem, to which place they are also brought for . . .¹ At the same time, the weight of the ball is fixed, and the order is given for the transverse section of the matchlock. For long guns the weight of a ball does not exceed twenty-five *tānkas*, and for smaller ones fifteen. But balls of the former weight no one but His Majesty² would dare to fire. When the barrels are polished, they are again

¹ The text has an unintelligible word; the variants *le-tionas* are marked on p. 125 c¹ of text edition. Note (13) The *Banāras* MS. has *لن*. The word appears to be a foreign term.

² Akbar was remarkable for bodily strength. Vide *Turuk-i Jahāngīr*, p. 16.

sent to the harem, and preserved in proper order. They are afterwards taken out, and closed, by the order of His Majesty, with a transverse bottom-piece. Having been put to an old stock, they are filled to one-third of the barrel with powder, and fired off. If no *tdrūrīsh*¹ takes place, and the trial is satisfactory, they take the barrels again to His Majesty, who gives the order to finish the mouthpiece of the barrel. After this the gun is again placed on the stock, and subjected to a trial. If the ball issues in a crooked line, the barrel is heated, and straightened by means of a rod introduced into it, and, in the presence of His Majesty, handed over to a flier. He adorns the outside of the barrel in various ways, according to orders, when it is taken to the harem. The wood and the shape of the stock are then determined on. Several things are marked on every matchlock, viz., the weight of the raw and the manufactured iron, the former marks being now removed; the place where the iron is taken from; the workman; the place where the gun is made; the date; its number. Sometimes without reference to a proper order, one of the unfinished barrels is selected and completed at His Majesty's command. It is then entered in another place; the transverse bottom-piece is fixed; and the order is given to make the cock, the ramrod, the *pargaz*,² etc. As soon as all these things have been completed, a new trial is ordered; and when it succeeds, they tend in the gun, and deliver it a third time at the harem. In this state the gun is called *stīa* (plain). Five bullets are sent along with it. His Majesty, after trying it in the manner above described, returns it with the fifth bullet. The order for the colour of the barrel and the stock is now given; one of the nine kinds of colour is selected for the stock. Guns also differ in the quality of inlaid gold and enamel; the colour of the barrel is uniform. A gun thus far completed is called *rangīn* (coloured). It is now, as before, handed over together with five bullets; His Majesty makes four trials, and returns it with the last ball. When ten of such guns are ready, His Majesty orders to inlay the mouth of the barrel and the butt end with gold. They are then again sent for trial into the harem, and whenever ten are quite complete they are handed over to the slaves.

¹ *Tdrūrīsh* means a tridling; the particular meaning which it here has, is not clear and not given in the Dictionaries.

² *Pargaz*, or *Purgaz*, may mean the groove into which the ramrod is put, or the ramrod itself. The word is not in the dict., and appears to be unknown at the present day.

Ā¹ p 33.

THE MANNER OF CLEANING GUNS.

Formerly a strong man had to work a long time with iron instruments in order to clean matchlocks. His Majesty, from his practical knowledge, has invented a wheel, by the motion of which sixteen barrels may be cleaned in a very short time. The wheel is turned by a cow. Plate XV will best show what sort of a machine it is.

Ā¹ in 39.

THE RANKS OF THE GUNS.

The Imperial arsenal contains *manufactured, purchased, and presented*, guns. Each of them is either *long*, or *short*; and these are again subdivided into *sāda* (plain), *rangīn* (coloured), and *koṣṭkār* (hammered) guns. His Majesty has selected out of several thousand guns, one hundred and five as *khāṣa*, i.e. for his special use. *First*, twelve in honour of the twelve months; each of them is brought back in its turn after eleven months. *Secondly*, thirty for every week; after every seven days one goes out, and another is brought. *Thirdly*, thirty-two for the solar days; one for every day. *Fourthly*, thirty-one *kotals*. Sometimes there are only twenty-eight. Whenever some of the former guns have been given away, *kotals* are brought, to supply their places. The order of precedence is as follows: the guns for the month; the week; days; *kotals*; plain; coloured; *koṣṭkār*, not handed over to the slaves; *koṣṭkār*, handed over to the slaves; long ones, selected from *peshkash* presents, or from such as were bought; *damānaks*, selected from *peshkash*, or from bought ones; such as have been chosen from selections of both. The one hundred and five *khāṣa* guns are divided into seven parts; every fifteen form a *kishk*, or guard, and are always kept ready by the slaves. On Sundays two are taken from the first; four from the second; five from the third; four from the fourth. This order is also followed on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays. On Thursdays, two are again taken from the first, and four from the second; four from the third; five from the fourth. On Fridays, one is taken from the first; five from the second; four from the third; five from the fourth. So also for Saturdays. In order to supply the places of such *khāṣa* guns as have been given away, five other classes have been determined on: half *kotals*, fourteen; quarter *kotals*, seven; one-eighth *kotals*, four; one-sixteenth *kotals*, two; one-thirtysecond *kotals*, one. When *kotal* guns are given away, they bring half *kotals*; similarly, the place of a gun,

when given away, is taken by the next; and the place of the last is supplied by one selected from such as have been bought.

One hundred and one guns are continually kept in the harem. Their order is as follows. On the first day of every solar month eleven guns are handed over to the servants of the harem, one of each of the guns for the months, the weeks, the days, the *kotals*, the plain ones, the coloured ones, the *kofikār* not in charge of the slaves, the *kofār* in their charge, the selected long ones, the selected *Damānaks*, the chosen ones of the selected ones. On the second day only the guns of the months (i.e. ten) are handed over in the same order. For ten days an equal number is sent to the harem.

His Majesty practises often. When he has tried each gun, he commences from the beginning; and when each gun has been used four times it is sent away and replaced by a new one of each kind. If guns have been left unused at the beginning of a new month, they are placed last, and the guns for the current month are put first.

An order has also been given to the writers to write down the game killed by His Majesty with the particulars of the guns used. Thus it was found that with the gun which has the name of *Sangrām* one thousand and nineteen animals have been killed. This gun is the first of His Majesty's private guns, and is used during the *Farwārīn* month of the present era.

Ā'in 40.

ON THE PAY OF THE MATCHLOCK BEARERS.

The pay of a *Mirdahā*¹ is of four grades, 300 *dāms*, 280 *d.*, 270 *d.*, 260 *d.* The pay of the others is of five grades. Each grade is again subdivided into three classes. *First grade*, 250 *d.*, 240 *d.*, 230 *d.* *Second grade*, 220 *d.*, 210 *d.*, 200 *d.* *Third grade*, 190 *d.*, 180 *d.*, 170 *d.* *Fourth grade*, 160 *d.*, 150 *d.*, 140 *d.* *Fifth grade*, 130 *d.*, 120 *d.*, 110 *d.*

Ā'in 41.

THE IMPERIAL ELEPHANT STABLES.

This wonderful animal is in bulk and strength like a mountain; and in courage and ferocity like a lion. It adds materially to the pomp of a king

¹ A *man* placed over ten. The rank of the *Mirdahā* appears to have been the only non-commissioned rank in the Mogul armies. The lowest commissioned rank was that of a *Darshāh*, which word, though of the same etymological meaning, differs in grade, and signifies a man in command of ten. The rank of a *Darshāh* was the lowest *Manwārīn* rank (vide the second book). *Mirdahā* is also used in the sense of a *servant who looks after ten horses*.

and to the success of a conqueror; and is of the greatest use for the army. Experienced men of Hindustan put the value of a good elephant equal to five hundred horses; and they believe that, when guided by a few bold men armed with matchlocks, such an elephant alone is worth double that number. In vehemence on one side, and submissiveness to the reins on the other, the elephant is like an Arab, whilst in point of obedience and attentiveness to even the slightest signs, it resembles an intelligent human being. In restiveness when full-blooded, and in vindictiveness, it surpasses man. An elephant never hurts the female, though she be the cause of his captivity; he never will fight with young elephants, nor does he think it proper to punish them. From a sense of gratitude, he does his keepers no harm, nor will he throw dust over his body when he is mounted, though he often does so at other times. Once an elephant, during the rutting-season was fighting with another. When he was in the height of excitement a small elephant came in his way; he kindly lifted up the small one with his trunk, set him aside, and then renewed the combat. If a male elephant breaks loose during the rutting season in order to have his own way, few people have the courage to approach him; and some bold and experienced man will have to get on a female elephant, and try to get near him and tie a rope round his foot. Female-elephants, when mourning the loss of a young one, will often abstain from food and drink; they sometimes even die from grief.

The elephant can be taught various feats. He learns to remember such melodies as can only be remembered by people acquainted with music; he will move his limbs to keep time, and exhibit his skill in various ways. He will shoot off an arrow from a bow, discharge a matchlock, and will learn to pick up things that have been dropped and hand them over to the keeper. Sometimes they get grain to eat wrapped up in hay; this they hide in the side of their mouth, and give it back to the keeper, when they are alone with him.

The teats of a female elephant, and the womb, resemble those of a woman. The tongue is round like that of a parrot. The testicles are not visible. Elephants frequently with their trunks take water out of their stomachs, and sprinkle themselves with it. Such water has no offensive smell. They also take out of their stomach grass on the second day, without its having undergone any change.

The price of an elephant varies from a lak¹ to one hundred rupees;

¹ During the reigns of Akbar's successor, the price of a well-trained war elephant rose much higher. Vide Tuzuk-i-Jahāngir, p. 108. At the time of Shahjahan, the first white elephant was brought from Pegu, *Pādishāh-nāma*, i. p. 267.

ph five thousand, and ten thousand rupees, are pretty elephants were

common. parkish of elephants. 1. *Bhaffer*. It is well proportioned.

It has a high, arched chest, large ears, a long tail, as thick as a leg, and has an erect posture. They take out of the herd and an experience resembling a bull-fighter. Each they call in the *hik* (Gujarati). Many properties are here parkish of *ph*. It is black, has yellow eyes, a uniformly sized tumbled to its penis, and is wild and unmanageable. 3. *Mey*. It has a belly, and has black spots; the colour of its eyes is a mixture of red, white, and yellow. 4. *Mir*. It has a small head, and is very ready, yellow, black, and when it thunders.

It is the figure of these four kinds are formed letters of different names. Primarily. The colour of the skin of elephants is threefold: white, and propriety, again, according to the threefold division of the dispositions black, grey. As Hindus to the milk, namely, eat benevolence, say love of assigned by the poet, and ten hundred, which shall be further explained natural enjoyment are divided into three classes. First, such in which eat below, *ph*. They are well proportioned, good looking, eat moderately, predominate, have, do not care for intercourse with the female, and live are very solitary. Secondly, such in whose disposition say prevails. They are very old looking, and poor, tall, unmanageable, and voracious. are savage, and are full of fear. They are self-willed, destructive, and given to sleep, and that is the nature.

to sleep and vegetation of the female is generally sixteen lunar months. The time of the female's intercourse in the womb of the For three months the mare looks like quicksilver. Towards the female; when gestation is complete and get pregnant. In the seventh month, fifth month the old, and draw to perfection towards the ninth month. they get more, the outline of a body is visible; and in the twelfth, the In the eleventh, and hind, make their appearance. In the thirteenth veins, bones, muscles become distinguishable, and in the fifteenth, the month the female is called *ph*, the elephant's park. Further has the *ph* mark.

The sex may be distinguished by the following signs. 1. The female elephant has a small penis, and a small testis, and a small scrotum. 2. The female elephant has a small penis, and a small testis, and a small scrotum. 3. The female elephant has a small penis, and a small testis, and a small scrotum. 4. The female elephant has a small penis, and a small testis, and a small scrotum. 5. The female elephant has a small penis, and a small testis, and a small scrotum. 6. The female elephant has a small penis, and a small testis, and a small scrotum. 7. The female elephant has a small penis, and a small testis, and a small scrotum. 8. The female elephant has a small penis, and a small testis, and a small scrotum. 9. The female elephant has a small penis, and a small testis, and a small scrotum. 10. The female elephant has a small penis, and a small testis, and a small scrotum. 11. The female elephant has a small penis, and a small testis, and a small scrotum. 12. 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The female elephant has a small penis, and a small testis, and a small scrotum.

process of quickening commences. If the female, during gestation, gets stronger, the fetus is sure to be a male; but if she gets weak it is the sign of a female. During the sixteenth month the formation becomes still more perfect, and the life of the fetus becomes quite distinct. In the seventeenth month there is every chance of a premature birth on account of the efforts made by the fetus to move, till, in the eighteenth month, the young one is born.

According to others the sperm gets solid in the first month; the eyes, ears, then nose, mouth, and tongue are formed in the second; in the third month, the limbs make their appearance; in the fourth month, the fetus grows and gets strong; in the fifth, it commences to quicken; in the sixth, it gets sense, which appears more marked during the seventh month; in the eighth, there is some chance of a miscarriage; during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh months the fetus grows, and is born during the twelfth. It will be a male young one if the greater part of the sperm came from the male; and it will be a female young one if the reverse is the case. If the sperm of both the male and female is equal in quantity the young one will be a hermaphrodite. The male fetus lies towards the right side; the female towards the left; a hermaphrodite in the middle.

Female elephants have often for twelve days a red discharge, after which gestation commences. During that period they look startled, sprinkle themselves with water and earth, keep ears and tail upwards, and go rarely away from the male. They will rub themselves against the male, bend their heads low his tusk, smell at his urine and dung, and cannot bear to see another female near him. Sometimes, however, a female shows aversion to intercourse with the male; and must be forced to copulate, when other female elephants, at hearing her noise, will come to her rescue.

In former times, people did not breed elephants, and thought it unlucky; by the command of His Majesty, they now breed a very superior class of elephants, which has removed the old prejudice in the minds of men. A female elephant has generally one young one, but sometimes two. For five years the young ones content themselves with the milk of the mother; after that period they commence to eat herbs. In this state they are called *lil*. When ten years old they are named *pūt*; when twenty years old, *billa*; when thirty years old, *kalba*. In fact the animal changes appearance every year, and then gets a new name. When sixty years old, the elephant is full grown. The skull then looks like two

¹ The words of the text are ambiguous. They may also mean: In the seventeenth month the effort of the fetus to move causes the female to sink down.

halves of a ball, whilst the ears look like winnowing fans.¹ White eyes mixed with yellow, black, and red, are looked upon as a sign of excellence. The forehead must be flat without swellings or wrinkles. The trunk is the nose of the animal, and is so long as to touch the ground. With it, it takes up the food and puts it into the mouth; similarly, it sucks up water with it, and then throws it into the stomach. It has eighteen teeth; sixteen of them are inside the mouth, eight above and eight below, and two are the tusks outside. The latter are one and more yards long, round, shining, very strong, white, or sometimes reddish and straight, the end slightly bent upwards. Some elephants have four tusks. With a view to usefulness as also to ornament, they cut off the top of the tusks, which grow again. With some elephants they have to cut the tusks annually; with others after two or three years; but they do not like to cut them when an elephant is ten and eighty years old. An elephant is perfect when it is eight *dast* high, nine *dast* long, and ten *dast* round the belly, and along the back. Again, nine limbs, ought to touch the ground, namely, the fore feet, the hind feet, the trunk, the tusks, the penis, the tail. White spots on the forehead are considered lucky, whilst a thick neck is looked upon as a sign of beauty. Long hairs on and about the ears point to good origin.

Some elephants rut in winter, some in summer, some in the rains. They are then very fierce, they pull down houses, throw down stone walls, and will lift up with their trunks a horse and its rider. But elephants differ very much in the amount of fierceness and boldness.

When they are hot, a blackish discharge exudes from the soft parts between the ears and the temples, which has a most offensive smell; it is sometimes whitish, mixed with red. They say that elephants have twelve holes in those soft parts, which likewise discharge the offensive fluid. The discharge is abundant in lively animals, but trickles drop by drop in slow ones. As soon as the discharge stops, the elephant gets fierce and looks grand; in this state he gets the name of *Tafti* or *Sarhari*. When the above discharge exudes from a place a little higher than the soft parts between the ears and the temples, the elephant is called *Singādhāl*; and when the fluid trickles from all three places, *Tal-jor*. When in heat, elephants get attached to particular living creatures, as men or horses; but some elephants to any animal. So at least according to Hindu books.

¹ *Ghalla afsān*. This word, though common, is not in our dictionaries. It is a flat piece of wicker work, from one to two feet square. Three sides of the square are slightly bent upwards. They put grain on it, and seizing the instrument with both hands, they throw up the grain, till the husks, stones, and all other refuse collect near the side which is not bent upwards, when the refuse is removed with the hand. We use *sieves* for such purposes.

The *Bhaddar* ruts in Libra and Scorpio; the *Mand* in spring; the *Mirg* in Capricorn and Sagittarius; the *Mir* in any season. Elephant drivers have a drug which causes an artificial heat; but it often endangers the life of the beast. The noise of battle makes some superior elephants just as fierce as at the rutting season; even a sudden start may have such an effect. Thus His Majesty's elephant *Gajmūla*: he gets brisk as soon as he hears the sound of the Imperial drum, and gets the above-mentioned discharge. This peculiar heat generally makes its first appearance when elephants have reached the age of thirty; sometimes, however, earlier, at an age of twenty-five. Sometimes the heat lasts for years, and some of the Imperial elephants have continued for five years in an uninterrupted alacrity. But it is mostly male elephants that get in heat. They then commence to throw up earth, and run after a female, or roll about in mud, and daub themselves all over with dirt. When in heat they are very irritable, and yawn a great deal, though they sleep but little. At last they even discontinue eating, and dislike the foot-chain: they try to get loose, and behave noisily.

The elephant, like man, lives to an age of one hundred and twenty years.

The Hindi language has several words for an elephant, as *hasī*, *gaj*, *pūl*, *hāhī*, etc. Under the hands of an experienced keeper it will much improve, so that its value in a short time may rise from one hundred to ten thousand rupees.

The Hindus believe that the eight points of the earth are each guarded by a heavenly being in the shape of an elephant; they have curious legends regarding them. Their names are as follows: 1. *Airāvata*, in the East; 2. *Pundarika*, south-east; 3. *Bāman*, south; 4. *Kumāda*, south-west; 5. *Anjan*, west; 6. *Puṣpadanta*, north-west; 7. *Sārbhabhūma*, north; 8. *Supratika*, north-east. When occasions arise, people read incantations in their names, and address them in worship. They also think that every elephant in the world is the offspring of one of them. Thus, elephants of a white skin and white hairs are related to the first; elephants with a large head and long hairs, of a fierce and bold temper, and eyelids apart, belong to the second; such as are . . . good-looking, black, and high in the back, are the offspring of the third; if tall, ungovernable, quick in understanding, short-haired, and with red and black eyes, they come from the fourth; if bright black, with one tusk longer than the other, with a white breast and belly, and long and thick fore-feet, from the

¹ The MSS. have an unintelligible word. Perhaps *khushānj*, graceful, is the correct reading.

fifth; if fearful, with prominent veins, with a short hump and ears and a long trunk, from the sixth; if thin-bellied, red-eyed, and with a long trunk, from the seventh; and if of a combination of the preceding seven qualities, from the eighth.

The Hindus also make the following division into eight classes:

1. Elephants whose skin is not wrinkled, who are never sick, who are grand looking, do not run away from the battle-field, dislike meat, and prefer clean food at proper times, are said to be *Deo mizāj* (of a divine temper).
2. Such as possess all the good qualities of elephants, and are quick in learning, moving about the head, ears, trunk, forelegs, hind legs, and the tail, and do no one harm except they be ordered to do so, are *Gandharba mizāj* (angelic).
3. If irritable, of good appetite, fond of being in water, they are *Brahman mizāj* (of a brahminical temper).
4. Such as are very strong, in good condition, fond of fighting, ungovernable, are said to have the temper of a *Khattirī*, or warrior.
5. Those which are of a low stature, and forgetful, self-willed in their own work, and neglectful in that of their master, fond of unclean food, and spiteful towards other elephants, are *Sūdra mizāj*.
6. Elephants which remain hot for a long time, and are fond of playing tricks, or are destructive, and lose the way, have the temper of a serpent.
7. Such as squint, and are slow to learn, or feign to be hot, have the temper of a *Pishācha* (spectre).
8. Those which are violent, swift, and do men harm, and are fond of running about at night, have the qualities of a *Rāchhas* (demon).

The Hindus have written many books in explanation of these various tempers, as also many treatises on the diseases of the elephants, their causes and proper remedies.

Elephants are found in the Śūbah of Āgra, in the forests of Bayāwān and Narwar,¹ as far as Barār; in the Śūba of Ilāhābād (Allahabad), in the confines of Pannah, (Bhath) Ghorā, and Rataupūr, Nandanpūr, Sirguja, and Bastar; in the Śūba of Mālwa, in Handiyah, Uchhod, Chanderi, Santwās, Bijāgarh, Rāisin, Hoshangābād, Garha, Haryāgarh; in the Śūba of Bihār, in the neighbourhood of Rahtās

and Jhārkhand; and in the Śūba of Bengal, in Orisā, and Sātgaṇ. The elephants from Pannah are the best.

A herd of elephants is called in Hindī *sahn*. They vary in number; sometimes a herd amounts to a thousand elephants. Wild elephants are very cautious. In winter and summer, they select a proper place, and break down a whole forest near their sleeping place. For the sake of pleasure, or for food and drink, they often travel over great distances. On the journey one runs far in front of the others, like a sentinel; a young female is generally selected for this purpose. When they go to sleep they send out to the four sides of the sleeping place pickets of four female elephants, which relieve each other.

Elephants will lift up their young ones, for three or four days after their birth, with their trunks, and put them on their backs, or lay them over their tusks. They also prepare medicines for the females when they are sick or in labour pains and crowd round about them. When some of them get caught, the female elephants break through the nets, and pull down the elephant-drivers. And when a young elephant falls into a snare they hide themselves in an ambush, go at night to the place where the young one is, set it at liberty, and trample the hunter to death. Sometimes its mother slowly approaches alone, and frees it in some clever way. I have heard the following story from His Majesty: "Once a wild young one had fallen into a pit. As night had approached, we did not care to pull it out immediately, and left it; but when we came next morning near the place, we saw that some wild elephants had filled the pit with broken logs and grass, and thus pulled out the young one." Again, "Once a female elephant played us a trick. She feigned to be dead. We passed her, and went onwards; but when at night we returned, we saw no trace left of her."

There was once an elephant in the Imperial stables named *Ayāz*. For some reason it had got offended with the driver, and was for ever watching for an opportunity. Once at night, it found him asleep. It got hold of a long piece of wood, managed to pull off with it the man's turban, seized him by the hair, and tore him asunder.

Many examples are on record of the extraordinary cleverness of elephants; in some cases it is difficult to believe them.

Kings have always shown a great predilection for this animal, and done everything in their power to collect a large number. Elephant-keepers are much esteemed, and a proper rank is assigned to such as have a special knowledge of the animal. Wicked, low men see in an elephant a means of lawlessness; and unprincipled evildoers, with the help of this animal,

¹ Narwar, where Abū 'l-Faṣl was subsequently murdered at the instigation of Prince Salīm (Jahāngir), Long. 77° 53', Lat. 25° 39'; *Ghorāghāṭī*, near Dinapore, Long. 89° 17', Lat. 23° 12'; *Ratanpūr* (Abū 'l-Faṣl evidently means the one south-east of Sargachh), Long. 82°, Lat. 22° 14'; *Sargachh*, Long. 83° 8', Lat. 23° 8'; *Bustar*, Long. 81° 58', Lat. 18° 13'. The towns from Handiya to Haryāgaḍh lie all between Long. 76° and 79°, and Lat. 21° and 24° (Gwālār). For *Uchhod* (۱۲۳۱) the third book has *Uchhod* (۱۲۳۱). The Port of Rahtās, the scene of Sher Shah's first exploit, lies Long. 84°, Lat. 24° 38'. The name *Paltah* (۲۱) is doubtful, each MS. having a different reading.

Wild elephants have nowadays disappeared in nearly all the places mentioned by Abū 'l-Faṣl.

carry on their nefarious trade. Hence kings of former times never succeeded in suppressing the rebellious, and were thus disappointed in their best intentions. But His Majesty, though overwhelmed with other important matters, has been able, through God's assistance and his numerous elephants, to check those low but haughty men; he teaches them to desire submission, and bestows upon them, by wise laws, the blessings of peace.

His Majesty divided the Imperial elephants into sections, which he put in charge of honest Dārōghas. Certain elephants were also declared *khāṣa*, i.e., appointed for the exclusive use of His Majesty.

Ā'in 42.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE IMPERIAL ELEPHANTS.

His Majesty made a sevenfold division, based upon experience: 1. *Mast* (full blood); 2. *Shergīr* (tiger-seizing); 3. *Sāda* (plain); 4. *Manjhola* (middlemost); 5. *Karha*; 6. *Phandurkiya*; 7. *Mokal*. The first class comprises young elephants, possessed of the peculiar heat which renders the animal so strong. The second class contains likewise young ones which once or twice have given signs of perfection and exhibit an uninterrupted alacrity. The third class comprehends useful elephants, which are nearly as good as the preceding. The fourth class contains elephants of a somewhat inferior value. Those of the fifth class are younger than those of the fourth. The elephants of the sixth class are smaller than those of the fifth. The last class contains all young ones still unfit for use.

Each class is divided into three subdivisions, viz., *large sized*, *middle*, *young ones*; the last class contains ten kinds. A certain quantity of food has been fixed for each class.

Ā'in 43.

THE FOOD ALLOWED TO THE ELEPHANTS.

Formerly the classification of the elephants was never attended to; hence in feeding them a large quantity of the stores was wasted. But when His Majesty, soon after lifting the veil,¹ commenced to care for the

happiness of his subjects, this matter was properly inquired into, and wise regulations were issued for guidance. 1. *Mast elephants*. Large ones get daily 2 *mans* 24 *seers*; middle-sized, 2 *m.* 19 *s.*; small ones, 2 *m.* 14 *s.* 2. *Shergīrs*. Large ones, 2 *m.* 9 *s.*; middle-sized ones, 2 *m.* 4 *s.*; small ones, 1 *m.* 39 *s.* 3. *Sādas*. Large ones, 1 *m.* 34 *s.*; middle-sized ones, 1 *m.* 29 *s.*; small ones, 1 *m.* 24 *s.* 4. *Manjholas*. Large ones, 1 *m.* 22 *s.*; middle-sized ones, 1 *m.* 20 *s.*; small ones, 1 *m.* 18 *s.* 5. *Karhas*. Large ones, 1 *m.* 14 *s.*; middle-sized ones, 1 *m.* 9 *s.*; small ones, 1 *m.* 4 *s.* 6. *Phandurkiyas*. Large ones, 1 *m.*; middle-sized ones, 36 *s.*; small ones, 32 *s.* 7. *Mokals*. Large ones, 26 *s.*; middle-sized ones, 24 *s.*; third class, 22 *s.*; fourth class, 20 *s.*; fifth class, 18 *s.*; sixth class, 16 *s.*; seventh class, 14 *s.*; eighth class, 12 *s.*; ninth class, 10 *s.*; tenth class, 8 *s.*

Female elephants have been divided into four classes, viz., large ones, middle-sized ones, small ones, *mokals*. The first two classes are divided into three; the third, into four; the fourth, into nine subdivisions.

1. *Large ones*. Big, 1 *m.* 22 *s.*; middling, 1 *m.* 18 *s.*; small ones, 1 *m.* 14 *s.* 2. *Middle-sized ones*. Big, 1 *m.* 10 *s.*; middling, 1 *m.* 6 *s.*; small, 1 *m.* 2 *s.* 3. *Small ones*. Big, 37 *s.*; middling, 32 *s.*; small, 27 *s.*; still smaller, 22 *s.* 4. *Mokals*. First class, 22 *s.*; second, 20 *s.*; third, 18 *s.*; fourth, 16 *s.*; fifth, 14 *s.*; sixth, 12 *s.*; seventh, 10 *s.*; eighth, 8 *s.*; ninth, 6 *s.*

Ā'in 44.

THE SERVANTS OF THE ELEPHANT STABLES.

1. *Mast elephants*. There are five and a half¹ servants for each, viz., a *Mahāvat*, who sits on the neck of the animal and directs its movements. He must be acquainted with its good and bad properties, and thus contribute to its usefulness. He gets 200 *dāms* per month; but if the elephant be *khutakar*, i.e., wicked and addicted to pulling down the driver, he gets 220 *d.* Secondly, a *Bhoī*, who sits behind, upon the rump of the elephant, and assists in battle and in quickening the speed of the animal; but he often performs the duties of the *Mahāvat*. His monthly pay is 110 *d.* Thirdly, the *Meths*, of whom there are three and one-half, or only three in case of small elephants. A *meth* fetches fodder, and assists in caparisoning the elephant. *Meths* of all classes get on the march four *dāms* daily, and at other times three and a half.

2. For every *Shergīr*, there are five servants, viz., a *Mahāvat*, at 180 *d.*; a *Bhoī*, at 103 *d.*; and three *Meths* as before.

¹ The same phrase as on p. 13, line 12. It refers to the year 1560, when Bayrām fell in disgrace, and Akbar assumed the reins of the government.

¹ i.e., either eleven servants for two elephants, or the last was a boy.

3. For every *Sidi*, there are four and a half servants, viz., a *Mahsūt*, at 100 d.; a *Bhai*, at 90 d.; and two and a half *Mehs*.

4. For every *Mahsūt*, there are four servants; viz., a *Mahsūt*, at 140 d.; a *Bhai*, at 90 d.; and two *Mehs*.

5. For every *Kothi*, there are three and a half servants, viz., a *Mahsūt*, at 120 d.; a *Bhai*, at 70 d.; and one and a half *Mehs*.

6. For every *Pishwarkhi*, there are two servants; viz., a *Mahsūt*, at 100 d.; and a *Meh*.

7. For every *Mohal*, there are likewise two servants; viz., a *Mahsūt*, at 70 d.; and a *Meh*.

Female Elephants. 1. Large ones have four servants, viz., a *Mahsūt*, at 100 d.; a *Pish*, at 60 d.; two *Mehs*. 2. Middle-sized ones have three and a half servants; viz., a *Mahsūt*, at 80 d.; a *Bhai*, at 50 d.; and one and a half *Mehs*. 3. Small ones have two; viz., a *Mahsūt*, at 60 d.; and a *Meh*. 4. *Mohals* have likewise two; viz., a *Mahsūt*, at 60 d., and a *Meh*.

The Faujdār.

His Majesty has appointed a superintendent over every troop of ten, twenty, and thirty elephants. Such a troop is called a *talqa*; the superintendent is called *Faujdār*. His business is to look after the condition and the training of the elephants; he teaches them to be bold, and to stand firm at the sight of fire and at the noise of artillery; and he is responsible for their behaviour in these respects. When a *Faujdār* is raised to the dignity of a *Safi* (a commander of one hundred) or higher, he has twenty-five elephants assigned to himself, the other *Faujdārs*, as *Bhais* (commanders of twenty) and *Dalbāhis* (commanders of ten) being under his orders. The same order is followed from the *Dalbāhis* up to the *Harāis* (commanders of one thousand). The pay of officers above the *Safi* is different. Some *Faujdārs* have been raised to the dignity of grandees of the court. A *Safi* marks two horses. A *Bhai* of the first grade has 30 *rupees per mensem*; second grade, 25 R.; third grade, 20 R. A *Dalbāhi* of the first grade has twenty R.; second grade, 16 R.; third grade, 12 R. *Bhais* and *Dalbāhis* mark one horse, and belong to the *Alaḥis*. Such *Faujdārs* as have thirty or twenty-five elephants assigned to themselves have to pay the wages of the *Mahsūt* and of one *Bhai* of that elephant, which they select for their own use; but such as have twenty or ten only pay for a *Mahsūt*.

The above arrangement regarding the servants was not thought sufficient by His Majesty, who has much experience in this matter. He therefore put several *talqas* in charge of every grandee, and required him

to look after them. The fodder also is now supplied by the government. A trustworthy clerk has, besides, been appointed, who is in charge of the correspondence of this branch; he looks after the receipts and expenditure and sees that the orders of His Majesty are carried out. He also parades the elephants in the order described below (*A'in* 76).

A'in 45.

THE HARNESS OF ELEPHANTS.

1. The *Dharna* is a large chain, made of iron, gold, or silver. It is made of sixty oval links, each weighing three *seers*; but the chain differs in length and thickness according to the strength of the elephant. One end of the chain is fixed in the ground, or fastened to a pillar; the other end is tied to the left hind leg of the elephant. Formerly, they fastened this chain to the forefoot; but as this is injurious for the chest of the elephant His Majesty ordered to discontinue the usage.

2. The *Andā* is a chain, with which both forefeet are tied. As it annoys the elephant, His Majesty ordered it to be discontinued.

3. The *Peri* is a chain for fastening both hind feet.

4. The *Island* is a fetter for the hind feet, an invention of His Majesty. It allows the elephant to walk, but prevents him from running.

5. The *Gadhi* *keṭi* resembles the *Andā*, and is an additional chain for the hindlegs of unruly and swift elephants.

6. The *Lot langar* is a long chain, suitable for an elephant. One end is tied to the right fore foot, and the other end to a thick log, a yard in length. This the driver keeps near him, and drops it, when the elephant runs too swiftly, or gets so unruly as no longer to obey. The chain twists round his leg, and the log will annoy the animal to such extent that it necessarily stops. This useful invention, which has saved many lives, and protected huts and walls, is likewise due to His Majesty.

7. The *Charḥi* is a piece of hollowed bamboo half a yard and two *tanḥes* long, and has a hole in the middle. It is covered with sinews and filled with gunpowder, an earthen partition dividing the powder into two halves. A fuzee wrapt in paper is put into each end. Fixed into the hole of the bamboo at right angles is a stick, which serves as a handle. Upon fire being put to both ends, it turns round and makes a frightful noise. When elephants fight with each other, or are otherwise unruly, a bold man on foot takes the burning bamboo into his hand, and holds it before the animals, when they will get quiet. Formerly, in order to separate two elephants that were fighting, they used to light a fire; but people had

much trouble, as it seldom had the desired effect. His Majesty invented the present method, which was hailed by all.

8. *Andhiyārī*, i.e., darkness, a name which His Majesty changed into *Ujyālī*, i.e., light, is a piece of canvas above one and a half yards square. It is made of brocade, velvet, etc., and tied with two ends to the *Kālāwa* (vide next). When the elephant is unruly, it is let fall, so that he cannot see. This has been the saving of many. As it often gives way, especially when the elephant is very wild, His Majesty had three heavy bells attached to the ends of the canvas, to keep it better down. This completed the arrangement.

9. The *Kālāwa*¹ consists of a few twisted ropes, about one and a half yards long. They are laid at the side of each other, without, however, being interwoven among themselves, the whole being about eight fingers broad. A ring is drawn through both ends of the ropes, and fastened where the throat of the elephant is; the elephant driver rests his feet in it, and thus sits firmly. Sometimes it is made of silk or leather. Others fix small pointed iron-spikes to the *kālāwa*, which will prevent an unruly elephant from throwing down the driver by shaking its head.

10. The *Dulhī* is a rope, five yards long, as thick as a staff. This they tie over the *kālāwa* to strengthen it.

11. The *Kanār* is a small pointed spike, half a yard long. This they likewise attach to the *kālāwa*, and prick the elephant's ears with it in order to make the animal wild or to urge it on.

12. The *Dor* is a thick rope passing from the tail to the throat. When properly tied it is an ornament. They also catch hold of it, when the elephant makes an awkward movement. They also attach many other trappings to it.

13. The *Gadela* is a cushion put on the back of the elephant below the *dulhī*. It prevents galling, and is a source of comfort.

14. The *Gudaufī* is a chain of brass. They attach it near the tail, which it prevents from getting injured by the *dulhī*. It is also ornamental.

15. The *Pichwa* is a belt made of ropes and is fastened over the buttocks of the elephant. It is a support for the *Bhoī*, and of much use to him in firing.

16. The *Chaurāsī* consists of a number of bells attached to a piece of

broadcloth, which is tied on before and behind with a string passed through it. It looks ornamental and grand.

17. *Pītkachh* is the name of two chains fastened over the elephant's sides. Attached to them, a bell hangs below the belly. It is of great beauty and grandeur.

18. Large chains. They attach six on both sides, and three to the *kālāwa*, the latter being added by His Majesty.

19. *Qutās* (the tail of the Thibetan Yak). There are about sixty, more or less, attached to the tusk, the forehead, the throat, and the neck. They are either white, or black, or pied, and look very ornamental.

20. The *Tayyā* consists of five iron plates, each a span long, and four fingers broad, fastened to each other by rings. On both sides of the *Tayyā* there are two chains, each a yard long, one of which passes from above the ear, and the other from below it to the *kālāwa*, to which both are attached. Between them there is another chain, which is passed over the head and tied to the *kālāwa*; and below, crossways, there are four iron spikes ending in a curve, and adorned with knobs. The *Qutās* are attached here. At their lower end there are three other chains similarly arranged. Besides, four other chains are attached to the knob; two of them, like the first, end in a knob, whilst the remaining two are tied to the tusks. To this knob again three chains are attached, two of which are tied round about the trunk, the middle one hanging down. *Qutās* and daggers are attached to the former knobs, but the latter lies over the forehead. All this is partly for ornament, partly to frighten other animals.

21. The *Pākhar* is like an armour, and is made of steel; there are separate pieces for the head and the trunk.

22. The *Gaj-jhamp* is a covering put as an ornament above the *pākhar*. It looks grand. It is made of three folds of canvas, put together and sewn, broad ribbons being attached to the outside.

23. The *Megh dambar* is an awning to shade the elephant driver, an invention by His Majesty. It also looks ornamental.

24. The *Ranpiyal* is a fillet for the forehead made of brocade or similar stuffs, from the hem of which nice ribbons and *qutās* hang down.

25. The *Gatelī* consists of four links joined together, with three above them, and two others over the latter. It is attached to the feet of the elephant. Its sound is very effective.

26. The *Pāy ranjan* consists of several bells similarly arranged.

27. The *Ānkus* is a small crook. His Majesty calls it *Gajbāga*.¹ It is used for guiding the elephant and stopping him.

¹ This should be *Kālāwa*. Abū 'l-Fazl spells the word wrong; vide my text edition, p. 136, l. 16. It looks as if Abū 'l-Fazl had mistaken this Persian word for a Hindī term; else, why should he have any spelling at all. In Vullers' Persian Dictionary, ii, p. 862b, read *khait* for *khāl*, and *ba tania* for his emendation (?) *tabyin*.

¹ i.e., an elephant-rein. His Majesty had reason to change the name *Ānkus*, "which sounds offensive to a Persian ear." *Rashidī*. Hence the Persians pronounce it *argush*.

28. The *Gaḍ* is a spear which has two prongs instead of an iron point. The *Bhōi* makes use of it, when the elephant is refractory.

29. The *Bangrī* is a collection of rings made of iron or brass. The rings are put on the tusks, and serve to strengthen as well as to ornament them.

30. The *Jagāraḥ* resembles the *Gaḍ* (No. 28), and is a cubit long. The *Bhōi* uses it, to quicken the speed of the elephant.

31. The *Jkandā*, or flag, is hung round with *Quṭār*, like a *togh*.¹ It is fixed to the side of the elephant.

But it is impossible to describe all the ornamental trappings of elephants.

For each *Mast* and *Shergīr* and *Sāda*, seven pieces of cotton cloth are annually allowed, each at a price of 8½ *dāms*. Also, four coarse woollen pieces, called in Hindi *kambal*, at 10 *d.* each, and eight ox hides, each at 8 *d.* For *Manjholā* and *Karha* elephants, four of the first; three of the second; and seven of the third, are allowed. For *Phandurkiyas* and *Mokals*, and female elephants, three of the first; two of the second; four of the third. The saddlecloth is made of cloth, lining, and stuff for edging it round about; for sewing, half a *scr* of cotton thread is allowed. For every *man* of grain, the *halqa-dār* is allowed ten *zers* of iron for chains, etc., at 2 *d.* per *scr*; and for every hide, one *zer* of sesame oil, at 60 *d.* per *man*. Also 5 *s.* coarse cotton thread for the *kalāuca* of the elephant on which the *Faujḍār* rides, at 8 *d.* per *scr*; but for other elephants, the men have to make one of leather, etc., at their own expense.

A sum of twelve *dāms* is annually subtracted from the servants; but they get the worn out articles.

Ā'in 46.

THE ELEPHANTS FOR HIS MAJESTY'S USE (*KHĀṢA*).

There are one hundred and one elephants selected for the use of His Majesty. Their allowance of food is the same in quantity as that of the other elephants, but differs in quality. Most of them also get 5 *s.* of sugar, 4 *s.* of *ghī*, and half a *man* of rice mixed with chillies, cloves, etc.; and some have one and a half *man* of milk in addition to their grain. In the sugar-cane season, each elephant gets daily, for two months, 300 sugar canes, more or less. His Majesty takes the place of the *Mahāraṭ*.

Each elephant requires three *bhois* in the rutting season, and two, when cool. Their monthly wages vary from 120 to 400 *d.*, and are fixed by His

Majesty himself. For each elephant there are four *Meṭhs*. In the *Halqas*, female elephants are but rarely told off to accompany big male ones; but for each *khāṣa* elephant there are three, and sometimes even more, appointed. First class big female elephants have two and one-half *meṭhs*; second class do., two; third class do., one and one-half; for the other classes as in the *Halqas*.

As each *Halqa* is in charge of one of the grandees, so is every *khāṣa* elephant put in charge of one of them. Likewise, for every ten *khāṣa* elephants, a professional man is appointed, who is called *Dahā'idār*. They draw, twelve, ten, and eight rupees *per mensem*. Besides, an active and honest superintendent is appointed for every ten elephants. He is called *Naqīb* (watcher) and has to submit a daily report, when elephants eat little, or get a shortened allowance, or in cases of sickness, or when anything unusual happens. He marks a horse, and holds the rank of an *Ahādī*. His Majesty also weekly dispatches some of the servants near him, in the proportion of one for every ten elephants, who inspect them and send in a report.

Ā'in 47.

THE MANNER OF RIDING *KHĀṢA*-ELEPHANTS.

His Majesty, the royal rider of the plain of auspiciousness, mounts on every kind of elephant, from the first to the last class, making them, notwithstanding their almost supernatural strength, obedient to his command. His Majesty will put his foot on the tusks, and mount them, even when they are in the rutting season, and astonishes experienced people.¹

They also put comfortable turrets on the backs of swift-paced elephants, which serve as a travelling sleeping apartment. An elephant so caparisoned is always ready at the palace.

Whenever His Majesty mounts an elephant, a month's wages are given as a donation to the *bhois*. And when he has ridden ten elephants, the following donations are bestowed, viz., the near servant who has weekly to report on the elephants, receives a present; the former, 100 *R.*; the *Dahā'ī*, 31 *R.*; the *Naqīb*, 15 *R.*; the *Mushrif* (writer), 7½ *R.* Besides, the regal rewards given to them at times when they display a particular zeal or attentiveness, go beyond the reach of speech.

Each elephant has his match appointed for fighting; some are always

¹ *Togh* is the same as *tog*. Vide Ā'in 19, p. 52.

² Liquids are sold in India by the weight.

¹ Jahāngīr, in his Memoirs, gives several examples of Akbar's daring in this respect; vide *Tuzuk*, p. 16.

ready at the palace, and engage when the order is given. When a fight is over, if the combatants were *khāṣa* elephants, the *bhoīs* receive 250 *dāms* as a present; but if other elephants, the *bhoīs* get 200 *d*.

The *Dahāidār* of *khāṣa* elephants receives one *dām* for every rupee paid as wages to the *bhoīs* and *meths*; the *Mushrif* is entitled to $\frac{1}{2}$ *d*., and the *Naqīb* to $\frac{1}{4}$ *d*. In the case of *halqa* elephants, the *Sadūwāl*, the *Dahbāshī*, and the *Bisī*, are entitled to 1 *d*. for every rupee; and the *Mushrif* and the *Naqīb* receive the allowance given for *khāṣa* elephants.

Ā'in 48.

ON FINES.

In order to prevent laziness and to ensure attentiveness, His Majesty, as for all other departments, has fixed a list of fines. On the death of a male or a female *khāṣa* elephant the *Bhoīs* are fined three months' wages. If any part of the harness is lost, the *Bhoīs* and *Meths* are fined two-thirds of the value of the article; but in the case of a saddlecloth, the full price. When a female elephant dies from starvation, or through want of care, the *Bhoīs* have to pay the cost price of the animal.

If a driver mixes drugs with the food of an elephant to make the animal hot, and it dies in consequence thereof, he is liable to capital punishment, or to have a hand cut off, or to be sold as a slave. If it was a *khāṣa* elephant, the *Bhoīs* lose three months' pay and are further suspended for one year.

Two experienced men are monthly dispatched to inquire into the fatness or leanness of the *khāṣa* elephants. If elephants are found by them out of flesh to the extent of a quarter, according to the scale fixed by the *Pāgosht* Regulation (*vide* Ā'in 83), the grandees in charge are fined, and the *bhoīs* are likewise liable to lose a month's wages. In the case of *halqa* elephants, *Aḥadīs* are told off to examine them, and submit a report to His Majesty. If an elephant dies, the *Mahāwat* and the *Bhoī* are fined three months' wages. If part of an elephant's tusk is broken, and the injury reaches as far as the *kalī*—this is a place at the root of the tusks, which on being injured is apt to fester, when the tusks get hollow and become useless—a fine amounting to one-eighth of the price of the elephant is exacted, the *dārogha* paying two-thirds, and the *Faujdar* one-third. Should the injury not reach as far as the *kalī*, the fine is only one-half of the former, but the proportions are the same. But, at present, a fine of one per cent has become usual; in the case of *khāṣa* elephants; however, such punishment is inflicted as His Majesty may please to direct.

Ā'in 49.

THE IMPERIAL HORSE STABLES.

His Majesty is very fond of horses, because he believes them to be of great importance in the three branches of the government, and for expeditions of conquest, and because he sees in them a means of avoiding much inconvenience.

Merchants bring to court good horses from 'Irāq-i 'Arab and 'Irāq-i 'Ajam, from Turkey, Turkestan, Badakhshān, Shirwān, Qirghiz, Thibet, Kashmir, and other countries. Drove after drove arrive from Tūrān and Īrān, and there are nowadays twelve thousand in the stables of His Majesty. And in like manner, as they are continually coming in, so there are others daily going out as presents, or for other purposes.

Skilful, experienced men have paid much attention to the breeding of this sensible animal, many of whose habits resemble those of man; and after a short time Hindustan ranked higher in this respect than Arabia, whilst many Indian horses cannot be distinguished from Arabs or from the 'Irāqī breed. There are fine horses bred in every part of the country; but those of Cachh excel, being equal to Arabs. It is said that a long time ago an Arab ship was wrecked and driven to the shore of Cachh; and that it had seven choice horses, from which, according to the general belief, the breed of that country originated. In the Panjāb, horses are bred resembling 'Irāqīs, especially between the Indus and the Bahat (Jhelum): they go by the name of *Sanūjī*;¹ so also in the district of Patī Haybatpūr,² Bajwāral, Tihāra, in the Śūba of Āgra, Mewāt, and in the Śūba of Ājmir, where the horses have the name of *pachuariya*. In the northern mountainous district of Hindustan, a kind of small but strong horse is bred, which are called *gūī*; and in the confine of Bengal, near Kūch [-Bahār], another kind of horses occurs, which rank between the *gūī* and Turkish horses, and are called *tānghān*, they are strong and powerful.

His Majesty, from the light of his insight and wisdom, makes himself acquainted with the minutest details, and with the classification and the condition of every kind of article; he looks to the requirements of the times, and designs proper regulations. Hence he also pays much attention to everything that is connected with this animal, which is of so great an importance for the government and an almost supernatural means for the attainment of personal greatness.

¹ Several good MSS. read *Satūjī*.

² Harbatpūr, Lat. 29° 51', Long. 76° 2'; Tihāra, Lat. 30° 57', Long. 75° 23'.

First, he has set apart a place for horse-dealers, where they may, without delay, find convenient quarters, and be secure from the hardships of the seasons. By this arrangement, the animals will not suffer¹ from that hardness and avariciousness so often observed in dealers of the present time; nor will they pass from the hands of well-intentioned merchants into those of others. But dealers who are known for their uprightness and humanity may keep their horses where they please, and bring them at an appointed time. Secondly, he appointed a circumspect man to the office of an *Amīn-i Kārcānsarā*, who from his superior knowledge and experience keeps the dealers from the path of disobedience and ties the mischievous tongues of such as are wicked and evasive. Thirdly, he has appointed a clever writer, who keeps a roll of horses that arrive and have been mustered, and who sees that the orders of His Majesty do not fall into abeyance. Fourthly, he has appointed trustworthy men acquainted with the prices of horses to examine the animals, and to fix their prices, in the order in which they are imported. His Majesty, from his goodness, generally gives half as much again above the price fixed by them, and does not keep them waiting for their money.²

Ā'in 50.

THE RANKS OF THE HORSES.

There are two classes of horses: 1. *Khāṣa*; 2. Those that are not *khāṣa*. The *khāṣa* horses are the following—six stables, each containing forty choice horses of Arabia and Persia; the stables of the princes; the stables of Turkish courier horses; the stables of horses bred in the Imperial studs. They have each a name, but do not exceed the number thirty. His Majesty rides upon horses of the six stables.

The second class horses are of three kinds, viz., *sī-aspi*, *bīst-aspi*, *dah-aspi*, i.e., belonging to the stables of thirty, twenty, and ten. A horse

¹ Akbar abhorred cruelty towards domestic animals. Towards the end of his life, as shall be mentioned below, he even gave up hunting and animal fights.

² Abū 'l-Faẓl mentions this very often in the *Ā'in*. Contractors generally received cheques on a local treasury; but they might be sent from there to another local treasury, unless they bribed the collector, or made over their cheques, for a consideration, to Mahājans (bankers). It was the same in Persia. "The clerks, whose habit it is to annoy people, gave him (Wazīr Mirzā Sālih, brother of the great Persian historian *Sikandar Beg*) in payment of his claims a lot of transfer receipts, and left him in the hands of the collectors (*mukassil*), who, like the clerks, always pretend to be in a hurry; and although Mirzā Bahīm, a relation of his, tried to come to an understanding with them, in order to help Mirzā Sālih out of his wretched plight, they ruined him, in a short time, to such an extent that they had to provide in lieu a daily subsistence allowance. He died of a broken heart." *Tāhīr Nasrabadi's Taẓkira*.

whose value comes up to ten muhurs, is kept in a *Dah-muhrī* stable; those worth from eleven to twenty muhurs, in a *Bīst-muhrī* stable, and so on.

Grandees and other *Manṣabdārs*, and Senior *Aḥādīs* are in charge of the stables. Hay and crushed grain are found by the government for all horses, except the horse which the *Yatūqdār* (guard) of every stable is allowed to ride, and which he maintains in grain and grass at his own expense.

Ā'in 51.

THE FODDER ALLOWED IN THE IMPERIAL STABLES.

A *khāṣa* horse was formerly allowed eight *seers* fodder *per diem*, when the *ser* weighed twenty-eight *dāms*. Now that the *ser* is fixed at thirty *dāms* a *khāṣa* horse gets seven and a half *seers*. In winter, they give boiled peas or vetch; in summer, grain. The daily allowance includes two *seers* of flour and one and a half *seers* of sugar. In winter, before the horse gets fresh grass, they give it half a *ser* of *ghī*. Two *dāms* are daily allowed for hay; but hay is not given, when fresh grass is available. About three *bighās* of land will yield sufficient fodder for a horse. When, instead of sugar, the horses get molasses, they stop the *ghī*; and when the season of fresh grass comes, they give no grain for the first three days, but allow afterwards six *seers* of grain and two *seers* of molasses *per diem*. In other *Irāqī* and *Turkī* stables, they give seven and a half *seers* of grain. During the cool six months of the year, they give the grain boiled, an allowance of one *dām* being given for boiling one *man* of it. The horses also get once a week a quarter *ser* of salt. When *ghī* and fresh grass are given, each horse, provided its price be above thirty-one muhurs, gets also one *ser* of sugar; whilst such as are worth from twenty-one to thirty muhurs, only get half a *ser*. Horses of less value get no sugar at all. Before green grass is given, horses of a value from twenty-one to upwards of one hundred muhurs, get one *man* and ten *seers* of *ghī*; such as are worth from eleven to twenty muhurs thirty *seers*; but horses up to ten muhurs get neither *ghī*, brown sugar, nor green oats. Salt is given at the daily rate one-fiftieth of a *dām*, though it is mostly given in a lump. *Irāqī* and *Turkī* horses which belong to the court are daily allowed two *d.* for grass; but such of them as are in the country only one and a half. In winter, each horse gets a *bighā* of

fresh oats, the price of which, at court, is 240 *d.*, and in the country 200 *d.* At the time of fresh oats, each horse gets two *mans* of molasses, the same quantity being subtracted from the allowance of grain.

Experienced officers, attached to the Imperial offices, calculate the amount required, and make out an estimate, which in due course is paid. When a horse is sick, every necessary expense is paid on the certificate of the horse doctor.

Every stallion to a stud of mares receives the allowance of a *khāṣa* horse. The *gūt* horses get five and a half *fers* of grain, the usual quantity of salt, and grass at the rate of one and a half *d.* per diem, if at court, and at the rate of 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, when in the country; but they do not get *ghī*, molasses, or green oats. *Qisrāqs* [i.e., female horses] get, at court, four and a half *fers* of grain, the usual allowance of salt, and one *d.* for grass; and in the country, the same, with the exception of the grass, for which only three fourths of a *dām* are allowed. Stud mares get two and three-fourths *fers* of grain, but the allowance for grass, salt, and fuel, is not fixed.

A foal sucks its dam for three months; after which, for nine months, it is allowed the milk of two cows; then, for six months, two and three-fourths *fers* of grain *per diem*; after which period, the allowance is every six months increased by a *ser*, till it completes the third year, when its food is determined by the above regulations.

... ..

Ā'in 52.

ON HARNESS, ETC.

It would be difficult and tedious to describe the various ornaments, jewels, and trappings, used for the *khāṣa* horses on which His Majesty rides.

For the whole outfit of a *khāṣa* horse, the allowance is 277 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* *per annum*; viz., an *artak*, or horse quilt, of wadded chintz, 47 *d.*; a *yālposh* (a covering for the mane), 32 *d.*; a woollen towel, 2 *d.*—these three articles are renewed every six months; in lieu of the old *artak*, half the cost price is deducted, and one-sixth for the old *yālposh*; a saddle-cloth, the outside of which is woven of hair, the lining being felt, 42 *d.*; halters for the

nukhta (headstall) and the hind feet,² 40 *d.*; a *pusht-tang* (girth), 8 *d.*; a *magas-rān* (a horse tail to drive away flies), 3 *d.*; a *nukhta* and *qayza* (the bit), 14 *d.*; a curry-comb, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*; a grain bag, 6 *d.*; a basket, in which the horse gets its grain, 14 *d.* These articles are given *annually*, and fifteen *dāms*, ten *jetals*, subtracted in lieu of the old ones.

In the other stables, the allowance for horses whose value is not less than twenty-one *muhurs*, is 196 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* *per annum*, the rate of the articles being the same. Twenty-five and a half *dāms* are subtracted in lieu of the old articles.

In stables of horses worth twenty to eleven *muhurs*, the annual allowance is 155 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*; viz., for the *artak*, 39 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*; the *yālposh*, 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*; a coarse saddle cloth, 30 *d.*; the girth, 6 *d.*; the *nukhta* and *qayza*, 10 *d.*; and the *nukhta* ropes and feet-ropes, 32 *d.*; the *magas-rān*, 2 *d.*; a towel, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*; a curry-comb, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*; a basket, 1 *d.*; a grain bag, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* Twenty *dāms* are subtracted for the old articles.

For horses worth up to ten *muhurs*, and *qisrāqs*, and *gūt*, the allowance is 117 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*; viz., an *artak*, 37 *d.*; a *yālposh*, 24 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*; a *jul*, 24 *d.*; a *nukhta* band and a *pāy-band*, 8 *d.*; a *nukhta* and *qayza*, 8 *d.*; a *pusht-tang*, 5 *d.*; a *magas-rān* and a towel, each 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*; a curry-comb, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*; a basket, 1 *d.*; a grain bag, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* The amount subtracted is the same as before.

1. The *Karāh* is an iron vessel for boiling grain sufficient for ten horses. The price of a *karāh* is at the rate of one hundred and forty *dāms* per *man* of iron; but this includes the wages of the maker. 2. The *Missin Saḷ*, or brass bucket, out of which horses drink. There is one for every ten *khāṣa* horses. The price of making one is 140 *d.* For other horses, as in the stables of thirty, etc., there is only one. 3. The *Kamand*, attached to iron pegs, is for fastening the horses. In stables of forty, there are three; in stables of thirty, two; in others, one. The weight of a halter is half a *man*; its cost price is 140 *d.*, and 16 *d.* the

² In consequence of the climate, horses are kept, in the East, much more outside than in the stables. When being cleaned or fed, they are fastened by means of a rope to a peg in the ground. In the case of the head-stall, and fastened, like tent rope, in feeding horses, generally squat on the ground, pushing the grain in the basket towards the mouth of the horse. The word *nakḥah*, which, like hundreds of other words, is not given in our dictionaries, is generally pronounced *nukta*. Similarly, *qayzah* is pronounced *gaizah*; vide Journal As. Soc. Bengal for 1868, I, p. 36 b.c.

⁴ The items added only give 116 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*

⁵ Altogether 196 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, and 81 *d.* on account of the first three articles renewed after six months. The deduction in lieu of old articles refers, of course, to the wages of the groom.

wages of the rope maker. 4. The *Ahanin mekh*, or iron peg, of which there are two for every halter. Each peg weighs five *seers*, and costs 15 *d.* 5. The *Tabartukhmāq*, or hammer, weighs five *seers*, and is used for fixing the iron pegs. There is one in every stable.

¶ All broken and old utensils of brass and iron, in the *khāṣa* stables, if repairable, are repaired at the expense of the *Dārōghas*; and when they are past mending, their present value is deducted, and the difference paid in cash. In other stables, a deduction of one-half of their value is made every third year.

6. *Naʿl*, or horseshoes, are renewed twice a year. Formerly eight *dāms* were given for a whole set, but now ten. 7. *Kūndlān*. One is allowed for ten horses.¹ The price of it is 80½ *R.*

Ā'in 53.

THE OFFICERS AND SERVANTS ATTACHED TO THE IMPERIAL STABLES.

1. The *Āibegī* is in charge of all horses belonging to the government. He directs all officers charged with the management of the horses. This office is one of the highest of the State, and is only held by *grandeės* of high rank: at present it is filled by the *Khān Khānān*² (Commander-in-Chief). 2. The *Dārōgha*. There is one appointed for each stable. This post may be held by officers of the rank of commanders of five thousand down to Senior *Aḥadis*. 3. The *Mushrif*, or accountant. He keeps the roll of the horses, manages all payments and fines, sees that His Majesty's orders are carried out, and prepares the estimate of the stores required for this department. He is chosen from among the *grandeės*. 4. The *Dīdā-uar*, or inspector. His duty is occasionally to inspect the horses before they are mustered by His Majesty; he also determines the rank and the condition of the horses. His reports are taken down by the *Mushrif*. This office may be held by the *Manṣabdārs* or *Aḥadis*. 5. The *Akhtachīs* look after the harness, and have the horses saddled. Most of them get their pay on the list of the *Aḥadis*. 6. The *Chābukuṣwār* rides the horses, and compares their speed with the road, which is likewise taken down by the *Mushrif*. He receives the pay of an *Aḥadi*. 7. The *Hādā*. This name is given to a class of *Rājput*s, who teach horses the elementary

steps. Some of them get their pay on the list of the *Aḥadis*. 8. The *Mirdala* is an experienced groom placed over ten servants. He gets the pay of an *Aḥadi*; but in other *khāṣa* stables, he only gets 170 *d.*; in the country-bred stables, 160 *d.*; in the other *si-aspi* stables, 140 *d.*; in the *bist-aspi* stables, 100 *d.*; and in the *dah-aspi* stables, 30 *d.* Besides he has to look after two horses. 9. The *Baytar*, or horse-doctor, gets the pay of an *Aḥadi*. 10. The *Naqīb*, or watcher. Some active, intelligent men are retained for supervision. They report the condition of each stable to the *Dārōghas* and the *Mushrif*, and it is their duty to have the cattle in readiness. The two head *Naqīb*s are *Aḥadis*, and they have thirty people under them, who receive from 100 to 120 *d.* 11. The *Sā'is*, or groom. There is one groom for every two horses. In the *chihil-aspi* stables, each groom gets 170 *d.*; in the stables of the eldest prince, 138 *d.*; in the stables of the other princes, and in the courier horse stables, 136 *d.*; in the country bred stables, 126 *d.*; in the other *si-aspi* stables, 106 *d.*; in the *bist-aspi* stables, 103 *d.*; and in the *dah-aspi* stables, 100 *d.* 12. The *Jilauddār* (vide *Ā'in* 60) and the *Payk* (a runner). Their monthly pay varies from 1,200 to 120 *d.*, according to their speed and manner of service. Some of them will run from fifty to one hundred *kroh* (*kos*) a day. 13. The *Naʿlbānd*, or farrier. Some of them are *Aḥadis*, some foot soldiers. They receive 160 *d.* 14. The *Zindār*, or saddle holder, has the same rank and pay as the preceding. In the *khāṣa* stable of forty horses, one saddle is allowed for every two horses, in the following manner: for the first and twenty-first; for the second and twenty-second, and so on. If the first horse is sent out of the stable, the saddle remains at its place, and what was the second horse becomes first, and the second saddle falls to the third horse, and so on to the end. If a horse out of the middle leaves, its saddle is given to the preceding horse. 15. The *Ābkash*, or water-carrier. Three are allowed in the stables of forty; two in stables of thirty, and only one in other stables. The monthly pay is 100 *d.* 16. The *Farrāsh* (who dusts the furniture). There is one in every *khāṣa* stable. His pay is 130 *d.* 17. A *Sipandsoz*¹ is only allowed in the stables of forty horses;

¹ The seeds of *sipand* (in Hind. *sarāḥ*, a kind of mustard seed) are put on a heated plate of iron. Their smoke is an effectual preventive against the evil eye (*nazar-i bad*, *chāshim rasidan*), which is even dangerous for Akbar's choice horses. The seeds burn away slowly, and emit a crackling sound. The man who burns them is called *Sipandsoz*. Vide the poetical extracts of the 2nd book, under *Shikabī*. Instead of *Sipand*, grooms sometimes keep a monkey over the entrance of the stable. The influence of the evil eye passes from the horses to the ugly monkey.

Another remedy consists in nailing old horseshoes to the gates of the stables. Hundreds of such shoes may still be seen on the gates in Fathpur Sikri.

² This appears to be the same as the Hind. *Laj*, which our meagre dictionaries describe as a "kind of tent".

³ Or *Mirzā Khān Khānān*, i.e., Ṣāḍat-Rahim, son of Bayrām Khān; vide List of *Grandeės*, 2nd book, No. 29.

his pay is 100 *d.* 18. The *Khākhrūb*, or sweeper. Sweepers are called in Hindustan *Halālkhur*;¹ His Majesty brought this name *en vogue*. In stables of forty, there are two; in those of thirty and twenty, one. Their monthly pay is 65 *d.*

During a march, if the *dāroghas* are in receipt of a fixed allowance for coolies, they entertain some people to lead the horses. In the stables of thirty horses, fifteen are allowed. And in the same proportion does the government appoint coolies, when a *dārogha* has not received the extra allowance. Each cooly gets two *dāms* *per diem*.

Ā'in 54.

THE BĀRGĪR.

His Majesty, from the regard which he pays to difference in rank, believes many fit for cavalry service, though he would not trust them with the keeping of a horse. For these he has told off separate stables, with particular *Dāroghas* and *Mushrifs*. When their services are required, they are furnished with a horse on a written order of the *Būikhī* (writer); but they have not to trouble themselves about the keeping of the horse. A man so mounted is called a *Bārgīrsuwar*.

Ā'in 55.

REGULATIONS FOR BRANDING HORSES.

In order to prevent fraudulent exchanges, and to remove the stamp of doubtful ownership, horses were for some time marked with the word *نظر* (*nazr*, sight), sometimes with the word *دَاق* (*dāq*, mark), and sometimes with the numeral ۷ (seven).² Every horse that was received by government had the mark burnt on the right cheek; and those that were returned, on the left side. Sometimes, in the case of *Irāqī* and *Mujannas*³

¹ Akbar was very fond of changing names which he thought offensive, or of giving new names to things which he liked; vide p. 46, l. 28; p. 55, l. 18; p. 65, l. 16; p. 80, l. 22; also Forbes' Dictionary under *rangtarā*. *Halālkhur*, i.e., one who eats that which the ceremonial law allows, is a euphemism for *harāmkhur*, one who eats forbidden things, as pork, etc. The word *halālkhur* is still in use among educated Muhammadans; but it is doubtful whether it was Akbar's invention. The word in common use for a sweeper is *miktar*, a prince, which like the proud title of *khālifa*, nowadays applied to cooks, tailors, etc., is an example of the irony of fate.

² Vide Ā'ins 7 and 8 of the second book. The branding of horses was revived in A.H. 981, A.D. 1573, when Shāhbāz had been appointed *Mir Bakhshī*. He followed the regulations of Ṣalāṭ-ud-Dīn Khiljī and Sher Shāh; vide Badāoni, pp. 173, 180.

³ *Mujannas*, i.e., put nearly equal (to an *Irāqī* horse); vide 2nd book, Ā'in 2.

horses, they branded the price in numerals on the right cheek; and in the case of Turkī and Arab horses, on the left. Nowadays the horses of every stable are distinguished by their price in numerals. Thus, a horse of ten muhurs is marked with the numeral ten; those of twenty muhurs have a twenty, and so on. When horses, at the time of the musters, are put into a higher or a lower grade, the old brand is removed.

Ā'in 56.

REGULATIONS FOR KEEPING UP THE FULL COMPLEMENT OF HORSES.

Formerly, whenever there had been taken away either ten horses from the stables of forty, or from the stud-bred horses, or five from the courier horses, they were replaced in the following manner. The deficiency in the stables of forty was made up from horses chosen from the stables of the princes; the stud-bred horses were replaced by other stud-bred ones, and the courier horses from other stables. Again, if there were wanting fifteen horses in the stables of the eldest prince (Salīm), they were replaced by good horses of his brothers; and if twenty were wanting in the stables of the second prince (Murād), the deficiency was made up by horses taken from the stables of the youngest prince and from other stables; and if twenty-five were wanting in the stables of the youngest prince (Dānyāl), the deficiency was made up from other good stables.

But in the thirty-seventh year of the Divine Era (A.D. 1593), the order was given that, in future, one horse should annually be added to each stable. Thus, when, in the present year, the deficiency in the *khāṣa* stables had come up to eleven, they commenced to make up the complement, the deficiency of the other stables being made up at the time of the muster parades.

Ā'in 57.

ON FINES.

When a *khāṣa* horse dies, the *Dārogha* has to pay one rupee, and the *Mirdaha* ten *d.*, upon every muhur of the cost price; and the grooms lose one-fourth of their monthly wages. When a horse is stolen, or injured, His Majesty determines the fine, as it cannot be uniform in each case.

In the other stables they exacted from the *Dārogha* for a single horse that dies, one rupee upon every muhur; for two horses, two rupees

If the mouth of a horse gets injured, the Mirdaha is fined ten *dāms* upon every muhur, which fine he recovers from the other grooms.

If the mouth of a horse gets injured, the Mirdaha is fined ten *dāms* upon every muhur, which fine he recovers from the other grooms.

ON HORSES KEPT IN READINESS.

First *miṣṭ*: one from the *chihīlaspī* stables; one from the stable of the eldest prince; one from those of the second prince; one from the stable of *kḥāsa* courier horses. Second *miṣṭ*: one from the stable of the youngest prince; one from the stud-bred; one from the *chihīlaspī* stables; one courier horse. Third *miṣṭ*, one horse from the stables of the three princes; one stud-bred. Fourth *miṣṭ*, one horse from each of the stables of horses of forty, thirty, twenty, and ten muhurs.

Horses are also kept in readiness from the stables of twenty and ten *muhurs* and the *gûts*.

24 "Prince Murād in the beginning of the fortieth year (1586) of Akbar's reign, was put in command of the army of Gōjrāt, and ordered to take Ahmadnagar. But when, some time after, Akbar heard that Murād's army was in a wretched condition, chiefly through the carelessness and drunken habits of the prince, the emperor resolved to go himself (43rd year), and dispatched Abū 'l-Faḡl to bring the prince back to court. Abū 'l-Faḡl came just in time to see the prince die, who from the preceding year had been suffering from epileptic fits (*sarī, delirium tremens*) brought on by habitual drunkenness." *Mir. u.*

ON DONATIONS.

Now, the following donations are given :—For a horse of a stable of forty, one rupee as before ; for a horse belonging to a stable of the eldest prince, twenty *dāms* ; for a horse belonging to the youngest prince, ten *dāms* ; for courier horses, five ; for stud-breds, four ; for horses of the other stables, two.

REGULATIONS FOR THE JILAWĀNA.²

In this country horses commonly live to the age of thirty years. Their price varies from 500 muhurs to 2 rupees.

* *Jilaw* is the string attached to the bridle, by which a horse is led. A led horse is called *janiba*. The adjective *jilawin*, which is not in the dictionary, means referring to a led horse. We language, the law of the Persian language, from *nai, jau*, not *in*, or *o* leads the horse. The *jilauegi* is the superintendent of horses selected for presents. The *tabšildar* collects the fee.

THE CAMEL STABLES.

From the time His Majesty paid regard to the affairs of the state, he has shown a great liking for this curiously shaped animal; and as it is of great use for the three branches of the government, and well known to the emperor for its patience under burdens, and for its contentment with little food, it has received every care at the hands of His Majesty. The quality of the country breed improved very much, and Indian camels soon surpassed those of Irān and Tūrān.

From a regard to the dignity of his court, and the diversion of others, His Majesty orders camel-fights, for which purpose several choice animals are always kept in readiness. The best of these *khāṣa* camels, which is named *Shāhpasand* (approved of by the Shāh), is a country-bred twelve years old; it overcomes all its antagonists, and exhibits in the manner in which it stoops down and draws itself up every finesse of the art of wrestling.

Camels are numerous near Ājmīr, Jodhpūr, Nāgor, Bikānīr, Jaisalmīr, Batinḍā, and Bhaṭnīr; the best are bred in the Śūba of Gujrāt, near Cachh. But in Sind is the greatest abundance; many inhabitants own ten thousand camels and upwards. The swiftest camels are those of Ājmīr; the best for burden are bred in Thāṭha.

The success¹ of this department depends on the *Arwānas*, i.e., female camels. In every country they get hot in winter and couple. The male of two humps goes by the name of *Bughur*. The young ones of camels are called *nar* (male) and *māya* (female), as the case may be; but His Majesty has given to the *nar* the name of *bughḍī*, and to the female that of *jammāza*. The *bughḍī* is the better for carrying burdens and for fighting; the *jammāza* excels in swiftness. The Indian camel called *lok*, and its female, come close to them in swiftness, and even surpass them. The offspring of a *bughur* and a *jammāza* goes by the name of *ghurd*; the female is called *māya ghurd*. If a *bughḍī*, or a *lok*, couples with a *jammāza*, the young one is called *bughḍī* or *lok* respectively. But if a *bughḍī* or a *lok* couples with an *arwāna*, the young male is named after its sire and the young female after its dam. The *lok* is considered superior to the *ghurd* and the *māya ghurd*.

¹ In the text *māya*, which also means a female camel—a very harmless pun. Vide Dr. Sprenger's *Gulistan*, preface, p. 6. Regarding the word *bughur*, vide *Journal Asiatic Society*, Bengal, for 1868, p. 59.

When camels are loaded and travel, they are generally formed into *qaṭārs* (strings), each *qaṭār* consisting of five camels. The first camel of each *qaṭār* is called *peshang*¹; the second, *peshdara*; the third, *miyāna qaṭār*; the fourth, *duṁdast*; the last camel, *duṁdar*.

THE FOOD OF CAMELS.

The following is the allowance of such *bughḍīs* as are to carry burdens. At the age of two and a half, or three years, when they are taken from the herd of the stud dams, a *bughḍī* gets 2 s. of grain; when three and a half to four years old, 5 s.; up to seven years, 9 s.; at eight years, 10 s. The same rule applies to *bughurs*. Similarly in the case of *jammāzas*, *ghurds*, *māyah ghurds*, and *loks*, up to four years of age; but from the fourth to the seventh year, they get 7 s.; and at the age of eight years, 7½ s., at the rate of 28 *dāms* per *ser*. As the *ser* has now 30 *dāms*, a corresponding deduction is made in the allowance. When *bughḍīs* are in heat, they eat less. Hence also concession is made, if they get lean, to the extent of 10 s., according to the provisions of the *Pāgosht* rule (Ā'in 83); and when the rutting season is over, the *Dāroghas* give out a corresponding extra allowance of grain to make up for the former deficiency. If they have made a definite entry into their day-book, and give out more food, they are held indemnified according to the *Pāgosht* rule; and similarly in all other cases, note is taken of the deductions according to that rule.

At Court, camels are found in grass by the government for eight months. Camels on duty inside the town are daily allowed grass at the rate of 2 d. per head; and those outside the town, 1½ d. During the four rainy months, and on the march, no allowance is given, the drivers taking the camels to meadows to graze.

THE HARNESS OF CAMELS.

The following articles are allowed for *khāṣa* camels: an *Afsār* (head stall); a *Dum-afsār* (crupper); a *Mahār kāṭhī* (furniture resembling a horse-saddle, but rather longer—an invention of His Majesty); a *kūchī*

¹ So according to the best MSS. The word is evidently a vulgar corruption of *peshāng*, the leader of a troop. *Peshdara* means "in front of the belly, or middle, of the *qaṭār*".

(which serves as a saddle-cloth); a *Qutārkhī*; a *Sarbhī*;¹ a *Tang* (a girth); a *Sartang* (a head-strap); a *Shebband* (a loin-strap); a *Jalājil* (a breast rope adorned with shells or bells); a *Gardanband* (a neck-strap); three *Chālars* (or coverings) made of broadcloth, or variegated canvas, or waxcloth. The value of the jewels, inlaid work, trimmings, and silk, used for adorning the above articles, goes beyond description.

Five *qaṣṣars* of camels, properly caparioned, are always kept ready for riding, together with two for carrying a *Milḥaffa*, which is a sort of wooden turret, very comfortable, with two poles, by which it is suspended, at the time of travelling, between two camels.

A camel's furniture is either coloured or plain. For every ten *qaṣṣars* they allow three *qaṣṣars* coloured articles.

For *Bughḍīs*, the cost of the [coloured] furniture is 225½ d., viz., a head-stall studded with shells, 20½ d.; a brass ring, 1½ d.; an iron chain, 4½ d.; a *kallaḡī* (an ornament in shape of a rosette, generally made of peacock's feathers, with a stone in the centre), 5 d.; a *pushḥ-pōṣī* (ornaments for the strap which passes along the back), 8 d.; a *dum-afṣār* (a crupper), 1½ d.; for a *takaltū* (saddle-quilt), and a *sarbhī*, both of which require 5 *seers* of cotton, 20 d.; a *jul* (saddle-cloth), 68 d.; a *jahūz-i gajkārī*,² which serves as a *maḥārkhūḥī* (vide above), 40 d.; a *tang*, *shebband*, *gulūband* (throat-strap), 24 d.; a *tanāb* (long rope) for securing the burden—camel-drivers call this rope *tāqa tanāb*, or *khanaūr*—38 d.; a *bālāposh*, or covering, 15 d.⁴

For *Jammāzas*, two additional articles are allowed, viz., a *gardanband*, 2 d.; and a *sina-band* (chest-strap), 16 d.

The cost of a set of plain furniture for *Bughḍīs* and *Jammāzas* amounts to 168½ d., viz., an *afṣār*, studded with shells, 10 d.; a *dum-afṣār*, ½ d.; a *jahūz*, 16½ d.; a *jul*, 52½ d.; a *tang*, a *shebband*, and *gulūband*, 24 d.; a *tāqa tanāb*, 37½ d.; a *bālāposh*, 28 d.⁵

For *Loks*, the allowance for furniture is 143 d., viz., an *afṣār*, *jahūz*,

khanaūr, according to the former rates; a *jul*, 37½ d.; a *tang*, *shebband*, *gulūband*, 14½ d.; a *bālāposh*, 28 d.¹

The coloured and plain furniture is renewed once in three years, but not so the iron bands and the woodwork. In consideration of the old coloured furniture of every *qaṣṣār*, sixteen *dāms*, and of plain furniture, fourteen *dāms*, are deducted by the Government. At the end of every three years they draw out an estimate, from which one-fourth is deducted; then, after taking away one-tenth of the remainder, an assignment is given for the rest.²

Alaṣī camels (used for foraging) have their furniture renewed annually, at the cost of 52½ d. for country-bred camels, and *loks*, viz. [for country bred camels] an *afṣār*, 5 d.; a *jul*, 36½ d.; a *sardoz*, ½ d.; a *tang* and a *shebband*, 10½ d.;³ and [for *loks*], an *afṣār*, a *tang*, and a *shebband*, as before; a *jul*, 45½ d.; a *sardoz*, ¾ d.

From the annual estimate one-fourth is deducted, and an assignment is given for the remainder.

Shalīta tāṣṣ, or canvas sacks, for giving camels their grain, are allowed one for every *qaṣṣār*, at a price of 30½ d. for *bughḍīs* and *jammāzas*, and 24½ d. for *loks*.

Hitherto the cost of these articles had been uniformly computed and fixed by contract with the camel drivers. But when, in the forty-second year of the divine era [1599 A.D.], it was brought to the notice of His Majesty that these people were, to a certain extent, losers, this regulation was abolished, and the current market price allowed for all articles. The price is therefore no longer fixed.

On every New Year's day, the head camel-drivers receive permission for shearing the camels, anointing them with oil, injecting oil into the noses of the animals, and indenting for the furniture allowed to *Alaṣī* camels.

Ā'in 61.

REGULATIONS FOR OILING CAMELS, AND INJECTING OIL INTO THEIR NOSTRILS.

The scientific terms for these operations are *talliya* and *tajrīs*, though we might expect *taṭliya* and *tanshiq*, because *tanshiq* means *injecting into the nose*.

¹ The meaning is doubtful. The Arab. *ṣarbh*, like *qīṭr*, signifies a troop of camels. From the following it appears that *sarbhī* is a sort of quilt.

² *Gajkārī* appears to be the correct reading. The Arab. *jahūz* means *whatever is upon a camel*, especially the *saddle and its appurtenances*, generally made of coarse canvas steeped in lime (*ḡajj*). Hence *gajkārī*, white-washed.

³ These items added up give 216 d., not 225½, as stated by Abū 'l-Faṣl. When discrepancies are slight, they will be found to result from a rejection of the fractional parts of the cost of articles. The difference of 20½ d. in this case can only have resulted from an omission on the part of the author, because all MSS. agree in the several items. Perhaps some of the articles were not exchanged triennially, but had to last a longer time.

⁴ These items added up give 162 d., instead of Abū 'l-Faṣl's 168½ d.

¹ The items added up give 141 d., instead of Abū 'l-Faṣl's 143 d.

² Hence the Government paid, as a rule, $\frac{2}{3} \times \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{3}$ of the estimates presented.

³ The addition gives 52½ d., instead of 52½. The following items, for *loks*, give added up 62½.

For each *Bughdī* and *Jammāza* 3½ *seers* of sesame oil are annually allowed, viz., three *seers* for anointing, and ½ *ser* for injection into the nose. So also ¾ *s.* of brimstone, and 6½ *s.* of butter-milk. For other kinds of camels the allowance is ¾ *s.* of brimstone, 6½ *s.* of butter-milk, and ¾ *s.* of grease for injecting into the nose-holes.

Formerly these operations were repeated three times, but now only once, a year.

Ā'in 65.

THE RANKS OF THE CAMELS, AND THEIR SERVANTS.

His Majesty has formed the camels into *qatārs*, and given each *qatār* in charge of a *sārbān*, or driver. Their wages are four-fold. The first class get 400 *d.*, the second, 340 *d.*, the third, 280 *d.*; the fourth, 220 *d.*, *per mensem*.

The *qatārs* are of three kinds—1. Every five *qatārs* are in charge of an experienced man, called *Bistopanji*, or commander of twenty-five. His salary is 720 *d.* He marks a *Yābū* horse, and has four drivers under him. 2. Double the preceding, or ten *qatārs*, are committed to the care of a *Panjāhi*, or commander of fifty. He is allowed a horse, draws 550 *d.*, and has nine drivers under him. 3. Every hundred *qatārs* are in charge of a *Panjādi*, or commander of five hundred. Ten *qatārs* are under his personal superintendence. With the exception of one *qatār*, Government finds drivers for the others. The *Panjāhis* and *Bistopanjis* are under his orders. Their salary varies; nowadays many *Yāzbāshis*¹ are appointed to this post. One camel is told off for the *farrāshes*. A writer also has been appointed. His Majesty, from his practical knowledge, has placed each *Panjādi* under a grandee of the court. Several active foot-soldiers have been selected to inquire from time to time into the condition of the camels, so that there may be no neglect. Besides, twice a year some people adorned with the jewel of insight inspect the camels as to their leanness or fatness at the beginning of the rains and at the time of the annual muster.

Should a camel get lost, the *Sārbān* is fined the full value; so also the *Panjāhi* and the *Panjādi*. If a camel get lame or blind, he is fined the fourth part of the price.

Raibārī.

Raibārī is the name given to a class of Hindus who are acquainted with the habits of the camel. They teach the country-bred *lok* camel so to step

as to pass over great distances in a short time. Although from the capital to the frontiers of the empire, in every direction, relay horses are stationed, and swift runners have been posted at the distance of every five *los*, a few of these camel riders are kept at the palace in readiness. Each *Raibārī* is also put in charge of fifty stud *aricānas*, to which for the purpose of breeding, one *bughur* and two *loks* are attached. The latter (the males) get the usual allowance of grain, but nothing for grass. The fifty *aricānas* get no allowance for grain or grass. For every *bughur*, *bughdī*, and *jammāza* in the stud, the allowance for oiling and injecting into the nostrils is 4 *s.* of sesame oil, ½ *s.* of brimstone, 6½ *s.* of butter-milk.¹ The first includes ¼ *s.* of oil for injection. *Loks*, *aricānas*, *ghurds*, and *wāya ghurds*, get only 3½ *s.* of sesame oil—the deduction is made for injection—6½ *s.* of butter-milk, and ½ *s.* of brimstone.

Botas and *Dumbālas*—these names are given to young camels; the former is used for light burdens; they are allowed 2½ *s.* of oil, inclusive of ¼ *s.* for injection into the nostrils, ½ *s.* of brimstone, and 4½ *s.* of butter-milk.¹

Full-grown stud-camels get weekly ½ *s.* of saltpetre and common salt; *botas* get ¼ *s.*

The wages of a herdsman is 200 *d.* *per mensem*. For grazing every fifty stud-camels, he is allowed five assistants, each of whom gets 2 *d.* *per diem*. A herdsman of two herds of fifty is obliged to present to His Majesty three *aricānas* every year; on failure, their price is deducted from his salary.

Formerly the state used to exact a fourth part of the wool sheared from every *bughdī* and *jammāza*, each camel being assessed to yield four *seers* of wool. Thus His Majesty has remitted, and in lieu thereof, has ordered the drivers to provide their camels with *dum-afsārs*, wooden pegs, etc.

The following are the prices of camels:—a *bughdī*, from 5 to 12 *muhurs*; a *jammāza*, from 3 to 10 *M.*; a *bughur*, from 3 to 7 *M.*; a mongrel *lok*, from 8 to 9 *M.*, a country-bred, or a *Balūchī lok*, from 3 to 8 *M.*; an *aricāna*, from 2 to 4 *M.*

His Majesty has regulated the burdens to be carried by camels. A first class *bughdī*, not more than 10 *mans*; a second class *do.*, 8 *m.*; superior *jammāzas*, *loks*, etc., 8 *m.*; a second class *do.*, 6 *m.*

In this country, camels do not live above twenty-four years.

¹ Corresponding to our Captains of the Army, commanders of 100 soldiers.

THE GĀW-KHĀNA OR COW¹-STABLES.

Throughout the happy regions of Hindustan, the cow is considered auspicious, and held in great veneration; for by means of this animal, tillage is carried on, the sustenance of life is rendered possible, and the table of the inhabitant is filled with milk, butter-milk,² and butter. It is capable of carrying burdens and drawing wheeled carriages, and thus becomes an excellent assistant for the three branches of the government.

Though every part of the empire produces cattle of various kinds, those of Gujrāt are the best. Sometimes a pair of them are sold at 100 muhrs. They will travel 80 kos [120 miles] in 24 hours, and surpass even swift horses. Nor do they dung whilst running. The usual price is 20 and 10 muhrs. Good cattle are also found in Bengal and the Dakhin. They kneel down at the time of being loaded. The cows give upwards of half a *man* of milk. In the province of Dihli again, cows are not worth more than 10 Rupees. His Majesty once bought a pair of cows for two lacs of *dāms* [5,000 Rupees].

In the neighbourhood of Thibet and Kashmir, the *Quās*, or Thibetan Yak, occurs, an animal of extraordinary appearance.

A cow will live to the age of twenty-five.

From his knowledge of the wonderful properties of the cow, His Majesty, who notices everything which is of value, pays much attention to the improvement of cattle. He divided them into classes, and committed each to the charge of a merciful keeper. One hundred choice cattle were selected as *khāsa* and called *kotal*. They are kept in readiness for any service, and forty of them are taken unladen on hunting expeditions, as shall be mentioned below (Book II, Ā'in 27). Fifty-one others nearly as good are called half-*kotal*, and fifty-one more, quarter-*kotal*. Any deficiency in the first class is made up from the second, and that of the middle from the third. But these three form the cow¹-stables for His Majesty's use.

✓ Besides, sections of cattle have been formed, each varying in number from 50 to 100, and committed to the charge of honest keepers. The rank of each animal is fixed at the time of the public muster, when each gets its proper place among sections of equal rank. A similar proceeding is adopted for each section, when selected for drawing waggons and travelling carriages, or for fetching water (*vide* Ā'in 22).

There is also a species of oxen, called *gainī*, small like *gūl* horses, but very beautiful.

Milch-cows and buffaloes have also been divided into sections, and handed over to intelligent servants.

THE DAILY ALLOWANCE OF FOOD.

Every head of the first *khāsa* class is allowed daily 6½ s. of grain, and 1½ d. of grass. The whole stable gets daily 1 *man* 19 s. of molasses, which is distributed by the *Dārogha*, who must be a man suitable for such a duty, and office. Cattle of the remaining *khāsa* classes get daily 6 s. of grain, and grass as before, but no molasses² are given.

In other cow-stables the daily allowance is as follows. First kind, 6 s. of grain, 1½ d. of grass at court, and otherwise only 1 d. The second kind get 5 s. of grain, and grass as usual. The oxen used for travelling carriages get 6 s. of grain, and grass as usual. First class *gainīs* get 3 s. of grain, and 1 d. of grass at court, otherwise only ¾ d. Second class do., 2½ s. of grain, and ¾ d. of grass at court, otherwise only ½ d.

A male buffalo (called *arna*) gets 8 s. of wheat flour boiled, 2 s. of *ghī*, ½ s. of molasses, 1½ s. of grain,¹ and 2 d. of grass. This animal, when young, fights astonishingly, and will tear a lion to pieces. When this peculiar strength is gone, it reaches the second stage, and is used for carrying water. It then gets 8 s. of grain, and 2 d. for grass. Female buffaloes used for carrying water get 6 s. of grain, and 2 d. for grass. First class oxen for leopard-waggons get 6½ s. of grain; and other classes, 5 s. of grain, but the same quantity of grass. Oxen for heavy waggons got formerly 5 s. of grain, and 1½ d. for grass; but now they get a quarter *ser* less, and grass as before.

The milch-cows, and buffaloes, when at court, have grain given them in proportion to the quantity of milk they give. A herd of cows and buffaloes is called *thāl*. A cow will give daily from 1 to 15 s. of milk; a buffalo from 2 to 30 s. The buffaloes of the Panjāb are the best in this respect. As soon as the quantity of milk given by each cow has been ascertained, there are demanded two *dāms* weight of *ghī* for every *ser* of milk.

THE SERVANTS EMPLOYED IN THE COW-STABLES.

In the *Lhāsa* stables, one man is appointed to look after four head of cattle. Eighteen such keepers in the first stable get 5 *d. per diem*, and the remaining keepers, 4 *d.* In other stables, the salary of the keepers is the same, but each has to look after six cows. Of the carriage drivers, some get their salaries on the list of the *Ahads*; others get 360 *d.*, others 256 *d.* down to 112 *d.* *Bahals*, or carriages, are of two kinds:—1. *Chatridār* or covered carriages, having four or more poles (which support the *chair*, or umbrella); 2. without a covering. Carriages suited for horses are called *ghur-bahal*. For every ten waggons, 20 drivers and 1 carpenter are allowed. The head driver, or *Mirdaka*, and the carpenter, get each 5 *d. per diem*; the others 4 *d.* For some time 15 drivers had been appointed, and the carpenter was disallowed; the drivers themselves undertook the repairs, and received on this account an annual allowance of 2,200 *dāms* [55 Rupees].

If a horn of an ox was broken, or the animal got blind, the *Dārōgha* was fined one-fourth of the price, or even more, according to the extent of the injury.

Formerly the *Dārōghas* paid all expenses on account of repairs, and received for every day that the carriages were used, half a *dām* as *ūng* money—*ūng* is hemp smeared with *ghī*, and twisted round about the axle-tree which, like a pivot, fits into the central hole of the wheel, and thus prevents it from wearing away or getting broken. When afterwards the *Dārōghaship* was transferred to the drivers, they had to provide for this expense. At first, it was only customary for the carts to carry on marches a part of the baggage belonging to the different workshops; but when the drivers performed the duties of the *Dārōghas* they had also to provide for the carriage of the fuel required at court and for the transport of building materials. But subsequently 200 waggons were set aside for the transport of building materials, whilst 600 others have to bring, in the space of ten months, 1,50,000 *mans* of fuel to the Imperial kitchen. And if officers of the government on any day use the Imperial waggons for other purposes, that day is to be separately accounted for, as also each service rendered to the court. The drivers are not subject to the *Pāgoshī* regulation (*vide* Ā'in 83). If, however, an ox dies, they have to buy another.

But when it came to the ears of His Majesty that the above mode of contract was productive of much cruelty towards these serviceable, but mute animals, he abolished this system, and gave them again in charge of faithful servants. The allowance of grain for every cart-bullock was fixed at 4 *s.*, and 1½ *d.* were given for grass. For other bullocks, the allowance is one-half of the preceding. But during the four rainy months no money is allowed for grass. There were also appointed for every eighteen carts twelve drivers, one of whom must understand carpenter's work. Now, if a bullock dies, government supplies another in his stead, and likewise pays for the *ūng*, and is at the expense of repairs.

The cattle that are worked are mustered once a year by experienced men who estimate their fatness or leanness; cattle that are unemployed are inspected every six months. Instead of the above mentioned transport of firewood, etc., the carters have now to perform any service which may be required by the government.

THE MULE STABLES.

The mule possesses the strength of a horse and the patience of an ass, and though it has not the intelligence of the former it has not the stupidity of the latter. It never forgets the road which it has once travelled. Hence it is liked by His Majesty, whose practical wisdom extends to everything, and its breeding is encouraged. It is the best animal for carrying burdens and travelling over uneven ground, and has a very soft step. People generally believe that the male ass couples with a mare, but the opposite connexion also is known to take place, as mentioned in the books of antiquity. The mule resembles its dam. His Majesty had a young ass coupled with a mare, and they produced a very fine mule.

In many countries just princes prefer travelling about on a mule and people can therefore easily lay their grievances before them,¹ without inconveniencing the traveller.

Mules are only bred in Hindustan in Pakhali,² and its neighbourhood. The simple inhabitants of the country used to look upon mules as asses, and thought it derogatory to ride upon them; but in consequence of the

¹ Which the subjects could not so easily do, if the princes, on their tours of administration of justice, were to ride on elephants, because the plaintiff would stand too far from the king.

² The Sarkār of Pakhali lies between Atak (Attock) and Kashmir, a little north of Rawul Pindir. *Vide* towards the end of Book III.

interest which His Majesty takes in this animal, so great a dislike is now nowhere to be found.

Mules are chiefly imported from ṢIrāq-i ṢArab and ṢIrāq-i ṢAjām. Very superior mules are often sold at Rs. 1,000 per head.

Like camels, they are formed into *qaṭārs* of five, and have the same names, except the second mule of each *qaṭār*, which is called *bardast*, [instead of *peshdara*, vide Ā'in 61, end].

Mules reach the age of fifty.

Ā'in 70.

THE DAILY ALLOWANCE OF FOOD FOR MULES.

Such mules as are not country-bred, get at court, 6 s. of grain, and 2 d. for grass; otherwise, only 1½ d. Country-bred mules get 4 s. of grain, and 1½ d. of grass, when at court; otherwise, 1 d. for grass. Each mule is allowed every week 3½ *jetals* for salt; but they give the salt in one lot.

Ā'in 71.

THE FURNITURE OF MULES.

For imported mules, a head stall of leather, 20½ d.; an iron chain weighing 2 s., 10 d.; a *ranakī* (crupper) of leather, 4 d.; a *pālān* (pack-saddle), 102 d.; a *shāllang* (shawl strap), and a *palās-tang* (blanket strap), 36½ d.; a *tāqa ṭanāb* (a rope for fastening the burden), 63 d.; a *qālīr shalāq* (a short whip), 6 d.; a bell, one for every *qaṭār*, 10 d.; a horse-hair saddle, 40 d., a *kalāwa* (vide Ā'in 45, No. 9) of leather, 13 d.; a set of ropes, 9 d.; a saddle cloth, 4½ d.; a *sardoz* (a common head stall), 4 d., a *khurjīn* (wallet), 15 d.; a fodder-bag, 4 d.; a *magas-rān* (to drive away flies) of leather, 1 d.; a curry-comb and a hair-glove (for washing), 4 d. Total 345½ d.

For country-bred mules the allowance is 151½ d., viz., a head stall of leather, 4 d.; pack-saddle, 51 d. 18½ d.; the two straps, 16½ d.; a *tāqa ṭanāb* and *sardoz*, 40 d.; a bell, 5 d.; a fodder-bag, 3 d.; a crupper, 3 d.; a saddle, 24 d.; a curry-comb and a hair-glove, 4 d.

The furniture is renewed every third year; but for all iron and wood work, half the price is deducted. The annual allowance for the repair of the furniture is 40 d., but on the march, the time of renewal depends on the wear. Mules are shod every six months at a cost of 8 d. per head.

Each *qaṭār* is in charge of a keeper. Tūrānīs, Īrānīs, and Indians, are appointed to this office, the first two get from 400 to 1,920 d.; and the

third class, from 240 to 256 d. *per mensem*. Such keepers as have monthly salaries of 10 R. [400 d.] and upwards, have to find the *peshang* (first mule of their *qaṭār*) in grain and grass. Experienced people inspect the mules twice a year as to leanness or fatness. Once a year they are paraded before His Majesty.

If a mule gets blind or lame, the muleteer is fined one-fourth of the cost price; and one-half, if it is lost.

Asses also are employed for carrying burdens and fetching water. They get 3 s. of grain, and 1 d. for grass. The furniture for asses is the same as that for country-bred mules, but no saddle is given. The annual allowance for repairs is 23 d. The keepers do not get above 120 d. *per mensem*.

Ā'in 72.

THE MANNER IN WHICH HIS MAJESTY SPENDS HIS TIME.

The success of the three branches of the government, and the fulfilment of the wishes of the subjects, whether great or small, depend upon the manner in which a king spends his time. The care with which His Majesty guards over his motives, and watches over his emotions, bears on its face the sign of the Infinite, and the stamp of immortality; and though thousands of important matters occupy, at one and the same time, his attention, they do not stir up the rubbish of confusion in the temple of his mind, nor do they allow the dust of dismay to settle on the vigour of his mental powers, or the habitual earnestness with which His Majesty contemplates the charms of God's world. His anxiety to do the will of the Creator is ever increasing; and thus his insight and wisdom are ever deepening. From his practical knowledge, and capacity for everything excellent, he can sound men of experience, though rarely casting a glance on his own ever extending excellence. He listens to great and small, expecting that a good thought, or the relation of a noble deed, may kindle in his mind a new lamp of wisdom, though ages have passed without his having found a really great man. Impartial statesmen, on seeing the sagacity of His Majesty, blotted out the book of their own wisdom, and commenced a new leaf. But with the magnanimity which distinguishes him, and with his wonted zeal, he continues his search for superior men, and finds a reward in the care with which he selects such as are fit for his society.

Although surrounded by every external pomp and display, and by every inducement to lead a life of luxury and ease, he does not allow his desires, or his wrath, to renounce allegiance to Wisdom, his sovereign—how much less would he permit them to lead him to a bad deed! Even the telling of stories, which ordinary people use as a means of lulling themselves into sleep, serves to keep His Majesty awake.

Ardently feeling after God, and searching for truth, His Majesty exercises upon himself both inward and outward austerities, though he occasionally joins public worship, in order to hush the slandering tongues of the bigots of the present age. But the great object of his life is the acquisition of that sound morality, the sublime loftiness of which captivates the hearts of thinking sages, and silences the taunts of zealots and sectarians.

Knowing the value of a lifetime, he never wastes his time, nor does he omit any necessary duty, so that in the light of his upright intentions, every action of his life may be considered as an adoration of God.

It is beyond my power to describe in adequate terms His Majesty's devotions. He passes every moment of his life in self-examination or in adoration of God. He especially does so at the time, when morning spreads her azure silk, and scatters abroad her young, golden beams; and at noon, when the light of the world-illuminating sun embraces the universe, and thus becomes a source of joy for all men; in the evening when that fountain of light withdraws from the eyes of mortal man, to the bewildering grief of all who are friends of light; and lastly at midnight, when that great cause of life turns again to ascend, and to bring the news of renewed cheerfulness to all who, in the melancholy of the night, are stricken with sorrow. All these grand mysteries are in honour of God, and in adoration of the Creator of the world; and if dark-minded, ignorant men cannot comprehend their signification, who is to be blamed, and whose loss is it? Indeed, every man acknowledges that we owe gratitude and reverence to our benefactors; and hence it is incumbent on us, though our strength may fail, to show gratitude for the blessings we receive from the sun, the light of all lights, and to enumerate the benefits which he bestows. This is essentially the duty of kings, upon whom, according to the opinion of the wise, this sovereign of the heavens sheds an immediate light.¹ And this is the very motive which actuates His Majesty to venerate fire and reverence lamps.

But why should I speak of the mysterious blessings of the sun, or of

the transfer of his greater light to lamps? Should I not rather dwell on the perverseness of those weak-minded zealots, who, with much concern, talk of His Majesty's religion as of a deification of the Sun, and the introduction of fire-worship? But I shall dismiss them with a smile.

The compassionate heart of His Majesty finds no pleasure in cruelties, or in causing sorrow to others; he is ever sparing of the lives of his subjects, wishing to bestow happiness upon all.

His Majesty abstains much from flesh, so that whole months pass away without his touching any animal food, which, though prized by most, is nothing thought of by the sage. His august nature cares but little for the pleasures of the world. In the course of twenty-four hours he never makes more than one meal. He takes a delight in spending his time in performing whatever is necessary and proper. He takes a little repose in the evening, and again for a short time in the morning; but his sleep looks more like waking.

His Majesty is accustomed to spend the hours of the night profitably; to the private audience hall are then admitted eloquent philosophers and virtuous Sūfis, who are seated according to their rank and entertain His Majesty with wise discourses. On such occasions His Majesty fathoms them, and tries them on the touch-stone of knowledge. Or the object of an ancient institution is disclosed, or new thoughts are hailed with delight. Here young men of talent learn to revere and adore His Majesty, and experience the happiness of having their wishes fulfilled, whilst old men of impartial judgment see themselves on the expanse of sorrow, finding that they have to pass through a new course of instruction.

There are also present in these assemblies, unprejudiced historians, who do not mutilate history by adding or suppressing facts, and relate the impressive events of ancient times. His Majesty often makes remarks wonderfully shrewd, or starts a fitting subject for conversation. On other occasions matters referring to the empire and the revenue are brought up, when His Majesty gives orders for whatever is to be done in each case.

About a watch before daybreak, musicians of all nations are introduced, who recreate the assembly with music and songs, and religious strains; and when four *ghazis* are left till morning His Majesty retires to his private apartments, brings his external appearance in harmony with the simplicity of his heart, and launches forth into the ocean of contemplation. In the meantime, at the close of night, soldiers, merchants, peasants, tradespeople, and other professions gather round the palace, patiently waiting to catch a glimpse of His Majesty. Soon after daybreak, they are allowed to make the *kornish* (*vide* Ā'in 74). After

¹ Vide Abū 'l-Fazl's Preface, pp. iii and 49.

this, His Majesty allows the attendants of the Harem to pay their compliments. During this time various matters of worldly and religious import are brought to the notice of His Majesty. As soon as they are settled, he returns to his private apartments and reposes a little.

The good habits of His Majesty are so numerous that I cannot adequately describe them. If I were to compile dictionaries on this subject they would not be exhaustive.

Aⁱⁿ 73.

REGULATIONS FOR ADMISSION TO COURT.

Admittance to Court is a distinction conferred on the nation at large ; it is a pledge that the three branches of the government are properly looked after, and enables subjects personally to apply for redress of their grievances. Admittance to the ruler of the land is for the success of his government what irrigation is for a flower-bed ; it is the field, on which the hopes of the nation ripen into fruit.

His Majesty generally receives twice in the course of twenty-four hours, when people of all classes can satisfy their eyes and hearts with the light of his countenance. *First*, after performing his morning devotions, he is visible from outside the awning, to people of all ranks, whether they be given to worldly pursuits, or to a life of solitary contemplation, without any molestation from the mace-bearers. This mode of showing himself is called, in the language of the country, *darsan* (view) ; and it frequently happens that business is transacted at this time. The *second* time of his being visible is in the State Hall, whither he generally goes after the first watch of the day. But this assembly is sometimes announced towards the close of day, or at night. He also frequently appears at a window, which opens into the State Hall, for the transaction of business ; or he dispenses there justice calmly and serenely, or examines into the dispensation of justice, or the merit of officers, without being influenced in his judgment by any predilections or anything impure and contrary to the will of God. Every officer of government then presents various reports, or explains his several wants, and is instructed by His Majesty how to proceed. From his knowledge of the character of the times, though in opposition to the practice of kings of past ages, His Majesty looks upon the smallest details as mirrors capable of reflecting a comprehensive outline ; he does not reject that which superficial observers call unimportant, and counting the happiness of his subjects as essential to his own, never suffers his equanimity to be disturbed.

Whenever His Majesty holds court they beat a large drum, the sounds of which are accompanied by Divine praise. In this manner, people of all classes receive notice. His Majesty's sons and grandchildren, the grandees of the Court, and all other men who have admittance, attend to make the *kornish*, and remain standing in their proper places. Learned men of renown and skilful mechanics pay their respects ; the *Daroghas* and *Bitikchis* (writers) set forth their several wants ; and the officers of justice give in their reports. His Majesty, with his usual insight, gives orders, and settles everything in a satisfactory manner. During the whole time, skilful gladiators and wrestlers from all countries hold themselves in readiness, and singers, male and female, are in waiting. Clever jugglers and funny tumblers also are anxious to exhibit their dexterity and agility.

His Majesty, on such occasions, addresses himself to many of those who have been presented, impressing all with the correctness of his intentions, the unbiassedness of his mind, the humility of his disposition, the magnanimity of his heart, the excellence of his nature, the cheerfulness of his countenance, and the frankness of his manners ; his intelligence pervades the whole assembly, and multifarious matters are easily and satisfactorily settled by his truly divine power.

This vale of sorrows is changed to a place of rest : the army and the nation are content. May the empire flourish, and these blessings endure !

Aⁱⁿ 74.

REGULATIONS REGARDING THE *KORNISH* AND THE *TASLİM*.

Superficial observers, correctly enough, look upon a king as the origin of the peace and comfort of the subjects. But men of deeper insight are of opinion that even spiritual progress among a people would be impossible unless emanating from the king, in whom the light of God dwells ; for near the throne, men wipe off the stain of conceit and build up the arch of true humility.¹

With the view, then, of promoting this true humility, kings in their wisdom have made regulations for the manner in which people are to show their obedience. Some kings have adopted the bending down of the head. His Majesty has commanded the palm of the right hand to be placed upon the forehead and the head to be bent downwards. This

¹ Hence the presence of the king promotes humility, which is the foundation of all spiritual life. So especially in the case of Akbar, towards whom, as the head of the New Church, the subjects occupy the position of disciples. *Vide* Aⁱⁿ 77 and the Note after it.

mode of salutation, in the language of the present age, is called *kornish*, and signifies that the saluter has placed his head (which is the seat of the senses and the mind) into the hand of humility, giving it to the royal assembly as a present, and has made himself in obedience ready for any service that may be required of him.

The salutation, called *taslim*, consists in placing the back of the right hand on the ground, and then raising it gently till the person stands erect, when he puts the palm of his hand upon the crown of his head, which pleasing manner of saluting signifies that he is ready to give himself as an offering.

His Majesty relates as follows: "One day my royal father bestowed upon me one of his own caps, which I put on. Because the cap of the king was rather large, I had to hold it with my [right] hand, whilst bending my head downwards, and thus performed the manner of salutation (*kornish*) above described. The king was pleased with this new method, and from his feeling of propriety ordered this to be the mode of the *kornish* and *taslim*.

Upon taking leave, or presentation, or upon receiving a *manşab*, a *jāgīr*, or a dress of honour, or an elephant, or a horse, the rule is to make three *taslims*; but only one on all other occasions, when salaries are paid, or presents are made.

Such a degree of obedience is also shown by servants to their masters, and looked upon by them as a source of blessings. Hence for the disciples of His Majesty, it was necessary to add something, viz., prostration¹ (*siyda*); and they look upon a prostration before His Majesty as a prostration performed before God; for royalty is an emblem of the power of God, and a light-shedding ray from this Sun of the Absolute.

Viewed in this light, the prostration has become acceptable to many, and proved to them a source of blessings upon blessings.

But as some perverse and dark-minded men look upon prostration as blasphemous man-worship, His Majesty, from his practical wisdom, has

¹ The prostration, or *siyda*, is one of the positions at prayer, and is therefore looked upon by all as the exclusive right of God. When Akbar, as the head of his new faith, perhaps against his calmer judgment, allowed prostration in the assemblies of the Elect. The people at large would never have submitted. The practice evidently pleased the emperor, because he looked with fondness upon every custom of the ancient Persian kings, at whose courts the *proskynesis* had been the usual salutation. It was *Nizām* of Bidakhshān who invented the prostration when the emperor was still at Fathpūr (before 1556). The success of the innovation made Mullā Aqlām of Kābul exclaim, "O that I had been the inventor of this little business!" *Baz*, III, p. 153. Regarding *Nizām*, or Ghāzī Khān, vide Abū 'l-Fazl's list of Grandees, 2nd Book, No. 144. The *siyda* as an article of Akbar's Divine Religion, will be again referred to in the note to A² in 77.

ordered it to be discontinued by the ignorant, and remitted it to all ranks, forbidding even his private attendants from using it in the *Darbār-i 'Ām* (general court-days). However, in the private assembly, when any of those are in waiting, upon whom the star of good fortune shines, and they receive the order of seating themselves, they certainly perform the prostration of gratitude by bowing down their foreheads to the earth, and thus participate in the halo of good fortune.

In this manner, by forbidding the people at large to prostrate, but allowing the Elect to do so, His Majesty fulfils the wishes of both, and shows the world a fitting example of practical wisdom.

A² in 75.

ON ETIQUETTE.

Just as spiritual leadership requires a regulated mind, capable of controlling covetousness and wrath, so does political leadership depend on an external order of things, on the regulation of the difference among men in rank, and the power of liberality. If a king possess a cultivated mind, his position as the spiritual leader of the nation will be in harmony with his temporal office; and the performance of each of his political duties will be equivalent to an adoration of God. Should anyone search for an example, I would point to the practice of His Majesty, which will be found to exhibit that happy harmony of motives, the contemplation of which rewards the searcher with an increase of personal knowledge, and leads him to worship this ideal of a king.¹

When His Majesty seats himself on the throne, all that are present perform the *kornish*, and then remain standing at their places, according to their rank, with their arms crossed,² partaking, in the light of his imperial countenance, of the elixir of life, and enjoying everlasting happiness in standing ready for any service.

¹ The words of the text are ambiguous. They may also mean, and leads him to praise me as the man who directed him towards this example.

² The position, however, is called *khidmat*, or ready for service. Sometimes the hands are put over the left, the toes of the former merely touching the ground. The shoes are, of course, put outside. The Pharaohs, as the Pharaohs, were assumed by persons of no rank in the presence of stars of the time of Moses—is proverbial in the society as the *duzanī* mode of sitting, i.e., straight; he then lets the body gently sink till he sits on his heels, the arms being kept extended and the hands resting on the knees.

among men, one class of whom turn to religious (*dīn*) and the other class to worldly thoughts (*dunyā*). Each of these two divisions selects different leaders,¹ and mutual repulsiveness grows to open rupture. It is then that men's blindness and silliness appear in their true light; it is then discovered how rarely mutual regard and charity are to be met with.

But have the religious and the worldly tendencies of men no common ground? Is there not everywhere the same enrapturing beauty² which beams forth from so many thousand hidden places? Broad indeed is the carpet³ which God has spread, and beautiful the colours which He has given it.

The Lover and the Beloved are in reality one;⁴

Idle talkers speak of the Brahmin as distinct from his idol.

There is but one lamp in this house, in the rays of which,

Wherever I look, a bright assembly meets me.

One man thinks that by keeping his passions in subjection he worships God; and another finds self-discipline in watching over the destinies of a nation. The religion of thousands of others consists in clinging to an idea; they are happy in their sloth and unfitness of judging for themselves. But when the time of reflection comes, and men shake off the prejudices of their education, the threads of the web of religious blindness⁵ break, and the eye sees the glory of harmoniousness.

But the ray of such wisdom does not light up every house, nor could every heart bear such knowledge. Again, although some are enlightened, many would observe silence from fear of fanatics, who lust for blood, but look like men. And should anyone muster sufficient courage, and

openly proclaim his enlightened thoughts, pious simpletons would call him a mad man, and throw him aside as of no account, whilst ill-starred wretches would at once think of heresy and atheism, and go about with the intention of killing him.

Whenever, from lucky circumstances, the time arrives that a nation learns to understand how to worship truth, the people will naturally look to their king, on account of the high position which he occupies, and expect him to be their spiritual leader as well; for a king possesses, independent of men, the ray of Divine wisdom,¹ which banishes from his heart everything that is conflicting. A king will therefore sometimes observe the element of harmony in a multitude of things, or sometimes reversely, a multitude of things in that which is apparently one; for he sits on the throne of distinction, and is thus equally removed from joy or sorrow.

Now this is the case with the monarch of the present age, and this book is a witness of it.

Men versed in foretelling the future knew this when His Majesty was born,² and together with all others that were cognizant of the secret, they have since been waiting in joyful expectation. His Majesty, however, wisely surrounded himself for a time with a veil, as if he were an outsider, or a stranger to their hopes. But can man counteract the will of God? His Majesty, at first, took all such by surprise as were wedded to the prejudices of the age; but he could not help revealing his intentions; they grew to maturity in spite of him, and are now fully known. He now is the spiritual guide of the nation, and sees in the performance of this duty a means of pleasing God. He has now opened the gate that leads to the right path, and satisfies the thirst of all that wander about panting for truth.

But whether he checks men in their desire of becoming disciples, or admits them at other times, he guides them in each case to the realm of bliss. Many sincere inquirers, from the mere light of his wisdom, or his holy breath, obtain a degree of awakening which other spiritual doctors

¹ As prophets, the leaders of the Church; and kings, the leaders of the State.

² God. He may be worshipped by the meditative and by the active man. The former speculates on the essence of God, the latter rejoices in the beauty of the world, and does his duty as man. Both represent tendencies apparently antagonistic; but as both strive after God, there is a ground common to both. Hence mankind ought to learn that there is no real antagonism between *dīn* and *dunyā*. Let men rally round Akbar, who joins *Sūfī* depth to practical wisdom. By his example, he teaches men how to adore God in doing one's duties; his superhuman knowledge proves that the light of God dwells in him. The surest way of pleasing God is to obey the king. The reader will do well to compare Abū 'l-Faḍl's preface with this *Ā'in*.

³ The world.

⁴ These *Sūfī* lines illustrate the idea that "the same enrapturing beauty" is everywhere. God is everywhere, in everything; hence everything is God. Thus God the Beloved, dwells in man, the lover, and both are one, Brahmin=man; the idol=God lamp=thought of God; house=man's heart. The thoughtful man sees everywhere "the bright assembly of God's works".

⁵ The text has *taghid*, which means to put a collar on one's own neck, to follow another blindly, especially in religious matters. "All things which refer to prophethood and revealed religion they [Abū 'l-Faḍl, Hakim, Abū 'l-Faḥ, etc.] called *taghidīyāt*, i.e., things the basis of religion upon reason, not testimony. Besides, A.D. 1575) a great number of Portuguese, from whom es justifiable by reasoning." *Badā'oni II*, p. 281

¹ Vide Abū 'l-Faḍl's preface, p. iii, l. 19.

² This is an allusion to the wonderful event which happened at the birth of the emperor Akbar spoke, "From Mirzā Shāh Muḥammad, called Ghaznī Khān, son of Shāh Beghkhān, who had the title of Durrān Khān, and was an Arghūn by birth." The author heard him say at Lāhor, in A.H. 1053, "I asked Nawāb Ḥazīz Kokah, who has the title of Khān-i Aḥzam [vide List of Grandees, second Book, *Ā'in* 30], whether the late emperor, like the Messiah, had really spoken with his august mother." He replied, "His mother told me it was true." *Dabistān ul Mulk*, Calcutta edition, p. 390. Bombay edition, p. 260. The words which Christ spoke in the cradle, are given in the Qur'ān, Sūrah, 19, and in the spurious gospel of the *Infancy of Christ*, pp. 5, 111.

could not produce by repeated fasting and prayers for forty days. Numbers of those who have renounced the world, as *Sannāsīs*, *Jegīs*, *Serrās*, *Qalandars*, *Ĥakīms*, and *Sūfīs*, and thousands of such as follow worldly pursuits as soldiers, tradespeople, mechanics, and husbandmen, have daily their eyes opened to insight, or have the light of their knowledge increased. Men of all nations, young and old, friends and strangers, the far and near, look upon offering a vow to His Majesty as the means of solving all their difficulties, and bend down in worship on obtaining their desire. Others again, from the distance of their homes, or to avoid the crowds gathering at Court, offer their vows in secret, and pass their lives in grateful praises. But when His Majesty leaves Court, in order to settle the affairs of a province, to conquer a kingdom, or to enjoy the pleasures of the chase, there is not a hamlet, a town, or a city that does not send forth crowds of men and women with vow-offerings in their hands, and prayers on their lips, touching the ground with their foreheads, praising the efficacy of their vows, or proclaiming the accounts of the spiritual assistance received. Other multitudes ask for lasting bliss, for an upright heart, for advice how best to act, for strength of the body, for enlightenment, for the birth of a son, the reunion of friends, a long life, increase of wealth, elevation in rank, and many other things. His Majesty, who knows what is really good, gives satisfactory answers to every one, and applies remedies to their religious perplexities. Not a day passes but people bring cups of water to him, beseeching him to breathe upon it. He who reads the letters of the divine orders in the book of fate, on seeing the tidings of hope, takes the water with his blessed hands, places it in the rays of the world-illuminating sun, and fulfils the desire of the suppliant. Many sick people¹ of broken hopes, whose diseases the most eminent physicians pronounced incurable, have been restored to health by this divine means.

A more remarkable case is the following. A simple-minded recluse had cut off his tongue, and throwing it towards the threshold of the palace, said, "If that certain blissful thought,² which I just now have, has been put into my heart by God, my tongue will get well; for the sincerity of my belief must lead to a happy issue." The day was not ended before he obtained his wish.

¹ "He [Akbar] showed himself every morning at a window, in front of which multitudes came and prostrated themselves; while women brought their sick infants for his benediction and offered presents on their recovery." From the account of the Goa Missionaries who came to Akbar in 1595, in *Murray's Discoveries in Asia*, II, p. 98.

² His thought was this. If Akbar is a prophet, he must, from his supernatural wisdom, find out in what condition I am lying here.

Those who are acquainted with the religious knowledge and the piety of His Majesty, will not attach any importance to some of his customs,¹ remarkable as they may appear at first; and those who know His Majesty's charity and love of justice, do not even see anything remarkable in them. In the magnanimity of his heart he never thinks of his perfection, though he is the ornament of the world. Hence he even keeps back many who declare themselves willing to become his disciples. He often says, "Why should I claim to guide men before I myself am guided?" But when a novice bears on his forehead the sign of earnestness of purpose, and he be daily enquiring more and more, His Majesty accepts him, and admits him on a Sunday, when the world-illuminating sun is in its highest splendour. Notwithstanding every strictness and reluctance shown by His Majesty in admitting novices, there are many thousands, men of all classes, who have cast over their shoulders the mantle of belief, and look upon their conversion to the New Faith as the means of obtaining every blessing.

At the above-mentioned time of everlasting auspiciousness, the novice with his turban in his hands, puts his head on the feet of His Majesty. This is symbolical,² and expresses that the novice, guided by good fortune and the assistance of his good star, has cast aside³ conceit and selfishness, the root of so many evils, offers his heart in worship, and now comes to inquire as to the means of obtaining everlasting life. His Majesty, the chosen one of God, then stretches out the hand of favour, raises up the suppliant, and replaces the turban on his head, meaning by these symbolical actions that he has raised up a man of pure intentions, who from seeming existence has now entered into real life. His Majesty then gives the novice the *Shast*,⁴ upon which is engraved "The Great Name",⁵ and His Majesty's symbolical motto, "*Allāh Akbar*." This teaches the novice the truth that

¹ "He [Akbar] showed, besides, no partiality to the Muhammadans; and when in straits for money, would even plunder the mosques to equip his cavalry. Yet there remained in the breast of the monarch a stronghold of idolatry, on which they [the Portuguese missionaries] could never make any impression. Not only did he adore the sun, and make long prayers to it four times a day, he also held himself forth as an object of worship; and though exceedingly tolerant as to other modes of faith, never would admit of any encroachments on his own divinity." *Murray's Discoveries*, II, p. 95.

² The text has *zabān* : *kāl*, and a little lower down, *zabān* : *bezūfānī*. *Zabān* : *kāl*, or symbolical language is opposed to *zabān* : *maqāl*, spoken words.

³ Or rather, from his head, as the text has, because the casting aside of selfishness is symbolically expressed by taking off the turban. To wear a turban is a distinction.

⁴ *Shast* means aim; secondly, anything round, either a ring, or a thread, as the Brahminical thread. Here a ring seems to be meant. Or it may be the likeness of the Emperor which, according to Badāonī, the members wore on their turbans.

⁵ The Great Name is a name of God. "Some say it is the word *Allāh*; others say it is *Aṣ-Ṣanād*, the eternal; others *Al-Hayy*, the living; others *Al-Qayyūm*, the everlasting;

"The pure *Shāst* and the pure sight never err."

Seeing the wonderful habits of His Majesty, his sincere attendants are guided, as circumstances require it; and from the wise counsels they receive they soon state their wishes openly. They learn to satisfy their thirst in the spring of divine favour, and gain for their wisdom and motives renewed light. Others, according to their capacities are taught wisdom in excellent advices.

But it is impossible, while speaking of other matters besides, to give a full account of the manner in which His Majesty teaches wisdom, heals dangerous diseases, and applies remedies for the severest sufferings. Should my occupations allow sufficient leisure, and should another term of life be granted me, it is my intention to lay before the world a separate volume on this subject.

Ordinances of the Divine Faith.

The members of the Divine Faith, on seeing each other, observe the following custom. One says, "*Allāh Akbar*," and the other responds, "*Jallū Jallāluh*."¹ The motive of His Majesty in laying down this mode of salutation, is to remind men to think of the origin of their existence, and to keep the Deity in fresh, lively, and grateful remembrance.

It is also ordered by His Majesty that, instead of the dinner usually given in remembrance of a man after his death, each member should prepare a dinner during his lifetime, and thus gather provisions for his last journey.

Each member is to give a party on the anniversary of his birthday,

others, *Ar-Rahmān, ar-rahīm*, the clement and merciful; others *Al-Muḥaymin*, the protector." *Ghiyās*. "Qāzī Hamid 'd-Dīn of Nāgore says, the Great Name is the word *Hū*, or He (God), because it has a reference to God's nature, as it shows that He has no other at His side. Again, the word *hū* is a root, not a derivative. All epithets of God are contained in it." *Kashf* 'L-Lughāt.

¹ These formulae remind us of Akbar's name, *Jallāh 'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar*. The words *Allāh Akbar* are ambiguous; they may mean, God is great, or Akbar is God. There is no doubt that Akbar liked the phrase for its ambiguity; for it was used on coins, the Imperial seals, and the heading of books, farmāns, etc. His era was called the Divine era; his faith, the Divine faith; and the note at the end of this *Ā'in* shows how Akbar, starting from the idea of the Divine right of kings, gradually came to look upon himself as the *Mutahid* of the age, then as the prophet of God and God's Vice-regent on earth, and lastly as a Deity. "It was during these days [A.H. 983, or A.D. 1575-6] that His Majesty once asked how people would like it if he ordered the words *Allāh Akbar* to be cut on the Imperial seal and the dies of his coins. Most said, people would like it very much. But Hājī Ibrāhīm objected, and said, the right substitute the Qur'ān verse *Le* (thing), because it involved no ambiguity; it was surely sufficient that no man who felt his weakness would claim Divinity; he merely looked to the sound of the words, and he had never thought that a thing could be carried to such an extreme." *Badāonī*, p. 210.

and arrange a sumptuous feast. He is to bestow alms, and thus prepare provisions for the long journey.

His Majesty has also ordered that members should endeavour to abstain from eating flesh. They may allow others to eat flesh without touching it themselves; but during the month of their birth they are not even to approach meat. Nor shall members go near anything that they have themselves slain; nor eat of it. Neither shall they make use of the same vessels with butchers, fishers, and birdcatchers.

Members should not cohabit with pregnant, old, and barren women; nor with girls under the age of puberty.

NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR ON THE RELIGIOUS VIEWS OF THE EMPEROR AKBAR.

In connexion with the preceding *Ā'in*, it may be of interest for the general reader, and of some value for the future historian of Akbar's reign, to collect, in form of a note, the information which we possess regarding the religious views of the Emperor Akbar. The sources from which this information is derived, are, besides Abū 'l-Faẓl's *Ā'in*, the *Muntakhab* 't-Tawārīkh by 'Abd' l-Qādir ibn' Mulūk Shāh of Badāon—regarding whom I would refer the reader to p. 110, and to a longer article in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1869—and the *Dabistān* 'l-Mazāhib,¹ a work written about sixty years after Akbar's death by an unknown Muhammadan writer of strong Pārsi tendencies. Nor must we forget the valuable testimony of some of the Portuguese missionaries whom Akbar called from Goa, as Rodolpho Aquaviva, Antonio de Monserrato, Francisco Enriques, etc., of whom the first is mentioned by Abū 'l-Faẓl under the name of *Pādri Radalf*.² There exist also two articles on Akbar's religious views, one by Captain Vans Kennedy, published in the second volume of the Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, and another by the late Horace Hayman Wilson, which had originally appeared in the *Calcutta Quarterly Oriental Magazine*, vol. i, 1824, and has been reprinted in the second volume of Wilson's works, London, 1862. Besides, a few extracts from Badāonī, bearing on this subject, will be found in Sir H. Elliott's *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammadan India*, p. 243 ff. The proceedings of the Portuguese missionaries at Akbar's Court are described in Murray's

¹ Printed at Calcutta in 1809 with a short dictionary, and reprinted at Bombay A.H. 1272 [A.D. 1856]. This work has also been translated into English at the cost of the Oriental Translation Fund.

² Not *Padre Radif*, رادف, as in Elphinstone's history, but رادلف, the letter (lām) having been mistaken for a 2 (yā).

Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, Edinburgh, 1820, vol. ii.

I shall commence with extracts from Badā'oni.¹ The translation is literal, which is of great importance in a difficult writer like Badā'oni.

Abū 'l-Faḡl's second introduction to Akbar. His pride.

[Badā'oni, edited by Mawlawī Āghā Aḥmad 'Alī, in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, vol. ii, p. 198.]

It was during these days [end of 982 A.H.] that Abū 'l-Faḡl, son of Shaykh Mubārak of Nāgōr, came the second time to court. He is now styled *ʿAllāmī*. He is the man that set the world in flames. He lighted up the lamp of the *Ṣabāḥīs*, illustrating thereby the story of the man who, because he did not know what to do, took up a lamp in broad daylight, and representing himself as opposed to all sects, tied the girdle of infallibility round his waist, according to the saying, "He who forms an opposition, gains power." He laid before the Emperor a commentary on the *Āyat* "l-kursī,"² which contained all subtleties of the Qur'ān; and though people said that it had been written by his father, Abū 'l-Faḡl was much praised. The numerical value of the letters in the words *Tafṣīr-i Akbarī* (Akbar's commentary) gives the date of composition [983]. But the emperor praised it, chiefly because he expected to find in Abū 'l-Faḡl a man capable of teaching the Mullās a lesson, whose pride certainly resembles that of Pharaoh, though this expectation was opposed to the confidence which His Majesty had placed in me.

The reason of Abū 'l-Faḡl's opinionativeness and pretensions to infallibility was this. At the time when it was customary to get hold of, and kill such as tried to introduce innovations in religious matters, (as had been the case with Mir Ḥabshi and others), Shaykh 'Abd' n-Nabī and Makhḍūm 'l-Mulk, and other learned men at court, unanimously

represented to the emperor that Shaykh Mubārak also, in as far as he pretended to be *Mahdī*,³ belonged to the class of innovators, and was not only himself damned, but led others into damnation. Having obtained a sort of permission to remove him, they dispatched police officers to bring him before the emperor. But when they found that the Shaykh, with his two sons, had concealed himself, they demolished the pulpit in his prayer-room. The Shaykh, at first, took refuge with Salīm-i Chishtī at Fathpūr, who then was in the height of his glory, and requested him to intercede for him. Shaykh Salīm, however, sent him money by some of his disciples, and told him it would be better for him to go away to Gujrāt. Seeing that Salīm took no interest in him, Shaykh Mubārak applied to Mirzā 'Azīz Koka [Akbar's foster-brother], who took occasion to praise to the emperor the Shaykh's learning and voluntary poverty, and the superior talents of his two sons, adding that Mubārak was a most trustworthy man, that he had never received lands as a present, and that he ('Azīz) could really not see why the Shaykh was so much persecuted. The emperor at last gave up all thoughts of killing the Shaykh. In a short time matters took a more favourable turn; and Abū 'l-Faḡl when once in favour with the emperor (officious as he was, and time-serving, openly faithless, continually studying His Majesty's whims, a flatterer beyond all bounds) took every opportunity of reviling in the most shameful way that sect whose labours and motives have been so little appreciated,⁴ and became the cause not only of the extirpation of these experienced people, but also of the ruin of all servants of God, especially of Shaykhs, pious men, of the helpless, and the orphans, whose livings and grants he cut down.

He used to say, openly and implicitly :—

O Lord, send down a proof⁵ for the people of the world !
Send these Nimrods⁶ a gnat as big as an elephant !
These Pharaoh-like fellows have lifted up their heads ;
Send them a Moses with a staff, and a Nile !

¹ As in the following extracts the years of the Hijrah are given, the reader may convert them according to this table :—

The year 1980 A.H. commenced 14th May, 1572 [Old Style].	
981—3rd May, 1573	993—24th December, 1584
982—23rd April, 1574	994—13th December, 1585
983—12th April, 1575	995—2nd December, 1586
984—31st March, 1576	996—22nd November, 1587
985—21st March, 1577	997—10th November, 1588
986—10th March, 1578	998—31st October, 1589
987—28th February, 1579	999—20th October, 1590
988—17th February, 1580	1000—9th October, 1591
989—5th February, 1581	1001—28th September, 1592
990—26th January, 1582	1002—17th September, 1593
991—15th January, 1583	1003—6th September, 1594
992—4th January, 1584	1004—27th August, 1595

² Qur. Sūr. II, 250.

³ Vide p. 113, note 2.

⁴ Badā'oni belonged to the believers in the approach of the Millennium. A few years later, Akbar used Mahdawi rumours for his own purposes; vide below. The extract shows that there existed before 982, heretical innovators, whom the emperor allowed to be persecuted. Matters soon took a different turn.

⁵ That is, a man capable of teaching the ʿUlamās a lesson. Abū 'l-Faḡl means himself.
⁶ Nimrod, or Namrūd, and Pharaoh, are proverbial in the East for their pride. Nimrod was killed by a gnat which had crept through the nose to his brain. He could only relieve his pains by striking the crown of his head; but at last he died from the effects of his own blows.

And when in consequence of his harsh proceedings, miseries and misfortunes broke in upon the 'Ulamās (who had persecuted him and his father), he applied the following *Rubā'ī* to them :—

I have set fire to my barn with my own hands,
As I am the incendiary, how can I complain of my enemy ?
No one is my enemy but myself,
Woe is me ! I have torn my garment with my own hands.

And when during disputations people quoted against him the edict of any *Mujtahid*,¹ he used to say, " Oh don't bring me the arguments of this sweetmeat-seller and that cobbler, or that tanner ! " He thought himself capable of giving the lie to all Shaykhs and 'Ulamās.

Commencement of the Disputations. [Badā'oni II, p. 200.]

" During the year 983 A.H., many places of worship were built at the command of His Majesty. The cause was this. For many years previous to 983 the emperor had gained in succession remarkable and decisive victories. The empire had grown in extent from day to day; everything turned out well, and no opponent was left in the whole world. His Majesty had thus leisure to come into nearer contact with ascetics and the disciples of the Muṣīniyyah sect, and passed much of his time in discussing the word of God (*Qur'ān*), and the word of the prophet (the *Hadīṣ*, or Tradition). Questions of Sūfism, scientific discussions, inquiries into philosophy and law, were the order of the day. His Majesty passed whole nights in thoughts of God; he continually occupied himself with pronouncing the names *Yā Hū* and *Yā Hādī*, which had been mentioned to him,² and his heart was full of reverence for Him who is the true Giver. From a feeling of thankfulness for his past successes, he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and melancholy, on a large flat stone of an old building which lay near the palace in a lonely spot, with his head bent over his chest, and gathering the bliss of early hours."

In his religious habits the emperor was confirmed by a story which he had heard of Sulaymān,³ ruler of Bengal, who, in company with 150

Shaykhs and 'Ulamā, held every morning a devotional meeting, after which he used to transact state business; as also by the news that Mirzā Sulaymān, a prince of Šūlī tendencies, and a *Sāhib-i ḥāl*⁴ was coming to him from Badakhshān.

Among the religious buildings was a meeting place near a tank called *Anūpalāo*, where Akbar, accompanied by a few courtiers, met the 'Ulamās and lawyers of the realm. The pride of the 'Ulamās, and the heretical (Shī'itic) subjects discussed in this building, caused Mullā Sherī, a poet of Akbar's reign, to compose a poem in which the place was called a temple of Pharaoh and a building of Shaddād (*vide Qur.*, Sūr. 89). The result to which the discussions led will be seen from the following extract.

[Bad. II, p. 202.]

" For these discussions, which were held every Thursday⁵ night, His Majesty invited the Sayyids, Shaykhs, 'Ulamās, and grandees, by turn. But as the guests generally commenced to quarrel about their places, and the order of precedence, His Majesty ordered that the grandees should sit on the east side; the Sayyids on the west side; the 'Ulamās to the south; and the Shaykhs to the north. The emperor then used to go from one side to the other and make his inquiries . . . when all at once, one night, ' the vein of the neck of the 'Ulamās of the age swelled up,' and a horrid noise and confusion ensued. His Majesty got very angry at their rude behaviour, and said to me [Badā'oni], ' In future report any of the 'Ulamās that cannot behave and that talks nonsense, and I shall make him leave the hall.' I gently said to Āsaf Khān, ' If I were to carry out this order, most of the 'Ulamās would have to leave,' when His Majesty suddenly asked what I had said. On hearing my answer, he was highly pleased, and mentioned my remark to those sitting near him."

Soon after, another row occurred in the presence of the Emperor.

[Bad. II, p. 210.]

" Some people mentioned that Ḥājī Ibrāhīm of Sarhind had given a decree, by which he made it legal to wear red and yellow clothes,⁶ quoting at the same time a Tradition as his proof. On hearing this, the Chief Justice, in the meeting hall, called him an accursed wretch, abused him, and lifted up his stick in order to strike him, when the Ḥājī by some subterfuges managed to get rid of him."

¹ A man of infallible authority in his explanations of the Mohammadan law. There are few *Mujtahids*. Among the oldest there were several who pled a trade at the same time. The preceding *Rubā'ī* is translated by Sir H. Elliot in the *Mohammedan Historians of India*, p. 244.

² By some ascetic. *Yā Hū* means O He (God), and *Yā Hādī*, O Guide. The frequent repetition of such names is a means of knowledge. Some *saḥīqs* repeat them several thousand times during a night.

³ The edition of Badā'oni calls him *Karānī*. He is sometimes called *Karūnī*, sometimes *Karānī*. He reigned in Bengal from 971 to 980, or A.D. 1563 to 1573.

⁴ *Ḥāl* is the state of ecstasy and close union with God into which Sūfis bring themselves by silent thought, or by pronouncing the name of God.

⁵ The text has *shāb-i Jum'ah*, the night of Friday; but as Mohammedans commence the day at sunset, it is our Thursday night.

⁶ As women may use.

Akbar was now fairly disgusted with the 'Ulamā and lawyers; he never pardoned pride and conceit in a man, and of all kinds of conceit, the conceit of learning was most hateful to him. From now he resolved to vex the principal 'Ulamā; and no sooner had his courtiers discovered this, than they brought all sorts of charges against them.

[Bad. II, p. 203.]

"His Majesty therefore ordered Mawlānā 'Abd' 'Ulāh of Sultānpūr, who had received the title of *Mawlānā 'Ullāh*, to come to a meeting, as he wished to annoy him, and appointed Hājī Ibrahim Shaykh Abū 'I-Ḥaḍl (who had lately come to court, and is at present the infallible authority in all religious matters, and also for the New Religion of His Majesty, and the guide of men to truth, and their leader in general), and several other newcomers, to oppose him. During the discussion, His Majesty took every occasion to interrupt the Mawlānā when he explained anything. When the quibbling and wrangling had reached the highest point, some courtiers, according to an order previously given by His Majesty, commenced to tell rather queer stories of the Mawlānā, to whose position one might apply the verse of the Qur'ān (Sūr. XVI, 72), 'And some one of you shall have his life prolonged to a miserable age, etc.' Among other stories, Khān Jahān said that he had heard that Mawlānā 'Ullāh had given a *fatwā*, that the ordinance of pilgrimage was no longer binding, but even hurtful. When people had asked him the reason of his extraordinary *fatwā*, he had said, that the two roads to Makkah, through Persia and over Gujrat, were impracticable, because people, in going by land (Persia) had to suffer injuries at the hand of the *Qizilbash*es (i.e., the Shi'ah inhabitants of Persia), and in going by sea, they had to put up with indignities from the Portuguese, whose ship-tickets had pictures of Mary and Jesus stamped on them. To make use, therefore, of the latter alternative would mean to countenance idolatry; hence both roads were closed up.

"Khān Jahān also related that the Mawlānā had invented a clever trick by which he escaped paying the legal alms upon the wealth which he amassed every year. Towards the end of each year, he used to make over all his stores to his wife, but he took them back before the year had actually run out.²

¹ This extract as given by Sir H. Elliott on p. 244, conveys a wrong impression. Akbar did not prohibit pilgrimages before A.H. 599.

² Alms are due on every surplus of stock or stores which a Sunni possesses at the end of a year, provided that surplus have been in his possession for a whole year. If the wife, therefore, had the surplus for a part of the year, and the husband took it afterwards back, he escaped the paying of alms.

"Other tricks also, in comparison with which the tricks of the children of Moses are nothing, and rumours of his meanness and shabbiness, his open cheating and worldliness, and his cruelties said to have been practised on the Shaykh and the poor of the whole country, but especially on the Amadāns and other deserving people of the Panjāb—all came up, one story after the other. His motives, 'which shall be revealed on the day of resurrection' (Qur. LXXXVI, 9), were disclosed; all sorts of stories, calculated to ruin his character and to vilify him, were got up, till it was resolved to force him to go to Makkah.

"But when people asked him whether pilgrimage was a duty for a man in his circumstances, he said No;¹ for Shaykh 'Abd' 'n-Nabī had risen to power, whilst the star of the Mawlānā was fast sinking."

But a heavier blow was to fall on the 'Ulamās. [Bad. II, p. 207.]

"At one of the above-mentioned meetings, His Majesty asked how many *freeborn* women a man was legally allowed to marry (by *nikāh*). The lawyers answered that four was the limit fixed by the prophet. The emperor thereupon remarked that from the time he had come of age, he had not restricted himself to that number, and in justice to his wives, of whom he had a large number, both freeborn and slaves, he now wanted to know what remedy the law provided for his case. Most expressed their opinions, when the emperor remarked that Shaykh 'Abd' 'n-Nabī had once told him that one of the Mujtahids had had as many as nine wives. Some of the 'Ulamās present replied that the Mujtahid alluded to was Ibn Abi Layā; and that some had even allowed eighteen from a too literal translation of the Qur'ān verse (Qur., Sūr. IV, 3), 'Marry whatever women ye like, two and two,² and three and three, and four and four,' but this was improper. His Majesty then sent a message to Shaykh 'Abd' 'n-Nabī, who replied that he had merely wished to point out to Akbar that a difference of opinion existed on this point among lawyers, but that he had not given a *fatwā* in order to legalize irregular marriage proceedings. This annoyed His Majesty very much. 'The Shaykh,' he said, 'told me at that time a very different thing from what he now tells me.' He never forgot this.

"After much discussion on this point the 'Ulamās, having collected

¹ I.e. he meant to say he was poor, and thus refuted the charges brought against him.

² Thus they got 2+2, 3+3, 4+4=18. But the passage is usually translated, "Marry whatever women ye like, two, or three, or four." The Mujtahid, who took nine unto himself, translated "two+three+four"=9. The question of the emperor was most ticklish, because, if the lawyers adhered to the number four, which they could not well avoid, the *harem* of Akbar's *freeborn* princesses was acknowledged.

every tradition on the subject, decreed, *first*, that by *mutʿah* [not by *nikāḥ*] a man might marry any number of wives he pleased; and, *secondly*, that *mutʿah* marriages were allowed by Imām Mālik. The Shīʿahs, as was well known, loved children born in *mutʿah* wedlock more than those born by *nikāḥ* wives, contrary to the Sunnis and the Ahl-i Jamāʿat.

"On the latter point also the discussion got rather lively, and I would refer the reader to my work entitled *Najāt* 'r-rashid [vide note 2, p. 104], in which the subject is briefly discussed. But to make things worse, Naqīb Khān fetched a copy of the *Muncaffa* of Imām Mālik, and pointed to a Tradition in the book, which the Imām had cited as a proof against the legality of *mutʿah* marriages.

"Another night, Qāzī Yaʿqūb, Shaykh Abū 'l-Faḍl, Ḥajī Ibrāhīm, and a few others were invited to meet His Majesty in the house near the *Anīptalā'o* tank. Shaykh Abū 'l-Faḍl had been selected as the opponent, and laid before the emperor several traditions regarding *mutʿah* marriages, which his father (Shaykh Mubārak) had collected, and the discussion commenced. His Majesty then asked me, what my opinion was on this subject. I said, 'The conclusion which must be drawn from so many contradictory traditions and sectarians customs, is this:—Imām Mālik and the Shīʿahs are unanimous in looking upon *mutʿah* marriages as legal; Imām Shāfiʿi and the Great Imām (Ḥanīfah) look upon *mutʿah* marriages as illegal. But, should at any time a Qāzī of the Mālikī sect decide that *mutʿah* is legal, it is legal, according to the common belief, even for Shāfiʿi's and Ḥanafis. Every other opinion on this subject is idle talk.' This pleased His Majesty very much."

The unfortunate Shaykh Yaʿqūb, however, went on talking about the extent of the authority of a Qāzī. He tried to shift the ground; but when he saw that he was discomfited, he said, "Very well, I have nothing else to say—just as His Majesty pleases."

"The Emperor then said, 'I herewith appoint the Mālikī Qāzī Ḥasan ʿArab as the Qāzī before whom I lay this case concerning my wives, and you, Yaʿqūb, are from to-day suspended.' This was immediately obeyed, and Qāzī Ḥasan on the spot gave a decree which made *mutʿah* marriages legal.

"The veteran lawyers, as Makhdūm 'l-Mulk, Qāzī Yaʿqūb, and others, made very long faces at these proceedings.

"This was the commencement of 'their sere and yellow leaf'.

"The result was that, a few days later, Mawlānā Jalāl 'd-Dīn of Multān, a profound and learned man, whose grant had been transferred,

was ordered from Āgra (to Fathpūr Sikrī) and appointed Qāzī of the realm. Qāzī Yaʿqūb was sent to Gaur as District Qāzī.

"From this day henceforth, 'the road of opposition and difference in opinion' lay open, and remained so till His Majesty was appointed Muḥtaḍ of the empire." [Here follows the extract regarding the formula *Allāh Akbar*, given on p. 175, note 1.]

[Badāonī II, p. 211.]

"During this year [983], there arrived Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Faḍl, Ḥakīm Humāyūn (who subsequently changed his name to Humāyūn Qulī, and lastly to Ḥakīm Humām), and Nūr 'd-Dīn, who as poet is known under the name of *Qarārī*. They were brothers, and came from Gilān, near the Caspian Sea. The eldest brother, whose manners and address were exceedingly winning, obtained in a short time great ascendancy over the Emperor; he flattered him openly, adapted himself to every change in the religious ideas of His Majesty; or even went in advance of them, and thus became in a short time a most intimate friend of Akbar.

"Soon after there came from Persia, Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd, who got the nickname of Yazidī, and attaching himself to the emperor, commenced openly to revile the *Ṣaḥābah* (persons who knew Muḥammad, except the twelve Imāms), told queer stories about them, and tried hard to make the emperor a Shīʿah. But he was soon left behind by Bīr Bar—that bastard!—and by Shaykh Abū 'l-Faḍl and Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Faḍl, who successfully turned the emperor from the Islām, and led him to reject inspiration, prophethood, the miracles of the prophet and of the saints, and even the whole law, so that I could no longer bear their company.

"At the same time, His Majesty ordered Qāzī Jalāl 'd-Dīn and several ʿUlamās to write a commentary on the Qurʾān; but this led to great rows among them.

"Deb Chand Rāja Manjhola—that fool—once set the whole court in laughter by saying that Allah after all had great respect for cows, else the cow would not have been mentioned in the first chapter (*Sūrat* 'l-baqarah) of the Qurʾān.

"His Majesty had also the early history of the Islām read out to him, and soon commenced to think less of the *Ṣaḥābah*. Soon after, the observance of the five prayers and the fasts, and the belief in everything connected with the prophet, were put down as *taghīdī*, or religious blindness, and man's reason was acknowledged to be the basis of all religion. Portuguese priests also came frequently; and His Majesty inquired into the articles of their belief which are based upon reason."

[Badā'oni II, p. 245.]

"In the beginning of the next year [984], when His Majesty was at Dīpālūr in Mālwah, Sharif of Āmul arrived. This apostate had run from country to country, like a dog that has burnt its foot, and turning from one sect to the other, he went on wrangling till he became a perfect heretic. For some time he had studied Sūfī nonsense in the school of Mawlānā Muḥammad Zāhid of Ballāh, nephew of the great Shaykh Ḥusayn of Khwārazm, and had lived with derwishes. But as he had little of a derwish in himself, he talked slander, and was so full of conceit that they hunted him away. The Mawlānā also wrote a poem against him, in which the following verse occurs :—

"There was a heretic, Sharif by name,
Who talked very big, though of doubtful fame.

"In his wanderings he had come to the Dakhin, where he made himself so notorious, that the king of the Dakhin wanted to kill him. But he was only put on a donkey, and shown about in the city. Hindustān, however, is a nice large place, where anything is allowed, and no one cares for another, and people go on as they may. He therefore made for Mālwah, and settled at a place five *kos* distant from the Imperial camp. Every frivolous and absurd word he spoke was full of venom, and became the general talk. Many fools, especially Persian heretics (whom the Islām casts out as people cast out hairs which they find in dough—such heretics are called *Nuqtawīs*, and are destined to be the foremost worshippers of Antichrist) gathered round him, and spread, at his order, the rumour that he was the restorer of the Millennium. The sensation was immense. As soon as His Majesty heard of him, he invited him one night to a private audience in a long prayer room, which had been made of cloth, and in which the emperor with his suite used to say the five daily prayers. Ridiculous in his exterior, ugly in shape, with his neck stooping forward, he performed his obeisance, and stood still with his arms crossed, and you could scarcely see how his blue eye (which colour¹ is a sign of hostility to our prophet) shed lies, falsehood, and hypocrisy. There he stood for a long time, and when he got the order to sit down, he prostrated himself in worship, and sat down *duzānū* (vide p. 168, note 2), like an Indian camel. He talked privately to His Majesty; no one dared to draw near them, but I sometimes heard from a distance the word *‘ilm* (knowledge) because he spoke pretty loud. He called his silly views 'the truth of truths', or 'the groundwork of things'.

¹ *Chashm-i azaq*. Europeans have blue eyes. The expression is as old as Hariri and the Crusades.

"A fellow ignorant of things external and internal,
From silliness indulging idle talk.
He is immersed in heresies infernal,
And prattles—God forbid!—of truth eternal.

"The whole talk of the man was a mere repetition of the ideas of Maḥmūd of Basakhiwān (a village in Gilān), who lived at the time of Timūr. Maḥmūd who had written thirteen treatises of dirty filth, all of such hypocrisy as no religion or sect would suffer, and containing nothing but *tūāl*, which name he had given to the 'science of expressed and implied language'. The chief work of this miserable wretch is entitled *Baḥr o Kūza* (the Ocean and the Jug), and contains such loathsome nonsense, that on listening to it one's ear vomits. How the devil would have laughed in his face, if he had heard it, and how he would have jumped for joy! And this Sharif—the dirty thief—had also written a collection of nonsense, which he styled *Tarashshuh-i Zuhūr*, in which he blindly follows Mir 'Abd' l-Awwāl. This book is written in loose, deceptive aphorisms, each commencing with the words *mīfarmūdand* (the master said), a queer thing to look at, and a mass of ridiculous, silly nonsense. But notwithstanding his ignorance, according to the proverb, 'Worthies will meet,' he has exerted such an influence on the spirit of the age, and on the people, that he is now [in 1004], a commander of One Thousand and His Majesty's apostle for Bengal, possessing the four degrees of faith, and calling, as the Lieutenant of the emperor, the faithful to these degrees."

The discussions on Thursday evenings were continued for the next year. In 986, they became violent, in as far as the elementary principles of the Islām were chosen as subject, whilst formerly the disputations had turned on single points. The 'Ulamās, even in the presence of the emperor, often lost their temper, and called each other *Kāfirs*, or *accursed*.

[Bad. II, p. 255.]

"Maḥdūm also wrote a pamphlet against Shaykh 'Abd' n-Nabī, in which he accused him of the murder of Khizr Khān of Shirwān, who was suspected to have reviled the prophet, and of Mīr Ḥabshī, whom he had ordered to be killed for heresy. But he also said in the pamphlet that it was wrong to say prayers with 'Abd' n-Nabī, because he had been undutiful towards his father, and was, besides, afflicted with piles. Upon this, Shaykh 'Abd' n-Nabī called Maḥdūm a fool, and cursed him. The 'Ulamās now broke up into two parties, like the Sibṭīs and Qibṭīs, gathering either round the Shaykh, or round Maḥdūm l-Mulk; and the heretic innovators used this opportunity, to mislead the emperor

by their wicked opinions and aspersions, and turned truth into falsehood, and represented lies as truth.

"His Majesty till now [986] had shown every sincerity, and was diligently searching for truth. But his education had been much neglected; and surrounded as he was by men of low and heretic principles, he had been forced to doubt the truth of the Islām. Falling from one perplexity into the other, he lost sight of his real object, the search of truth; and when the strong embankment of our clear law and our excellent faith had once been broken through, His Majesty grew colder and colder, till after the short space of five or six years not a trace of Muhammadan feeling was left in his heart. Matters then became very different."

[Bad. II, p. 239.]

"In 984 the news arrived that Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia had died, and Shāh Ismā'īl II had succeeded him. The Tārīkh of his accession is given in the first letters of the three words ذلت، فتح، and ظفر [د ظ ف + د = 984]. Shāh Ismā'īl gave the order that any one who wished to go to Makkah could have his travelling expenses paid from the royal exchequer. Thus thousands of people partook of the spiritual blessing of pilgrimage, whilst here you dare not now [1004] mention that word, and you would expose yourself to capital punishment if you were to ask leave from court for this purpose."

[Bad. II, p. 241.]

"In 985, the news arrived that Shāh Ismā'īl, son of Shāh Tahmāsp had been murdered, with the consent of the grandees, by his sister Parī Jān Khānum. Mir Haydar, the riddle writer, found the Tārīkh of his accession in the words *Shahinshāh-i rūi zamīn* [984] 'a king of the face of the earth'. and the Tārīkh of his death in *Shahinshāh-i zer-i zamīn* [985] 'a king below the face of the earth'.¹ At that time also there appeared in Persia the great comet which had been visible in India (p. 240), and the consternation was awful, especially as at the same time the Turks conquered Tabriz, Shirwān, and Māzandarān. Sultān Muḥammad Khudābanda, son of Shāh Tahmāsp, but by another mother, succeeded; and with him ended the time of reviling and cursing the *Sahābah*.

"But the heretical ideas had certainly entered Hindūstān from Persia."

¹ Aḥ Tāhmāsp in his short Memoirs (Pers. Ms. 762, As. Soc. Bengal) gives the word ذلت [930] as the Tārīkh of his accession, we have:—

Tāhmāsp from 930 to 984; Ismā'īl II, 984 to 985.

Princep's Tables (IInd edition, p. 303) give:—Tāhmāsp, 932 to 983; Ismā'īl II, from 983 to 985.

BADĀ'ONĪ'S SUMMARY OF THE REASONS WHICH LED AKBAR TO RENOUNCE THE ISLĀM.

[Bad. II, p. 256.]

The following are the principal reasons which led His Majesty from the right path. I shall not give all, but only some, according to the proverb, "That which is small, guides that which is great, and a sign of fear in a man points him out as the culprit."

The principal reason is the large number of learned men of all denominations and sects that came from various countries to court, and received personal interviews. Night and day people did nothing but inquire and investigate; profound points of science, the subtleties of revelation, the curiosities of history, the wonders of nature, of which large volumes could only give a summary abstract, were ever spoken of. His Majesty collected the opinions of every one, especially of such as were not Muhammadans, retaining whatever he approved of, and rejecting everything which was against his disposition and ran counter to his wishes. From his earliest childhood to his manhood, and from his manhood to old age, His Majesty has passed through the most various phases, and through all sorts of religious practices and sectarian beliefs, and has collected everything which people can find in books, with a talent of selection peculiar to him, and a spirit of inquiry opposed to every [Islāmic] principle. Thus a faith based on some elementary principles traced itself on the mirror of his heart, and as the result of all the influences which were brought to bear on His Majesty, they grew, gradually as the outline of a stone, the conviction in his heart that there were sensible men in all religions, and abstemious thinkers and men endowed with miraculous powers, among all nations. If some true knowledge was thus everywhere to be found, why should truth be confined to one religion, or to a creed like the Islām, which was comparatively new, and scarcely a thousand years old; why should one sect assert what another denies, and why should one claim a preference without having superiority conferred on itself.

Moreover, Sumanīs¹ and Brahmins managed to get frequent private interviews with His Majesty. As they surpass other learned men in their treatises on morals, and on physical and religious sciences, and reach a high degree in their knowledge of the future, in spiritual power and human perfection, they brought proofs based on reason and testimony,

¹ Explained in Arab. dictionaries as a sect in Sind who believe in the transmigration of souls (*tanisukh*). Akbar, as will be seen from the following, was convinced of the transmigration of souls, and therefore rejected the doctrine of resurrection.

for the truth of their own and the fallacies of other religions, and inculcated their doctrines so firmly and so skilfully represented things as quite self-evident which require consideration, that no man, by expressing his doubts, could now raise a doubt in His Majesty, even if mountains were to crumble to dust, or the heavens were to tear asunder.

Hence His Majesty cast aside the Islāmic revelations regarding resurrection, the day of judgment, and the details connected with it, as also all ordinances based on the tradition of our prophet. He listened to every abuse which the courtiers heaped on our glorious and pure faith, which can be so easily followed; and eagerly seizing such opportunities, he showed in words and gestures, his satisfaction at the treatment which his original religion received at their hands.

How wise was the advice which the guardian gave a lovely being,

"Do not smile at every face, as the rose does at every zephyr."¹

When it was too late to profit by the lesson,

She could but frown, and hang down the head.

For some time His Majesty called a Brahmin, whose name was Purukhotam, author of a commentary on the . . .² whom he asked to invent particular Sanscrit names for all things in existence. At other times, a Brahmin of the name of Debi was pulled up the wall of the castle,³ sitting on a *chārpāe*, till he arrived near a balcony where the emperor used to sleep. Whilst thus suspended, he instructed His Majesty in the secrets and legends of Hinduism, in the manner of worshipping idols, the fire, the sun, and stars, and of revering the chief gods of these unbelievers, as Brahma, Mahādev, Bishn, Kishn, Rām, and Mahāmāi, who are supposed to have been men, but very likely never existed, though some, in their idle belief, look upon them as gods, and others as angels. His Majesty, on hearing further how much the people of the country prized their institutions, commenced to look upon them with affection. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls especially took a deep root in his heart, and he approved of the saying—"There is no religion in which the doctrine of transmigration has not taken firm root." Insincere flatterers composed treatises in order to fix the evidence for this doctrine; and as His Majesty relished inquiries into the sects of these infidels (who cannot be counted, so numerous they are, and who have no end of

revealed books, but nevertheless, do not belong to the *Ahl-i Kūāb*, Jews, Christians, and Muhammadans), not a day passed but a new fruit of this loathsome tree ripened into existence.

Sometimes again, it was *Shaykh Taj* "d-Dīn of Dihli, who had to attend the emperor. This *Shaykh* is the son of *Shaykh Zakariyā* of Ajodhan. The principal 'Ulamās of the age call him *Tāj* "l-*Arifin*, or crown of the Sūfis. He had learned under *Shaykh Zamān* of Pānīpat, author of a commentary on the *Liwāsih*, and of other very excellent works, was in Sūfism and pantheism second only to *Shaykh Ibn 'Arabi*, and had written a comprehensive commentary on the *Nuzhat* "l-*Arwāh*. Like the preceding, he was drawn up the wall of the castle. His Majesty listened whole nights to his Sūfic trifles. As the *Shaykh* was not over strict¹ in acting according to our religious law, he spoke a great deal of the pantheistic preference, which idle Sūfis will talk about, and which generally leads them to denial of the law and open heresy. He also introduced polemic matters, as the ultimate salvation by faith of Pharaoh—God's curse be upon him!—which is mentioned in the *Fuṣūṣ* "l-*Ḥikam*,² or the excellence of hope over fear,³ and many other things to which men incline from weakness of disposition, unmindful of cogent reasons, or distinct religious commands, to the contrary. The *Shaykh* is therefore one of the principal culprits who weakened His Majesty's faith in the orders of our religion. He also said that infidels would, of course, be kept for ever in hell, but it was not likely, nor could it be proved, that the punishment in hell was eternal. His explanations of some verses of the Qur'ān or of the Tradition of our prophet, were often far-fetched. Besides, he mentioned that the phrase *Insān-i Kāmil* (perfect man) referred to the ruler of the age, from which he inferred that the nature of a king was holy. In this way, he said many agreeable things to the emperor, rarely expressing the proper meaning, but rather the opposite of what he knew to be correct. Even the *siyda* (prostration), which people mildly call *zamīnbo* (kissing the ground), he allowed to be due to the *Insān-i Kāmil*. he looked upon the respect due to the king as a religious command, and called the face of the king *Kaṣba-yi Murādāt*, the sanctum of desires.

¹ As long as a Sūfi conforms to the Qur'ān he is *sharīf*; but when he feels that he has drawn nearer to God, and does no longer require the ordinances of the *prophanum vulgus*, he is *āzād*, free, and becomes a heretic.

² Pharaoh claimed divinity, and is therefore *maḥṣūn*, accursed by God. But according to some books, and among them the *Fuṣūṣ*, Pharaoh repented in the moment of death, and acknowledged Moses to be a true prophet.

³ The Islām says, *Al-īmān bayn 'l-ḥauf wa'r-rijā'*, "Faith stands between fear and hope." Hence it is sin to fear God's wrath more than to hope for God's mercy; and so reversely.

¹ Just as Akbar liked the zephyr of inquiry into other religious systems. But zephyrs are also destructive; they scatter the petals of the rose.

² The text has a few unintelligible words.

³ Perhaps in order not to get polluted, or because the balcony belonged to the Harem.

and Qibla-yi hājāt, the cynosure of necessities. Such blasphemies¹ other people supported by quoting stories of no credit, and by referring to the practice followed by disciples of some heads of Indian sects. And after this, when . . . ?

Other great philosophical writers of the age also expressed opinions, for which there is no authority. Thus Shaykh Yaʿqūb of Kashmir, a well-known writer, and at present the greatest authority in religious matters, mentioned some opinions held by ʿAyn ʿI-Quṣāt of Hamadān, that our prophet Muḥammad was a personification of the divine name of *Al-hādī* (the guide), and the devil was the personification of God's name of *Al-muḥīl* (the tempter),² that both names, thus personified, had appeared in this world, and that both personifications were therefore necessary.

Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd, too, was drawn up the wall of the castle, and uttered unworthy, loathsome abuse against the first three Kḥalīfahs, called the whole Ṣahābah, their followers and next followers, and the saints of past ages, infidels and adulterers, slandered the Sunnis and the *Ahl-i Jamāʿat*,³ and represented every sect, except the Shiʿah, as damned and leading men into damnation.

The differences among the ʿUlamās, of whom one called lawful what the other called unlawful, furnished His Majesty with another reason for apostasy. The emperor also believed that the ʿUlamās of his time were superior in dignity and rank to Imām-i Qhazzālī and Imām-i Rāzī,⁴ and knowing from experience the flimsiness of his ʿUlamās, he judged those great men of the past by his contemporaries, and threw them aside.

Learned monks also came from Europe, who go by the name of *Pādre*.⁵ They have an infallible head, called *Pāpā*. He can change any religious ordinances as he may think advisable, and kings have to submit to his authority. These monks brought the gospel, and mentioned to the emperor their proofs for the Trinity. His Majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion, and wishing to spread the doctrines of

Jesus, ordered Prince Murād¹ to take a few lessons in Christianity by way of auspiciousness, and charged Abū ʿI-Faḥl to translate the Gospel. Instead of the usual *Bism ʾllāh ʾr-raḥmān ʾr-raḥīm*,² the following lines were used—

Ay nām-i tu Jesus o Kiristū
(O thou whose names are Jesus and Christ)

which means, "O thou whose name is gracious and blessed"; and Shaykh Fayḡī added another half, in order to complete the verse

Subḥāna-lā lā sūcā-lā Yā hū.

(We praise Thee, there is no one besides Thee, O God !)

There occurred monks applied the description of cursed Satan, and of his qualities, to Muḥammad, the best of all prophets—God's blessings rest on him and his whole house!—a thing which even devils would not do.

Bir Bar also impressed upon the emperor that the sun was the primary origin of everything. The ripening of the grain in the fields, of fruits and vegetables, the illumination of the universe, and the lives of men, depended upon the Sun. Hence it was but proper to worship and reverence this luminary; and people in praying should face towards the place where he rises, instead of turning to the quarter where he sets. For similar reasons, said Bir Bar, should men pay regard to fire and water, lions, trees, and other forms of existence, even to cows and their dung, to the mark on the forehead and the Brahminical thread.

Philosophers and learned men who had been at Court, but were in disgrace, made themselves busy in bringing proofs. They said the sun was "the greatest light", the source of benefit for the whole world, the nourisher of kings, and the origin of royal power.

This was also the cause why the Navrūz-i Jalālī³ was observed, on which day, since His Majesty's accession, a great feast was given. His Majesty also adopted different suits of clothes of seven different colours,

¹ As the *zamīnab*, or the use of holy names as *Kaʿbah* (the temple of Makkah) or *Qibla* (Makkah, in as far as people turn to it their face when praying).

² The text has an unintelligible sentence.

³ According to the Islām, God leads (*hid*) men to salvation, but also to sin and damnation. God created also wickedness.

⁴ *Ahl-i jamāʿat* is a term which is often joined with the word *Sunnī*. All religious ordinances are either based upon the Qurʾān, or upon the Tradition; or upon the opinion (*yaḥyā*) of famous *Ṣahābah*; or lastly, upon *ijmāʿ* agreement, or the custom generally followed during the first century of the *Hijrah*. Hence *Ahl-i jamāʿat* comprises all such as believe *ijmāʿ* binding.

⁵ Two famous authorities in religious matters. The most popular books of Imām Qhazzālī are the *ʾIḥyā ʾl-ʿulūm* and the *Kimiyā-yi ṣāʿatāt* which, according to p. 103, was one of the few books which Akbar liked.

⁶ The text has *بهری*.

¹ Prince Murād was then about eight years old. Jahāngir (Salim) was born on Wednesday, the 17 Rabiʿ ʾl-awwal 977. Three months after him, his sister *Shāhrazāda* Kāḥum was born; and after her in the year 978 on 3rd Muḥarram (Bad. II, 132) *Shāh Murād*, who got the nickname of *Paṭāḥ*, as he was born in the hills of Faṭhpūr Sikri. Dīnāl was born in Ajmir during the night between Tuesday and Wednesday, the 10th, the Jumādā ʾl-awwal 979.

² The formula "Bism ʾllāh, etc." is said by every schoolboy before he commences to read from his text book.

The words *Ay nām-i tu Jesus o Kiristū* are taken from the Dabistān; the edition of Badliḥi has *Ay nāmī wai shāho Kiristū*, which, though correct in metre (*ride* my "Prosody of the Persians", p. 33, No. 32), is improbable. The formula as given in the Dabistān has a common Masnawi metre (*ride* my "Prosody", p. 33, No. 31), and spells *Jesus* *جيسوز*. The verse as given by H. Wilson (Works II, p. 387) has no metre.

³ Vide the *Tārīkh-i Mulkī*, in the beginning of Book III.

each of which was worn on a particular day of the week in honour of the seven colours of the seven planets.

The emperor also learned from some Hindus, formulæ to reduce the influence of the sun to his subjection, and commenced to read them mornings and evenings as a religious exercise. He also believed that it was wrong to kill cows, which the Hindus worship; he looked upon cow-dung as pure, interdicted the use of beef, and killed beautiful men (?) instead of cows. The doctors confirmed the emperor in his opinion, and told him it was written in their books that beef was productive of all sorts of diseases and was very indigestible.

Fire-worshippers also had come from Nausāri in Gujrat, and proved to His Majesty the truth of Zoroaster's doctrines. They called fire-worship "the great worship", and impressed the emperor so favourably that he learned from them the religious terms and rites of the old Pārsis, and ordered Abū 'l-Faẓl to make arrangements that sacred fire should be kept burning at court by day and by night, according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings, in whose fire-temples it had been continually burning; for fire was one of the manifestations of God, and "a ray of His rays".

His Majesty, from his youth, had also been accustomed to celebrate the *Hom* (a kind of fire-worship) from his affection towards the Hindu princesses of his Harem.

From the New Year's day of the twenty-fifth year of his reign [988], His Majesty openly worshipped the sun and the fire by prostrations; and the courtiers were ordered to rise when the candles and lamps were lighted in the palace. On the festival of the eighth day of Virgo, he put on the mark on the forehead, like a Hindu, and appeared in the Audience Hall, when several Brahmins tied, by way of auspiciousness, a string with jewels on it round his hands, whilst the grandees countenanced these proceedings by bringing, according to their circumstances, pearls and jewels as presents. The custom of Rākhi (or tying pieces of clothes round the wrists as amulets) became quite common.

When orders in opposition to the Islām were quoted by people of other religions, they were looked upon by His Majesty as convincing, whilst Hinduism is in reality a religion in which every order is nonsense. The originator of our belief, the Arabian Saints, all were said to be adulterers and highway robbers, and all the Muhammadans were declared worthy of reproof, till at length His Majesty belonged to those of whom the Qur'ān says (Sūr 61, 8): "They seek to extinguish God's light with their mouths: But God will perfect his light though the infidels be averse

thereto." In fact, matters went so far that proofs were no longer required when anything connected with the Islām was to be abolished.

Akbar publicly assumes the spiritual leadership of the nation.

[Bad: II, p. 268.]

"In this year [987], His Majesty was anxious to unite in his person the powers of the State and those of the Church; for he could not bear to be subordinate to any one. As he had heard that the prophet, his lawful successors, and some of the most powerful kings, as Amīr Timūr Shāhib-qirān, and Mirzā Ulugh Beg-i Gurgān, and several others, had themselves read the *Khuṭba* (the Friday prayer), he resolved to do the same, apparently in order to imitate their example, but in reality to appear in public as the Mujtahid of the age. Accordingly, on Friday, the first *Jumādā 'l-awwal* 987, in the Jāmi' Masjid of Fathpūr, which he had built near the palace, His Majesty commenced to read the *Khuṭba*. But all at once he stammered and trembled, and though assisted by others, he could scarcely read three verses of a poem, which Shaykh Fayzī had composed, came quickly down from the pulpit, and handed over the duties of the Imām (leader of the prayer) to Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Amin, the Court *Khatīb*. These are the verses:—

The Lord has given me the empire,
And a wise heart, and a strong arm,
He has guided me in righteousness and justice,
And has removed from my thoughts everything but justice.
His praise surpasses man's understanding,
Great is His power, Allāh Akbar!"

[p. 269.]

"As it was quite customary in those days to speak ill of the doctrine and orders of the Qur'ān, and as Hindu wretches and Hinduizing Muhammadans openly reviled our prophet, irreligious writers left out in the prefaces to their books the customary praise of the prophet, and after saying something to the praise of God, wrote eulogies of the emperor instead.¹ It was impossible even to mention the name of the prophet, because these liars (as Abū 'l-Faẓl, Fayzī, etc.) did not like it. This wicked innovation gave general offence, and sowed the seed of evil throughout the country;² but notwithstanding this, a lot of low and mean fellows

¹ As Abū 'l-Faẓl has done in the *Ā'in*. "But Fayzī added the usual praise of the prophet (naṣṣ) to his *Nal Daman*, a short time before his death, at the pressing request of some friends." *Badā'uni*.

² Because books were sure to be copied; hence many would see the innovation and imitate it. As the formula "*Bism'illāh*, etc.", had been changed to *Allāh Akbar*, we also find *Allāh Akbar* in the heading of books, as in the *Ā'in*.

put piously on their necks the collar of the Divine Faith, and called themselves disciples, either from fear or hope of promotion, though they thought it impossible to say our creed "

[pp 270 to 272]

" In the same year [997] a document made its appearance which bore the signatures and seals of Makhdūm 'I-Mull, of Shaykh 'Abd' n Nabī, Sadr' e sudūr, of Qīzi Jalāl 'd-Dīn of Multān. Qāziy 'I quzāt of Sadr Jahān, the mufti of the empire, of Shaykh Mubīrak, the deep thinker of the age, and of Ghīzi Khān of Badakhshān, who stood unrivalled in the various sciences. The objects of the document was to rattle the superiority of the Imām-i 'Adil (just leader) over the *Mujtahid*, which was proved by a reference to an ill supported authority. The whole matter is a question, regarding which people differ in opinion, but the document was to do away with the possibility of disagreeing about law, whether political or religious, and was to bind the lawyers in spite of themselves. But before the instrument was signed, a long discussion took place as to the meaning of *ijtihad*, and as to whom the term *Mujtahid* was applicable, and whether it really was the duty of a just Imām who, from his acquaintance with politics, holds a higher rank than the *Mujtahid* to decide, according to the requirements of the times and the wants of the age, all such legal questions on which there existed a difference of opinion. At last, however, all signed the document, some willingly, others against their convictions.

I shall copy the document *verbatim*

The Document

" 'Whereas Hindūstān has now become the centre of security and peace—and the land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers, have immigrated and chosen this country for their home. Now we, the principal 'Ulamās, who are not only well versed in the several departments of the law and in the principles of jurisprudence, and well acquainted with the edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for our piety and honest intentions, have duly considered the deep meaning, *first*, of the verse of the Qur'ān (Sūr. IV, 62), "*Obey God, and obey the prophet, and those who have authority among you,*" and *secondly*, of the genuine tradition, "*Surely, the man who is dearest to God on the day of judgment, is the Imām i 'Adil. Whosoever obeys the Amīr, obeys Me, and Whosoever rebels against him, rebels against Me,*" and *thirdly*, of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony, and we have agreed that the rank of a *Sultān i 'Adil* (a just ruler) is higher

in the eyes of God than the rank of a *Mujtahid*. Further we declare that the king of Islām, Amir of the Faithful, shadow of God in the world, 'Alid' 'I-Fath Jalāl' 'd-Dīn Muhammad Akbar Pādīshāh-i ghāzī, whose kingdom God perpetuate, is a most just, a most wise, and a most God-fearing king. Should therefore, in future, a religious question come up, regarding which the opinions of the *Mujtahids* are at variance, and His Majesty, in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom, be inclined to adopt, for the benefit of the nation and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point, and issue a decree to that effect, we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.

" 'Further, we declare that, should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it, provided always that such an order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Qur'ān, but also of real benefit for the nation, and further, that any opposition on the part of the subjects to such an order as passed by His Majesty, shall involve damnation in the world to come, and loss of religion and property in this life.

" 'This document has been written with honest intentions, for the glory of God, and the propagation of the Islām, and is signed by us, the principal 'Ulamās and lawyers in the month of Rajab of the year 997 of the Hijrah.

" The draft of this document when presented to the emperor, was in the handwriting of Shaykh Mubārak. The others had signed it against their will, but the Shaykh had added at the bottom that he had most willingly signed his name, for this was a matter which, for several years, he had been anxiously looking forward to.

" No sooner had His Majesty obtained this legal instrument, than the road of deciding any religious question was open, the superiority of intellect of the Imām was established, and opposition was rendered impossible. All orders regarding things which our law allows or disallows, were abolished, and the superiority of intellect of the Imām became law.

" But the state of Shaykh Abū I Fazl resembled that of the poet *Hayrati* of Samarqand,¹ who after having been annoyed by the cool and sober people of Māwara 'n nahr (Turkistān), joined the old foxes of Shi'itic Persia, and chose 'the roadless road'. You might apply the proverb to him—'He prefers hell to shame on earth'.

¹ The birthplace of the poet *Hayrati* is not exactly known, though he belongs to Turkistan. It is said that he was a great wine bibber and travelled about in search of places where wine drinking was connived at. At last he settled at Kashan, and became a Sufi. He was murdered there by a robber in 961.

"On the 16th Rajab of this year, His Majesty made a pilgrimage to Ajmir. It is now fourteen years that His Majesty has not returned to that place. On the 3th Shash'in, at the distance of five *kos* from the town, the emperor alighted, and went on foot to the tomb of the saint (Muḥsin d-Dīn). But sensible people smiled, and said, it was strange that His Majesty should have such a faith in the Khwāja of Ajmir, whilst he rejected the foundation of everything, our prophet, from whose 'skirt' hundreds of thousands of saints of the highest degree had sprung."

[p. 273.]

"After Maḥdūm 'I-Mulk and Shaykh 'Abd' n-Nābi had left for Makkah (987), the emperor examined people about the creation of the Qur'ān, elicited their belief, or otherwise, in revelation, and raised doubts in them regarding all things connected with the prophet and the imāms. He distinctly denied the existence of *Jinn*, of angels, and of all other beings of the invisible world, as well as the miracles of the prophet and the saints; he rejected the successive testimony of the witnesses of our faith, the proofs for the truths of the Qur'ān as far as they agree with man's reason, the existence of the soul after the dissolution of the body, and future rewards and punishments in as far as they differed from metempsychosis.

Some copies of the Qur'ān, and a few old graves
Are left as witnesses for these blind men.

The graves, unfortunately, are all silent,

And no one searches for truth in the Qur'ān.

An *'Id* has come again, and bright days will come—like the face of the bride.

And the cupbearer will again put wine into the jar—red like blood.

The reins of prayer and the muzzle of fasting—once more

Will fall from these noses—alas, alas! 1

"His Majesty had now determined publicly to use the formula, 'There is no God, but God, and Akbar is God's representative.' But as this led to commotions, he thought better of it, and restricted the use of the formula to a few people in the Harem. People expressed the date of this event by the words *ṣināḥū-yi ummat*, the ruin of the Church (987). The emperor tried hard to convert Qutb' d-Dīn Muhammad Khān and Shāhbāz Khān (*vide* List of grantees, 2nd book, Nos. 28 and 80), and several others. But they staunchly objected. Qutb' d-Dīn said, 'What would the kings of the West, as the Sultān of Constantinople, say, if he

¹ Badā'oni bewails the blindness of Akbar, Abū 'I-Faḥr, etc., who threw away the means of grace of the Islām (prayer, fasting).

heard all this. Our faith is the same, whether a man hold high or broad views.' His Majesty then asked him, if he was in India on a secret mission from Constantinople, as he showed so much opposition; or if he wished to keep a small place warm for himself, should he once go away from India, and be a respectable man there; he might go at once. Shāhbāz got excited, and took a part in the conversation; and when Bir Bar—that hellish dog—made a sneering remark at our religion, Shāhbāz abused him roundly, and said, 'You cursed infidel, do you talk in this manner! It would not take me long to settle you.' It got quite uncomfortable when His Majesty said to Shāhbāz in particular, and to the others in general, 'Would that a shoeful of excrements were thrown into your faces.'"

[p. 276.]

"In this year the *Tamghā* (inland tolls) and the *Jazya* (tax on infidels), which brought in several *lacs* of *dāms*, were abolished, and edicts to this effect were sent over the whole empire."

"In the same year a rebellion broke out at Jaunpūr, headed by Muhammad Maḥṣūm of Kābul, Muhammad Maḥṣūm Khān, Muḥṣizz' 'I-Mulk, 'Arab Bahādur, and other grantees. They objected to Akbar's innovations in religious matters, in as far as these innovations led to a withdrawal of grants of rent-free land. The rebels had consulted Mullā Muhammad of Yazd (*vide* above, pp. 184, 191), who was Qāziy' 'I-quzāt at Jaunpūr; and on obtaining his opinion that, under the circumstances, rebellion against the king of the land was lawful, they seized some tracts of land, and collected a large army. The course which this rebellion took is known from general histories; *vide* Elphinstone, p. 511. Mullā Muhammad of Yazd and Muḥṣizz' 'I-Mulk, in the beginning of the rebellion, were called by the emperor to Āgra, and drowned, on the road, at the command of the emperor, in the Jamnū.

"In the same year the principal 'Ulamās, as Maḥdūm 'I-Mulk, Shaykh Munawwar, Mullā 'Abd' sh-Shukūr, etc., were sent as exiles to distant provinces."

[p. 278.]

"Ḥājī Ibrāhīm of Sarhind (*vide* above, p. 111) brought to court an old, worm-eaten MS. in queer characters, which, as he pretended, was written by Shaykh Ibn 'Arabī. In this book, it was said that the *Ṣāḥib-i Zamān*¹ was to have many wives, and that he would shave his beard. Some of the characteristics mentioned in the book as belonging to him

¹ *Ṣāḥib-i Zamān*, or "Man of the Period", is a title frequently given to Imām Mahdī.

our sers of grain will be sufficient for one hundred of such pigeons as
 and to fly; but for other pigeons five sers are required; or seven
 a half if they pair. But flying pigeons get millet, not mixed with
 r grain; the others get a mixture of the seven kinds of grain, viz.,
dāl -i *nukhūd* (gram), *mūng dāl*¹ (millet), *karar*, *lahdara*, *juwār* (vide
 66). Though most servants of His Majesty keep pigeons and show
 ch skill in training them, there are a few that have risen to eminence,
 mād Chānd, Muqbil Khān Chela, Khwāja Šandal Chela, Mūmin of
 arāt, ‘Abd*’l-Latif of Bukhārā, Hājī Qāsim of Balkh, Habib of Shahisabz,
 ikandar Chela, Māltū, Maqūd of Samarqand, Khwāja Phūl, Chela
 Hirānand.

The servants attached to the pigeon houses draw their pay on the list
 of the army. The pay of a foot soldier varies from 2 R. to 48 R. *per*
ensem.

The game of Chaupar.

From times of old, the people of Hindūstān have been fond of this
 game. It is played with sixteen pieces of the same shape; but every four
 of them must have the same colour. The pieces all move in the same
 direction. The players use three dice. Four of the six sides of each dice
 are greater than the remaining two, the four long sides being marked with
 one, two, five, and six dots respectively. The players draw two sets of two
 parallel lines, of which one set bisects the other at right angles. These
 parallel lines are of equal length. The small square which is formed by
 the intersection of the two sets in the centre of the figure is left as it is;
 but the four rectangles adjoining the sides of the square are each divided
 into twenty-four equal spaces in three rows, each of eight equal spaces, as
 shown in Pl. XVII, Fig. 17. The game is generally played by four players,
 of whom two play against the other two. Each player has four pieces,
 of which he puts two in the sixth and seventh spaces of the middle row
 of the parallelogram before him, and the other two in the seventh and
 eighth spaces of the right row. The left row remains empty. Each player
 moves his pieces, according to his throw, in the outer row, always keeping
 to the right, till he arrives at the outer left row of the parallelogram, from
 which he started; and from there he moves to the middle row. When
 arrived at the latter place, he is *pukhta* (ripe), and from here, he must
 throw for each of his pieces the exact number which will carry them to
 an empty square in the centre of the figure. He is now *rasīda*, or arrived.
 If he is *pukhta* or *rasīda*, he may commence to play from

the beginning, which leads to amusing combinations. As long as a player
 keeps two of his pieces together, the adversary cannot throw them out.
 If a player throws a double six, he can move two pieces over twelve
 spaces, provided the two pieces stand together on one field; but he is
 allowed to move them only six fields onwards should he prefer doing so.
 A similar rule holds for double fives, etc. A throw consisting of a six,
 a five, and a one, is called *khām* (raw); and in this case, two pieces,
 provided they are together on the same field, may each be moved six
 fields forwards, and every single piece twelve fields. If a player throws
 three sixes, and three of his four pieces happen to stand on one field,
 he may move each of them over twelve fields. A similar rule holds, if a
 player throw three twos, or three ones. There are many other rules for
 particular cases. If a player has brought his four pieces into the central
 square, he throws, when his turn comes, for his companion, to get him
 out too. Formerly the custom was that when a piece had come to the
 last row, and . . . His Majesty thinks it proper to do so from the very
 eighth field. If the throws of two players are the same as the throw of the
 preceding players, His Majesty counts them as *qāyim*, or standing.
 Formerly he did not allow such equal throws. If the four pieces of an
 opponent are *pukhta*, and he yet lose his bet, the other players are entitled
 to double the amount of the bet. Should any of the players leave the game
 for some reason he may appoint anyone to play for him; but he will
 have to be responsible for the betting of his substitute. Of all winnings,
 the substitute is entitled to two *per cent*; if a player loses a bet, his substi-
 tute has to pay one *per cent*. If a player drops one of his pieces, or any
 of the players be late or inattentive, he is fined one rupee. But a fine of
 a *muhur* is exacted if any one prompts the other, or moves his pieces
 over too many fields, or tries to get two throws.

Formerly many grantees took part in this game; there were often
 as many as two hundred players, and no one was allowed to go home before
 he had finished sixteen games, which in some cases lasted three months.
 If any of them lost his patience and got restless, he had to drink a cup of
 wine.

Superficially considered, all this is mere play; but His Majesty has
 higher aims; he weighs the talents of a man, and teaches kindness.

The game of Chandal Mandal.

This game was invented by His Majesty. The figure, or board, which
 is required, consists of sixteen parallelograms, arranged in a circular form

¹ The MSS. have *az khānāyi hashim pāyān shavad, hangām-i khān shādan amāda*
gardād, which words are not clear to me.

round a centre. Each parallelogram is divided into twenty-four fields, every eight of which form a row: rule Pl. XVII, Fig. 18. The number of pieces is sixty-four, and four dice are used, of which the four longer sides are marked with one, two, ten, and twelve points respectively. The number of players is sixteen. Each puts four pieces, which are placed in the middle. As in *Chaugun*, the pieces are moved to the right, and pass through the whole circle. The player who is out first is entitled to receive the stipulated amount from the other fifteen players: the second that is out, from fourteen players, and so on. The first player, therefore, wins most, and the last loses most; the other players both lose and win. His Majesty plays this game in several ways: one way in which the pieces are moved as if the fields were squares of a chess board, is very often played. I shall give a few particulars and directions how to play the different kinds of this game.

First kind, no piece can throw out another piece, but move on by itself. *Second way*, single pieces may be thrown out. Each player whose piece has thus been thrown out, commences again from his starting point. *Third way*, at each throw two pieces are moved at a time, either with or without the permission of throwing out pieces. *Fourth way*, the preceding rule is applied to three or four pieces at a time. *Fifth way*, the dice are thrown four times, and four pieces are moved at each throw. These different ways may, moreover, be varied by some players playing to the right, others to the left, or all in the same direction. *Sixth way*, a player is out when he comes to the place from which the player opposite to him commenced to play, moving from the middle row of his opponent into the empty space in the centre of the board. Or the game ends when each player arrives at the place from which his left hand neighbour commenced to play. *Seventh way*, each player puts his pieces before himself, and has three throws. At the first throw, he moves two of his pieces; at the second, one of his own pieces and one belonging to his right hand neighbour; at the third throw, he moves any piece of his own, and allows his left hand neighbour to move one of his pieces. In this way of playing, no player throws out the pieces of his neighbours; and when the game is in full swing, he allows each piece which happens to come into the row in which he is, to move according to his own throw, as a sort of compliment to a guest. *Eighth way*, two pieces when together may throw out another set of two pieces; but single pieces do not throw out each other. *Ninth way*, four pieces together may throw out three together; three together, sets of two; and two together, single ones, but single pieces do not throw out each other. *Tenth way*, each player moves his pieces according to the number of points which he throws,

but at the same time, the player who sits opposite to him moves his pieces according to the number of points on the reverse side of the dice, whilst the two players to the right and left of the player who threw the dice, move their pieces according to the number of points to the right and left sides of the dice. *Eleventh way*, the players use five dice and four pieces. Each player, in his turn, throws the five dice, and moves his pieces according to the sum of the two highest points of his throw. The next highest point is taken by his *ris-d-ris*, and the two lowest points by his right and left hand neighbours. *Twelfth way*, the players have each five dice and five pieces. At every throw, he gives the points of one die to his right hand neighbour, and uses the others for himself. Sometimes the thrower mentions before-hand the names of four players to whom he wishes to give the points of four dice, he himself taking the points of the fifth die. And when a player requires only a few points, to get *publis*, he must give the remaining points to those near whom the dice fall.

The game may also be played by fifteen or less players, the figure being lessened accordingly. So also may the number of the dice be increased or decreased.

Cards.

This is a well-known game. His Majesty has made some alterations in the cards. Ancient *rages* took the number twelve as the basis, and made the suit to consist of twelve cards; but they forgot that the twelve kings should be of twelve different kinds. His Majesty plays with the following suits of cards. 1st, *Ashrapati*, the lord of horses. The highest card represents a king on horseback, resembling the king of Delhi, with the umbrella (*chaur*), the standard (*salam*), and other imperial ensigns. The second highest card of the same suit represents a *vazir* on horseback; and after this card come ten others of the same suit with pictures of horses, from one to ten. 2nd, *Gajpati*, the king whose power lies in the number of his elephants, as the ruler of Orisah. The other eleven cards represent, as before, the *vazir*, and elephants from ten to one. 3rd, *Narpati*, a king whose power lies in his infantry, as is the case with the rulers of Bijāpūr. The card represents a king sitting on his throne in imperial splendour; the *vazir* sits on a footstool (*sandalī*), and the ten cards completing this suit have foot soldiers, from one to ten. 4th, *Gadhpati*. The card shows a man sitting on a throne over a fort; the *vazir* sits on a *sandalī* over a fort; and the remaining ten cards have forts from one to ten, as before. 5th, *Dhanpati*, the lord of treasures. The first card of this suit shows a

from the crown of the sword of the silver lion; the six cards upon a pedestal, as if before the door of the Treasury, and the remaining cards display a pedestal of gold and silver, from one to ten. 3^d, *Diap'a*, the hero of the tale. The first card of this suit shows a king in armor, sitting on his throne and wearing a helmet, on a coat of mail. The six cards on a pedestal are a pedestal (the same one), that is, other cards show a pedestal of his armor. 7^d, *Nor'p'a*, the lord of the boat. The cards show a man in a throne on a ship, the six cards, as usual, on a pedestal, and the other ten cards have lost from one to ten. 8^d, *Tip'a*, a queen in a throne on a throne, surrounded by her maids. The second card shows a man in a throne on a pedestal, and the other ten cards have clusters of flowers from one to ten. 9^d, *Surp'a*, the king of the divinities (*dece*). The card is called *Ind'ar*, or a throne. The six cards on a pedestal, and the ten cards are of two pictures of divinities from one to ten. 10^d, *Serp'a*, the lord of ruin (*de*). The card represents a sign from David, on the table. The six cards on a pedestal, and the other ten cards have griffin. 11^d, *R'ap'a*, the king of wild beasts. The card represents a tiger (*dece*) with one other animal. The six cards are drawn in the shape of a leopard (*dece*) and the other ten cards are pictures of wild beasts, as usual from one to ten. 12^d, *Alip'a*, the king of snakes. The first card shows a serpent mounted on a dragon, whilst the six is a serpent riding on another serpent of the same kind. The remaining ten cards show serpents, from one to ten.

The first six of these twelve ribs are called *hisl'ar* (lower), and the six last, *kam'ar* (upper).

His Majesty has also made some suitable alterations in the cards. Thus the *Dīwān*, or lord of treasures, is represented as a man distributing money. The *vazīr* sits on a *gandālī*, and inspects the Treasury, but the ten other cards of this suit are representations of the ten classes of workmen employed in the Treasury, viz., the jeweller, the melter, the piece-cutter (*ru'ālīs-sūs*), the weighman, the coiner, the *ma'ār* counter, the *lūkhālī* (writer) of *dīnār* pieces (vide p. 31, No. 17), the *lūkhālī* of *man* pieces (vide p. 31, No. 20), the dealer, the *qur qar* (vide p. 24, No. 15). His Majesty had also the king of assignments painted on the cards, who inspects *fārmān*, grants, and the leaves of the *daftar* (vide p. 270); the *vazīr* sits on a *sandālī* with the *daftar* before him; the other cards show officers employed in the Financial Department, as the paper maker, the *mīstār* maker (vide p. 55, note 1), the clerk who makes the entries in the *daftar*, the illuminator (*muqawwir*), the *nagğāshī* (who ornaments the pages), the *jādval-kār* (who draws blue and gold lines on the pages), the *fārnān*

writer the *pañcābhūta* (the border), the *raṅgiz* (who obtains the paper with different colour). The *Pāñcābhūti qumāsh* also, or king of manufacturers, is painted in great size before at different things, as Tibetan yak milk, &c. &c. The *variz* sits near him on a *cardali*, inquiring into former prices, &c. The other ten cards represent bases of burden Arun, the *Pāñcābhūti Chāp*, or lord of the lyre, is painted sitting on a throne, &c. &c. Next to him, the *variz* sits before him, inquiring into the circumstances of the performers, of whom pictures are given on the remaining card. Next, the *Pāñcābhūti zar i safid*, or king of silver, whose painted clothes are rupees and other silver coins, the *variz* sits on a *cardali*, and makes inquiry regarding donations. On the other cards the motion of the silver must be depicted, as before those of the gold must. Then comes the *Pāñcābhūti Shān'īer*, or king of the sword, whose painted turban is studded with a sword. The *variz* sits upon a *cardali*, enquiring about the sword; the other cards contain pictures of arms, arm-pieces, &c. After him comes the *Pāñcābhūti Tōjī*, or king of the diadem. He confers royal insignia, and the *cardali* upon which the *variz* sits, is the hat of the sovereign. The ten other cards contain pictures of workmen, s. tailors, quilters, &c. Lastly, the *Pāñcābhūti Ghulārān*, or king of the liver, sits on an elephant, and the *variz* on a cart. The other cards are representations of servants, some of whom sit, some lie on the ground in working; some are drunk, others sober, &c.

Besides the ordinary games of cards, His Majesty also plays chess, four handed and two-handed. His chief object is to test the value of men, and to establish harmony and good fellow-feeling at Court.

4th in 30

THE GRANDEES OF THE EMPIRE

At first I intended, in speaking of the Grandees of the Court, to record the deeds which raised them to their exalted positions, to describe their

¹ This is the Hardūstini corruption of the Persian *ru-2 ru*:

* *Tog* is often translated by a *crown*; but it is a cap worn by oriental kings instead of the crown of occidental kings. Hence the word *diadem* does not express the meaning of *tog* either.

² From the fact that Abū Ṭ Fazl mentions in his list of *Grandes Princes Khuraw*, (vide No. 4) who was born in 975, but not Prince Parviz, who was born in 997, we might conclude that the table was compiled prior to 997. But from my note on p. 236, it would appear that the beginning of the list refers to a time prior to 975, and Abū Ṭ Fazl may have afterward added Khuraw's name, though it is difficult to say why he did not add the names of Parviz and Shajahan, both of whom were born before the *Ā'in* was completed.

Parviz and Shajjahān, both of whom were born before the A'in was compiled. Again, Mirzā Shāhrukh (No 7) and Mirzā Murāṣar Husayn (No 8) are mentioned as

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Bīnū Begum, a daughter of Khusraw. Besides, he had four daughters, whose names are not mentioned. One of them, Bulāqī Begum, was married to Mirzā Wālī (*Tuz.*, p. 272). Tahmūras and Hoshang were killed by Āṣaf Khān after the death of Janāngīr (*vide Proceedings Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for August, 1869). Nothing appears to be known regarding the fate of Bāyasanghar. *Vide Calcutta Review* for October, 1869.

Dānyāl is represented as well built, good looking, fond of horses and elephants, and clever in composing Hindūstānī poems.

II. Commanders of Five Thousand.

1. Prince Salīm [Jahāngīr]. A daughter (p. 6). A daughter to Sulṭān

IV. Commanders of Five Thousand.
 eldest son of Prince Salim [Jahangir]. Preface, p. 1.

IV. Commanders of Prince Salim [Jahāngir].

4. Sultan Khusrāw, eldest son of Prince Salim (p. 6). A daughter of Jahāngir's wives (Tuzuk, p. 84, and Preface, p. 6), to Sultān Rāja Bhagwān Dās, married in 993, gave birth, in 994, to Prince 'n-Nisā Begum [Khāfi Khān, Sultān Begum], and in 995 to Prince Khusrāw. She poisoned herself with opium in a fit of madness apparently brought on by the behaviour of Khusrāw and her younger brother Madhū Singh, in 1011 (Khāfi Khān, p. 227). 2. A daughter of Rāy Rāy Singh, son of Rāy Kalyan Mal of Bikānīr, married 19th Rajab 994, Bad. II, p. 353. She is not mentioned in the Tuzuk among Jahāngir's wives. 3. A daughter of Oday Singh [Moth Rāja], son of Rāja Māldeo, married in 994. The Tuzuk (p. 5) calls her Jagat Gosāyini. She is the mother of Shāhjahan, and died in 1028 (Tuzuk, p. 268). 4. A daughter of Khawāja Hasan, the uncle of Zayn Khān Koka. She is the mother of Prince Parwiz. She died 15th Tir, 1007. 5. A daughter of Rāja Keshū Dās Rāthor. She is the mother of Bahār Bānū Begum (born 23rd Shabriwar 998) 6 and 7. The mothers of Jahāndār and Shahryār. 8. A daughter of 'Ali Rāy, ruler of little Tibet (Bad., II, 376), married in 999. 9. A daughter of Jagat Singh, eldest son of Rāja Mān Singh (Tuzuk, p. 68). 10. Mihra 'n-Nisā Khānum, the widow of Sher Afkan. On her marriage with Jahāngir she received the title of Nūr Mahāl, and was later called Nūr Jahan (Tuz., p. 156). Jahāngir does not appear to have had children by Nūr Jahan.

Jahāngir's children. 1. Sultān Khusrāw. 2. Sultān Parwiz. 3. Sultān Khurram (Shāhjahan). 4. Sultān Jahāndār. 5. Sultān Shahryār. Two daughters are mentioned. — (a) Sultān 'n-Nisā Begum, (b) Sultān Bahār Bānū Begum. There were "several children" after Parwiz but the Tuzuk (p. 8) does not give their names. They appear to have died after their birth.

Koka. His sons—1. Bahadur (also called Dāwar Bakhsh), son of Dārā Shikōn.
p. 73. 2. Dāwar Bakhsh was married to Hoshang, son of Dārā Shikōn.
mand Bānū Begum, was married to Hoshang, son of Dārā Shikōn.
Khusraw died on the 18th Isfandi-yārmuz, 1031. He lies buried in the
Khusraw Gardens in Allahabad. Dāwar Bakhsh was proclaimed Emperor
by Āṣaf Khān after the death of Jahāngīr; but at an order of Shāhjahan,
he was killed, together with his brother Garhasp, by Āṣaf Khān.
Sultān Parwīz, born 19th Ābān, 997. He was married to a daughter
of Mirzā Rustam-i Ṣafawī (No. 9) and had a son who died when young.
(Tuz., p. 282). A daughter of Parwīz was married to Dārā Shikōn.
Parwīz died of delirium tremens in 1036.
Khurram (Shāhjahan) was born at Lāhor on the 30th Rabīʿ I,
1005. He was the favourite of his family, vide Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal for
1871-72.

Sultān Khurram (Shāhjahān) was born in 1000 A.H. Regarding his family, vide *Proceedings* August, 1869, p. 219. He was Akbar's favourite. *Sultān Shahryār* were born about the same time, a few months before Akbar's death (Tuz., Preface, p. 17). Shahryār was married, in the 16th year of Jahāngir, to Mihr'n-Nisā, the daughter of Nūr Jahān by Sher Afkan, and had a daughter by her, Arzānī Begum (Tuzuk, p. 370). The *Iqbāl-nām* (p. 306) calls her *رُزْدِي بِيَم*. From his want of abilities, he got the nickname *Nāshudān* (fit for nothing). *Khusrāw*, Parwīz, and Jahān died before their father. Shahryār, at the instigation of Nūr Jahān, proclaimed him a few days after the death of Jahāngir. He was killed by Balush or of Āṣaf Khān; vide p. 218.

5. Mirzā Sulaymān, son of Khān Mirzā, son of Sultān Ma
son of Abū Saʿīd.
Abū Saʿīd Ibrāhīm, son of Mirzā Sulaymān (No. 5).
born in 920, and died at Lāhor in 997.
As grandson of Abū Saʿīd killed Sultān

5. *Mirzā Sulaymān*, son of *Abū Saʿīd*.
6. *Mirzā Ibrāhīm*, son of *Mirzā Sulaymān* (No. 5).
Mirzā Sulaymān was born in 920, and died at Lāhor in 997 generally called *Wālī-yi Badakhshān*. As grandson of *Abū Saʿīd* he is the sixth descendant from *Timūr*. *Abū Saʿīd* killed *Sultān* *Badakhshān*, the last of a series of kings who traced the mad of *Badakhshān*, and took possession of *Badakhshān*, v to Alexander the Great, and *Maḥmūd*, who had three sons, B his death fell to his son, *Sultān Maḥmūd*, who had three sons, B *Mirzā*, *ʿAlī Mirzā*,² *Khān Mirzā*. When *Maḥmūd* died, Am

1 The MSS spell this name *میرزا* and *میرزا*.
2 The *Maṣṣūṭ* 'Umarā calls the second son, *Mirzā Mas*

Kābil, one of his nobles, blinded Bāyasinghan, killed the second prince, and ruled as usurper. He submitted to Rābar in 919. When Rābar took Qandahār, in 922, from Shāh Bēz Arghūn, he sent Khān Mirzā as governor to Badakhshān. Mirzā Sulaymān is the son of this Khān Mirzā.¹

After the death of Khān Mirzā, Badakhshān was governed for Rābar by Prince Humāyūn, Sultan Uways (Mirzā Sulaymān's father-in-law), Prince Hūshīl, and lastly, by Mirzā Sulaymān, who held Badakhshān till 17 Jumādā II, 948, when he had to surrender himself and his son, Mirzā Ibrahim, to Prince Kāmran. They were released by Humāyūn in 952, and took again possession of Badakhshān. When Humāyūn had taken Kābil, he made war upon and defeated Mirzā Sulaymān who once in possession of his country, had refused to submit; but when the return of Kāmran from Samkand forced Humāyūn to go to Kābil, he reinstated the Mirzā, who held Badakhshān till 965. Bent on making conquests, he invaded in 977 Balh, but had to return. His son, Mirzā Ibrahim, was killed in battle.²

In the eighth year when Mirzā Muhammad Hakim's (Akbar's brother) mother had been killed by Shāh Abū T-Ma'sūm Mirzā S. went to Kābil, and had Abū T-Ma'sūm hanged; he then married his own daughter to M. M. Hakim, and appointed Umūd 'Alī, a Badakhshān noble, M. M. Hakim's Wakil (970). But M. M. Hakim did not go on well with Mirzā Sulaymān, who returned next year to Kābil with hostile intentions; but M. M. Hakim fled and asked Akbar for assistance, so that Mirzā S., though he had taken Jalālābād, had to return to Badakhshān. He returned to Kābil in 973, when Akbar's troops had left that country, but retreated on being promised tribute.

Mirzā Sulaymān's wife was Khurram Begum, of the Qibchāq tribe. She was clever and had her husband so much in her power, that he did nothing without her advice. Her enemy was Muhtaram Khānum, the widow of Prince Kāmran. M. Sulaymān wanted to marry her; but Khurram Begum got her married, against her will, to Mirzā Ibrahim, by whom she had a son, Mirzā Shāhruh (No. 7). When Mirzā Ibrahim fell in the war with Balh, Khurram Begum wanted to send the Khānum to her father, Shāh Muhammad of Kashghar; but she refused to go. As soon as Shāhruh had grown up, his mother and some Badakhshī nobles excited him to rebel against his grandfather M. Sulaymān. This he did,

alternately rebelling and again making peace. Khurram Begum then died. Shāhruh took away those parts of Badakhshān which his father had held, and found so many adherents, that M. Sulaymān, pretending to go on a pilgrimage to Makkah, left Badakhshān for Kābil, and crossing the Nilāb went to India (983). Khān Jahān, governor of the Panjāb, received orders to invade Badakhshān, but was suddenly ordered to go to Bengal, as Mun'im Khān had died and Mirzā Sulaymān did not care for the governorship of Bengal, which Akbar had given him.

M. Sulaymān then went to Ismā'il II of Persia. When the death of that monarch deprived him of the assistance which he had just received, he went to Murāfiar Husayn Mirzā (No. 8) at Qandahār, and then to M. M. Hakim at Kābil. Not succeeding in raising disturbances in Kābil, he made for the frontier of Badakhshān, and luckily finding some adherents, he managed to get from his grandson the territory between Tōpān and the Hindū Kush. Soon after Muhtaram Khānum died. Being again pressed by Shāhruh, M. Sulaymān applied for help to 'Abdū 'Jah Khān Urtak, king of Tūrān, who had long wished to annex Badakhshān. He invaded and took the country in 992; Shāhruh fled to Humdustān, and M. Sulaymān to Kābil. As he could not recover Badakhshān, and being rendered destitute by the death of M. M. Hakim, he followed the example of his grandson, and repaired to the court of Akbar, who made him a Commander of six thousand.

A few years later he died, at Lāhor, at the age of seventy-seven.

7. Mirzā Shāhruh, son of Mirzā Ibrahim.

vide Nos. 5 and 6. Akbar, in 1001, gave him his daughter Shukrā n-Nisā Begum, and made him governor of Mālwa, and he distinguished himself in the conquest of the Dakkhin. Towards the end of Akbar's reign, he was made a Commander of seven thousand, and was continued in his *Manzab* by Jahāngir.

He died at Ujain in 1016. His wife, Kābuli Begum, was a daughter of Mirzā Muhammad Hakim. She wanted to take his body to Madinah, but was robbed by the Badawīs; and after handing over the body to some "scoundrels" she went to Bagra, and then to Shirāz. In 1022, Shāh Abbās married her to Mirzā Sultān 'Alī, his uncle, whom he had blinded; but the Begum did not like her new husband.

Shāhruh's Children.—1. Hasan and Husayn, twins. Hasan fled with Khusrāw and was imprisoned by Jahāngir. 2. Badī'uz-Zamān (or Mirzā Fathpūrī), "a bundle of wicked bones," murdered by his brothers in Patan (Gujrāt). 3. Mirzā Shujās rose to honours under Shāhjahān, who called him Najābat Khān. 4. Mirzā Muhammad Zamān. He held

¹ The *Ma'daw* says Khān Mirzā died in 917; but this is impossible, as Mirzā Sulaymān was born in 920, the *Tārīkh* of his birth being the word *محدث*.

² Hence he never was a grandson of Akbar's Court, and has been put on the list according to the rules of etiquette.

town in Badakhshān, and fell against the Uzbaks. 5. Mirzā Sultān, favourite of Jahāngir. He had many wives, and Jahāngir would have given him his own daughter in marriage if he had not perjured himself in trying to conceal the number of his wives. He fell into disgrace, and was appointed governor of Ghāzipūr, where he died. 6. Mirzā Mughul, who did not distinguish himself either. The *Tuzuk* (p. 65) says that after the death of Shāhruh, Jahāngir took charge of four of his sons and three of his daughters, "whom Akbar had not known." "Shāhruh, though twenty years in India, could not speak a word of Hindī."

8. Mirzā Muzaffar Husayn, son of Bahrām Mirzā, son of Shāh Ismā'il-i Safawī.

In 965, Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia (930 to 981) conquered Qandahār, which was given, together with Dāwar and Garmsir as far as the river Hirmand, to Sultān Husayn Mirzā, his nephew. Sultān Husayn M. died in 981, when Shāh Ismā'il II (981 to 985) was king of Persia, and left five children, Muhammad Husayn Mirzā, Muzaffar Husayn Mirzā, Rustam Mirzā, Abū Sa'id Mirzā, and Sanjar Mirzā. The first was killed by Shāh Ismā'il Irān. The other four in Qandahār had also been doomed; but the arrival of the news of the sudden death of the Shāh saved their lives. The new Shāh Khudābanda, gave Qandahār to Muzaffar Husayn Mirzā, and Dāwar as far as the Hirmand to Rustam Mirzā, who was accompanied by his two younger brothers, their Vakil being Hamza Beg 'Abdu'llah, or Kor Hamza, an old servant of their father. The arbitrary behaviour of the Vakil caused Muzaffar Husayn Mirzā to take up arms against him, and after some alternate fighting and peace-making, Muzaffar had the Vakil murdered. This led to fights between Muzaffar and Mirzā Rustam who, however, returned to Dāwar. Not long after the invasion of Khurāsān by the Uzbaks under Din Muhammad Sultān and Bāqī Sultān (a sister's son of 'Abdu'llah Khān of Tūrān) took place, and the Shāh of Persia promised exposed to incursions, the country was unsettled. Most of the Qizilbāsh grandees fell in the everlasting fights, and the Shāh of Persia promised assistance, but rendered none; Mirzā Rustam who had gone to Hindūstān, was appointed by Akbar Governor of Lāhor, and kept Qandahār in anxiety; and Muzaffar hesitatingly resolved to hand over Qandahār to Akbar, though 'Abdu'llah Khān of Tūrān advised him not to join the Chaghātā'i kings (the Mughuls of India). "At that time Qarā Beg (an old servant of Muzaffar's father, who had fled to India, and was appointed Farrāshbegi

by Akbar) returned to his country, and eldest son to bring about the prompt possession of Qandahār, and though, as in all his undertakings, Muzaffar wavered at the last moment and had recourse to trickery, he was obliged by the firm and prudent behaviour of Beg Khān in 1003, to go to Akbar. He received the title of *Farzand* (son), was made a Commander of five thousand, and received Sambhal as Jāgīr, "which is worth more than all Qandahār."

But the ryots of his jāgīr preferred complaints against his grasping collectors, and Muzaffar, annoyed at this, applied to go to Makkah. No sooner had Akbar granted this request than Muzaffar repented. He was reinstated, but as new complaints were preferred, Akbar took away the jāgīr, and paid him a salary in cash (1005). Muzaffar then went to Makkah, but returned after reaching the first stage, which displeased Akbar so much, that he refused to have anything to do with him.

Muzaffar found everything in India bad, and sometimes resolved to go to Persia, and sometimes to Makkah. From grief and disappointment, and a bodily hurt, he died in 1008.

His daughter, called *Qandahār Mahall*, was in 1018 married to Shāhjahān, and gave birth, in 1020, to Nawāb Parhez Bānū Begum. Three sons of his remained in India, Bahrām Mirzā, Haydar Mirzā (who rose to dignity under Shāhjahān, and died in 1041), and Ismā'il Mirzā. The *Ma'āsir* mentions two other sons, Alqās Mirzā and Tahmā Mirzā.

Muzaffar's younger brothers, Mirzā Abū Sa'id, and Mirzā Sanjar died in 1005. They held commands of Three hundred and fifty. (Vols. Nos. 271 and 272.)

9. Mirzā Rustam.—He is the younger, but more talented brother of the preceding. As the revenue of Dāwar was insufficient for him and his two younger brothers, he made war on Malik Mahmūd, ruler of Sistān. Muzaffar Husayn assisted him at first, but having made a rupture between the brothers. Assisted by Lalla (guardian) Beg, M. Rustam invaded Qandahār, but without result. During the invasion of the Uzbaks into Khurāsān, he conquered the town of Mahmūd. The latter wished to settle matters amicably. During an interview, Rustam seized him and killed him, when Jalāl Mahmūd's son, took up arms. Rustam was defeated, and hea

his brother Muza'ffar had occupied Dāwar, he quickly took the town of Qalāt. Being once absent on a hunting expedition, he nearly lost the town, and though he took revenge on the conspirators who had also killed his mother, he felt himself so insecure, that he resolved to join Akbar. Accompanied by his brother, Sanjar Mirzā, and his four sons Murād, Shāhrukh, Ḥasan, and Ibrāhīm, he went in 1001 to India. Akbar made him a *Panjhazāri*, and gave him Multān as jāgīr, "which is more than Qandahār." His inferiors being too oppressive, Akbar, in 1003, wished to give him Chitor, but recalled him from Sarhind, gave him Pathān as *tuyūl*, and sent him, together with Āṣaf Khān against Rāja Bāsū. But as they did not get on well together, Akbar called M. Rustam to court, appointing Jagat Singh, son of Rāja Mān Singh, in his stead. In 1006, M. Rustam got Rāysin as jāgīr. He then served under Prince Dānyāl in the Dakhin. In 1021, Jahāngīr appointed him Governor of Thāt'hah, but recalled him as he ill-treated the Arghūns. After the marriage of his daughter with Prince Parwīz, Jahāngīr made him *Shash-hazāri*, and appointed him Governor of Allāhābād. He held the fort against 'Abd' 'lāh Khān, whom Shāhjahān, after taking possession of Bengal and Bihār, had sent against Allāhābād, and forced 'Abd' 'lāh to retire to Jhosi. In the 21st year, he was appointed Governor of Bihār, but was pensioned off as too old by Shāhjahān at 120,000 Rs. *per annum*, and retired to Āgra. In the sixth year, M. Rustam married his daughter to Prince Dārū Shikoh. He died, in 1051, at Āgra, 72 years old.

As a poet he is known under the *takhalluṣ* of *Fida'ī*. He was a man of the world and understood the spirit of the age. All his sons held subsequently posts of distinction.

His first son *Murād* got from Jahāngīr the title of *Ilūfāt Khān*. He was married to a daughter of 'Abd' r-Raḥīm Khān Khānān. *Murād's* son, *Mirzā Mukarram Khān*, also distinguished himself; he died in 1080.

His third son *Mirzā Ḥasan-i Ṣafawī*, a *Ḥazār o paṣādī* under Jahāngīr, was Governor of *Kūch*; died 1059. Ḥasan's son, *Mirzā Ṣafshikan*, was *Fawjdār* of Jessore in Bengal, retired, and died in 1073. *Ṣafshikan's* son, *Sayf' 'd-Dīn-i Ṣafawī*, accepted the title of *Khān* under Awrangzeb.

10. *Bayrām Khān*, the fifth in descent from *Mir 'Alī Shukr Beg Bahārlū*.

Bahārlū is the name of a principal clan of the Qarāqūlū Turks. During the time of their ascendancy under Qarā Yūsuf, and his sons Qarā Sikandar and *Mirzā Jahān Shāh*, rulers of 'Irāq-i 'Arab and Āzarbāyjān, 'Alī Shukr Beg held Daynūr, Hamadān, and Kurdistān, "which tracts are still called

the territory of 'Alī Shukr." His son *Pir 'Alī Beg* stayed some time with *Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mirzā*, and attacked afterwards the Governor of *Shurāz*, but was defeated. He was killed by some of the Amīrs of *Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā*. *Pir 'Alī Beg's* son, in the reign of *Shāh Ismā'il-i Ṣafawī*, left 'Irāq, settled in *Badakhshān*, and enjoyed the service of *Amir Khusrav Shāh* (*vide* p. 324, last line) at *Qunduz*. He then joined, with his son *Sayf 'Alī Beg*, *Bābar's* army, as *Amir Khusrav* had been deposed. *Sayf 'Alī Beg* is *Bayrām's* father.

Bayrām Khān was born at *Badakhshān*. After the death of his father he went to *Balkh* to study. When sixteen years old, he entered *Humāyūn's* army, fought in the battle of *Qanawj* (10th *Muharram*, 947), and fled to the *Rāja* of *Lakhnor* (*Sambhal*). *Sher Shāh* met *Bayrām* in *Mālwa*, and tried to win him over. But *Bayrām* fled from *Barhāmpūr* with *Abū 'l-Qāsim*, governor of *Gwāliyar*, to *Gujrāt*. They were surprised, on the road, by an ambassador of *Sher Shāh* who had just returned from *Gujrāt*. *Abū 'l-Qāsim*, a man of imposing stature, being mistaken for *Bayrām*, the latter stepped forward and said in a manly voice, "I am *Bayrām*." "No," said *Abū 'l-Qāsim*, "he is my attendant, and brave and faithful as he is, he wishes to sacrifice himself for me. So let him off." *Abū 'l-Qāsim* was then killed, and *Bayrām* escaped to *Sulṭān Maḥmūd* of *Gujrāt*. Under the pretext of sailing for *Makkah*, *Bayrām* embarked at *Sūrat* for *Sindh*. He joined *Humāyūn* on the 7th *Muharram*, 950, when the Emperor, after passing through the territory of *Rāja Māldeo*, was pressed by the *Arghūns* at *Jon*. On the march to *Persia*, he proved the most faithful attendant. The King of *Persia* also liked him, and made him a *Khān*. On *Humāyūn's* return, *Bayrām* was sent on a mission to *Prince Kāmran*. When *Humāyūn* marched to *Kābul*, he took *Qandahār* by force and treachery from the *Qizilbāshes*, and making *Bayrām* governor of the district, he informed the *Shāh* that he had done so as *Bayrām* was "a faithful servant of both". Subsequently rumours regarding *Bayrām's* duplicity reached *Humāyūn*; but when in 961, the Emperor returned to *Qandahār*, the rumours turned out false.

The conquest of India may justly be ascribed to *Bayrām*. He gained the battle of *Māchhiwār*, and received *Sambhal* as jāgīr. In 963, he was appointed *atāliq* (guardian) of *Prince Akbar*, with whom he went to the *Panjāb* against *Sikandar Khān*. On *Akbar's* accession (2nd *Rabi' II*, 963) at *Kalānūr*, he was appointed *Wakīl* and *Khān Khānān*, and received the title of *Khān Bābā*. On the second of *Shawwāl*, 964, shortly after the surrender of *Mānkoṭ*, when *Akbar* returned to *Lāhor*, an imperial elephant ran against *Bayrām's* tent, and *Bayrām* blamed *Atgah Khān*

(No. 15). who never had been his friend, for this accident. The Atgah, after arrival at Lāhor, went with his whole family to Bayrām, and attested his innocence by an oath upon the Qurʿān.¹ In 965, Bayrām married Salima Sultān Begum (p. 321, note), and soon after the estrangement commenced between Akbar and him. Badāoni (II, p. 36) attributes the fall of Bayrām to the ill-treatment of Pir Muḥammad (No. 20) and the influence of Adham Khān and his mother Māhum Anagah (Akbar's nurse), Ṣiddiq Muḥammad Khān, Shāhāb 'd-Dīn Aḥmad, etc., who effectually complained of the wretchedness of their jāgirs, and the emptiness of the Treasury, whilst Bayrām Khān's friends lived in affluence. The *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī* says that no less than twenty-five of Bayrām's friends reached the dignity of Panjzhārīs—rather a proof of Bayrām's gift of selecting proper men. Bayrām's fall is known from the Histories. "Akbar's trick resembles exactly that which Sultān Abū Saʿīd-i Mughul adopted towards his minister Amīr Chauhān." (Bad.)

On hearing the news that Akbar had assumed the reigns of the government, Bayrām left Āgra, and sent his friends who had advised him to go to Akbar, to Court. He himself went under the pretext of going to Makkah to Mewāt and Nāgor, from where he returned his *insignia*, which reached Akbar at Thujhar; for Akbar was on his way to the Panjāb, which Bayrām, as it was said, wished to invade. The *insignia* were conferred on Pir Muḥammad Khān, Bayrām's old *protégé*; and he was ordered to see him embark for Makkah. Bayrām felt much irritated at this, and finding the road to Gujrāt occupied by Rāja Māldeo, his enemy, he proceeded to Bikānīr to his friend Kalyān Māl

¹ So Bad II, 19. The story in Elphinstone (fifth edition), p. 497, does not agree with the sources. The Akbar-nama says, Bayrām was on board a ship on the Jamna, when one of Akbar's elephants ran into the water and nearly upset the boat. Abū 'l-Faẓl, moreover, refers it to a later period than 964. The author of the *Sawānik-i Akbarī* has a fine critical note on Abū 'l-Faẓl's account. I would remark here that as long as we have no translation of all the sources for a history of Akbar's reign, European historians should make the *Sawānik-i Akbarī* the basis of their labours. This work is a modern compilation dedicated to William Kirkpatrick, and was compiled by Amīr Haydar of Belgrām from the Akbar-nama, the *Tabaqāt*, Badāoni, Firsihta, the *Akbar-nama* by Shaykh Ḥāshad of Sarhind (poetically called *Fayzi*; vide Journal As. Soc. Bengal for 1868, p. 10) and Abū 'l-Faẓl's letters, of which the compiler had four books. The sources in italics have never been used by preceding historians. This work is perhaps the only critical historical work written by a native, and confirms an opinion which I have elsewhere expressed, that those portions of Indian History for which we have several sources, are full of the most astounding discrepancies as to details.

Belgrām was a great seat of Muhammadan learning from the times of Akbar to the present century. For the literati of the town vide the *Tazkīra* by Ghulām ʿAlī Āzād, entitled *Sarw-i Azād*.

The author of the *Sawānik-i Akbarī* states that Abū 'l-Faẓl does not show much friendliness to Bayrām, whilst Erskine (Elphinstone, p. 495, note) represents Abū 'l-Faẓl as "Bayrām's warm panegyrist."

(No. 93). But unable to restrain himself any longer, he entrusted his property, his family, and his young son ʿAbd' r-Rahīm (No. 29) to Sher Muḥammad Diwāna, his adopted son and jāgīr holder of Tabarhinda, and broke out in open rebellion. At Dīpāl-pūr, on his way to the Panjāb, he heard that Diwāna had squandered the property left in his charge, had insulted his family, and had sent Muzaffar ʿAlī (whom Bayrām had dispatched to Diwāna to settle matters) to Court a prisoner. Mortified at this, Bayrām resolved to take Jālandhar. Akbar now moved against him; but before he reached him, he heard that Bayrām had been defeated¹ by Atgah Khān (No. 15). Bayrām fled to Fort Tilwāra on the banks of the Biyāh, followed by Akbar. Fighting ensued. In the very beginning, Sultān Ḥusayn Jalāir was killed; and when his head was brought to Bayrām,² he was so sorry that he sent to Akbar and asked forgiveness. This was granted, and Bayrām, accompanied by the principal grandees, went to Akbar's tent, and was pardoned. After staying for two days longer with Munʿim Khān, he received a sum of money, and was sent to Makkah. The whole camp made a collection (*chandogh*) Hāji Muḥammad of Sistān (No. 55) accompanied Bayrām over Nāgor to Patan (Nahrwāla) in Gujrāt, where he was hospitably received by Mūsā Khān Fūlādī, the governor. On Friday, 14th Jumāda I, 968, while alighting from a boat after a trip on the Sahansa Lang Tank, Bayrām was stabbed by a Lohānī Afghān of the name of Mubārak, whose father had been killed in the battle of Māchhiwāra. "With an *Allāh* Akbar on his lips, he died." The motive of Mubārak Khān is said to have merely been revenge. Another reason is mentioned. The Kashmiri wife of Salīm Shāh with her daughter had attached herself to Bayrām's suite, in order to go to Hūjāz, and it had been settled that Bayrām's son should be betrothed to her, which annoyed the Afghāns. Some beggars lifted up Bayrām's body, and took it to the tomb of Shaykh Ḥusām 'd-Dīn. Seventeen years later the body was interred in holy ground at Maskhad.

Akbar took charge of ʿAbd' r-Rahīm, Bayrām's son (vide No. 29), and married soon after Salima Sultān Begum, Bayrām's widow.

For *Bayrām*, we often find the spelling *Bayram*. Firsihta generally calls him Bayrām Khān Turkman. Bayrām was a Shīʿah, and a poet of no mean pretensions (vide Badāoni III, p. 190).

¹ Near ڪراچور (or ڪراچور) in the Parganaḥ ڊکهار [Bad.; ڊکهار Maʿāwir; ڊکهار Sawānik] near Jālandhar. For ڪراچور, Bad. (II. 40) has ڪراچور. Firsihta says (Lucknow edit. p. 249) the fight took place outside of Māchhiwāra.

² The Maʿāwir mentions this fact without giving the source.

11. Munṣim Khān, son of Bayrām¹ Beg

Nothing appears to be known of the circumstances of his father. Munṣim Khān was a grandee of Humāyūn's Court, as was also his brother Fazil Beg. When Humāyūn, on his flight to Persia, was hard pressed by Mirzā Shāh Ḥusayn of Thathah, one grandee after another went quietly away. M. and Fazil Beg also were on the point of doing so, when Humāyūn made them prisoners, as he had done from motives of prudence and policy with several other nobles. M. did not, however, accompany Humāyūn to Persia. He rejoined him immediately on his return, and rose at once to high dignity. He rejected the governorship of Qandahār, which was given to Bayrām Khān. In 961, he was appointed *alāṭiq* of Prince Akbar, and when Humāyūn invaded India, M. was left as governor of Kābul in charge of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother, then about a year old. In Kābul M. remained till Bayrām fell into disgrace. He joined Akbar, in Zī Ḥijja, 967, at Lādhnyāna, where Akbar encamped on his expedition against Bayrām. M. was then appointed *Khān Khānān* and *Vakil*.

In the seventh year of Akbar's reign, when Adham Khān (No. 19) killed Atghā Khān (No. 15), Munṣim who had been the instigator, fled twice from Court, but was caught the second time in Saror (Sirkār of Qanawī) by the collector of the district, and was brought in by Sayyid Mahmūd Khān of Bārha (No. 75). Akbar restored M. to his former honours.

Munṣim Khān's son Ghānī Khān, whom his father had left in charge of Kābul, caused disturbances from want of tact. Mīh Jūjak Begum, Prince M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm's mother, advised by Fazil Beg and his son 'Abu 'l Faṭh, who hated Ghānī Khān, closed the doors of Kābul when Ghānī Khān was once temporarily absent at Fāliz. Ghānī Khān, not finding adherents to oppose her, went to Indrā. Māh Jūjak Begum then appointed Fazil Beg as *Vakil* and 'Abu 'l Faṭh as *Nā'ib*; but being dissatisfied with them, she killed them both, at the advice of Shāh Walī, one of her nobles. On account of these disturbances, Akbar, in the eighth year, sent M. to Kābul. Thinking he could rely on the Kābulis, M. left before his contingent was quite ready. He was attacked near Jalilābād by Māh Jūjak Begum (who in the meantime had killed Shāh Walī and had taken up, apparently criminally, with Ḥaydar Qāsim Koh-bar, whom she had made *Vakil*) and defeated. M. fled to the Ghakkhars, and ashamed and hesitating he joined Akbar, who appointed him Commander of the Port of Āgrā.

In the 12th year, after the defeat and death of Khān Zamān (No. 13), M. was appointed to his jūgirs in Jaunpūr (Bad. II, 101), and then concluded peace with Sulaymān Kararānī of Bengal, who promised to read the *Khutba* and strike coins in Akbar's name.

In 982, Akbar, at M.'s request, went with a flotilla from Āgrā to Bihār, and took Hājīpūr and Patna from Dā'ūd, Sulaymān's son. M. was then appointed Governor of Bihār, and was ordered to follow Dā'ūd into Bengal. M. moved to Tānda (opposite Gaur, on the right side of the Ganges) to settle political matters, and left the pursuit to Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlīs (No. 31). But as the latter soon after died, M., at the advice of Todar Mal, left Tānda, and followed up Dā'ūd, who after his defeat at *سجور* submitted at Katak. In Ṣafar 983, M. returned, and though his army had terribly suffered from epidemics on the march through Southern Bengal, he quartered them against the advice of his friends at Gaur, where M. soon after died of fever.

The great bridge of Jaunpūr was built by Munṣim Khān in 981. Its *tārīkh* is *عراط المستقيم*. M.'s son Ghānī Khān went to 'Ādilshāh of Bijāpūr, where he died.

12. Tardī Beg Khān, of Turkistān

A noble of Humāyūn's Court. After the conquest of Gujrāt, he was made Governor of Champānir (Pāwargarh). On Mirzā 'Askarī's defeat by Sultān Bahūdūr, Tardī Beg also succumbed to him, and retreated to Humāyūn. During the emperor's flight from India, Tardī Beg distinguished himself as one of the most faithless¹ companions. When passing through the territory of Rājā Māldeo, he even refused Humāyūn a horse, and at Amarkot, he declined to assist the emperor with a portion of the wealth he had collected while at court. Hence Rāy Parsād advised H. to imprison some of his nobles and take away part of their property by force. H., however, returned afterwards most of it. In Qandahār, Tardī Beg left the emperor and joined Mirzā 'Askarī. But Mirzā 'Askarī put most of them on the rack, and forced also Tardī Beg to give him a large sum as ransom.

On Humāyūn's return from 'Irāq, Tardī Beg asked pardon for his former faithlessness, was restored to favour, and was sent, in 955, after the death of Mirzā Ulugh Beg, son of Mirzā Sultān, to Dāwar. During the conquest of India, T. distinguished himself and received Mewāt as

¹ Some MSS. read *Miran*, but *Bayrām* is the preferable reading.

¹ Elphinstone, p. 452, note, says Tardī Beg was one of the most faithful followers of Humāyūn, a statement which is contradicted by all native historians.

jūgir. In 963. when Humāyūn died (7th Rabīʿ I), T. read the *Khushba* in Akbar's name, and sent the crown-insignia with M. Abū 'l-Qāsim, son of Prince Kāmran, to Akbar in the Panjāb. Akbar made T. a Commander of Five Thousand, and appointed him governor of Dihli. T. drove away Hāji Khān, an officer of Sher Shāh, from Narnaul. On Hemū's approach, after some unsuccessful fighting, T. too rashly evacuated Dihli, and joined Akbar at Sarhind. Bayrām Khān, who did not like T. from envy and sectarian motives, accused him, and obtaining from Akbar "a sort of permission" (Bad. II, 14) had him murdered (end of 963). Akbar was displeased. Bayrām's hasty act was one of the chief causes of the distrust with which the Chaghātā'i nobles looked upon him. Tardi Beg was a Sunni.

13. Khān Zamān-i Shaybānī.

His father Haydar Sultān Uzbek-i Shaybānī had been made an Amīr in the Jām war with the Qizilbāshes. When Humāyūn returned from Persia, Haydar joined him, together with his two sons 'Alī Qulī Khān [Khān Zamān] and Bahādūr Khān (No. 22), and distinguished himself in the conquest of Qandahār. On the march to Kābul, an epidemic broke out in Humāyūn's camp, during which Haydar Sultān died.

'Alī Qulī Khān distinguished himself in Kābul and in the conquest of Hindūstān, was made Amīr and sent to the Du'āb and Sambhal, where he defeated the Afghāns. At the time of Akbar's accession, 'Alī Qulī Khān fought with Shādī Khān, an Afghān noble; but when he heard that Hemū had gone to Dihli, he thought fighting with this new enemy more important; but before 'Alī Qulī arrived at Dihli, Tardi Beg (No. 12) had been defeated, and A. returned from Meerut to Akbar at Sarhind. 'Alī Qulī was sent in advance with 10,000 troopers, met Hemū near Pānīpat and defeated him. Though Akbar and Bayrām were near, they took no part in this battle. 'Alī Qulī received the title of Khān Zamān. Next to Bayrām, the restoration of the Mughul Dynasty may be justly ascribed to him. Khān Zamān then got Sambhal again as jāgir, cleared the whole north of India up to Lakhnau of the Afghāns, and acquired an immense fortune by plunder. In 964, he held Jaunpūr as Qā'im maqām for Sikandar, after the latter had surrendered Mānket. In the third year of Akbar's reign, Khān Zamān became the talk of the whole country in consequence of a love scandal with Shāham Beg, a page of Humāyūn, and as he refused to send the boy back to Court, Akbar took away some of Khān Zamān's *tuyūl's*, which led him to rebel. Bayrām from generosity did not interfere; but when Pīr Muhammad, Khān Zamān's enemy, had been appointed Vakil, he took away, in the 4th year, the whole of his

maḥalls, and had him appointed commander against the Afghāns who threatened the Jaunpūr District. Pīr Muḥammad had also Burj 'Alī thrown from the walls of Firūzābād, whom Khān Zamān had sent to him to settle matters. Khān Zamān now thought it was high time to send away Shāham Beg, went to Jaunpūr, and drove away the Afghāns. Upon the fall of Bayrām, they appeared again under Sher Shāh, son of 'Adli, with a large army and 500 elephants. Khān Zamān, however, defeated them in the streets of Jaunpūr, and carried off immense plunder and numerous elephants, which he retained for himself.

In Zī Qaʿda of the 6th year, Akbar moved personally against him, but at Karah (on the Ganges) Khān Zamān and his brother Bahādūr submitted and delivered the booty and the elephants. They were pardoned and sent again to Jaunpūr. Soon after, he defeated the Afghāns, who had attacked him in a fortified position near the Son.

In the 10th year, Khān Zamān rebelled again in concert with the Uzbaks, and attacked the Tuyūldārs of the province. As soon as an imperial army marched against him, he went to Ghāzīpūr, and Akbar on arrival at Jaunpūr sent Mun'im Khān against him. Being a friend of Khān Zamān, he induced him to submit, which he did. But a body of imperial troops under Mu'izz 'l-Mulk and Rāja Todar Mal, having been defeated by Bahādūr and Iskandar Uzbek (No. 48), the rebellion continued, though repeated attempts were made to bring about a conciliation. Having at last sworn to be faithful, Khān Zamān was left in possession of his jāgirs, and Akbar returned to Āgra. But when the emperor, on the 3rd Jumādā I, 974, marched against M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Khān Zamān rebelled again, read the *Khushba* at Jaunpūr in M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm's name, and marched against Shergharh (Qanawj). Akbar was now resolved no longer to pardon; he left the Panjāb, 12th Ramazān 974, and Āgra on the 26th Shawwāl. At Sakī, east of Āgra, Akbar heard that Khān Zamān had fled from Shergharh to Mānikpūr where Bahādūr was, and from there marching along the Ganges, had bridged the river near the frontier of Singror (Nawābganj, between Mānikpūr and Allāhabād). Akbar sent a detachment of 6,000 troopers under Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās and Todar Mal to Audh to oppose Iskandar Khān Uzbek, and marched over Rāy Bareilly to Mānikpūr, crossed the Ganges with about 100 men, and slept at night near the banks of the river, at a short distance from Khān Zamān's camp, who must have gone from Nawābganj back again on the right side of the river to Karah. Next morning, 1st Zī

[1 Muḥarrir Khān 'Adli.—B.]

Hujra, 574. Akbar with some reinforcements attacked Kābūl Zamān. Rājā was captured, and he sold to Akbar, and he had scarcely been dispatched when Kābūl Zamān's brother-in-law, Hehāl, took half of the elephant which Akbar was called Nāmā, when a soldier cut off its head; for Akbar had promised a mule for every Mogul's head. But another soldier stole away the head and took it to Akbar. The fight took place *deh Saqayī Subānī* (in Radikūf, Musfirah), "which place has now been called *Faizīd*." The Trig. S. map shows a small village Faizīd about 10 or 12 miles southeast of Kanab, not far from the river.

On the same day, though the heat was terrible, Akbar started for and reached AHMADN.

Kābūl Zamān as a poet styled himself Subānī (*de de Pradeshī, Hindī Society*, September, 1894, p. 10). From a station on the E. I. Railway) was founded by him. The town of Ushak, Kābūl Zamān, from his long residence in Persia was a staunch Shi'ah. Kābūl Zamān must not be confounded with No. 124.

14. ŠAHAB-ŪD-DĪN KĀBŪL ZAMĀN.

A noble of Humāyūn's Court. After the defeat of Hemū, he received the title of Šahāb-Ūd-Dīn, *po Kābūl Zamān*, and served under Adham Kābūl (No. 19) in Gujarat. When Bāb Rājā, after the death of Pir Muhammad, had taken possession of Mīlva, Šahāb-Ūd-Dīn was made a *Pandit*, and was sent to Mīlva with almost unlimited authority. He reconquered the province, and "regained in Mānū like a bird." Akbar found it necessary to move against him. Šahāb-Ūd-Dīn, after some unsuccessful fighting, fled to Gujarat, pursued by Qasim Kābūl of Nāgpur (No. 40). Leaving his wives in the hands of his enemies, he fled with his young son to Changī Kābūl, an officer of Sultan Mahmūd of Gujarat. Hakim Ayn-Ūl-Mulk was dispatched to Changī with the request to deliver up Šahāb-Ūd-Dīn, or to deliver him. Changī Kābūl did the latter. Šahāb-Ūd-Dīn again appeared in Mīlva, and was hotly pursued by Shams-Ūd-Dīn Akbar Kābūl (No. 25), who nearly captured him. With great difficulties he eluded his pursuers, and managed to reach Jaunpūr, where he died a natural death during the rebellion of Kābūl Zamān (No. 13).

15. Shams-Ūd-Dīn Muhammad Atga Kābūl.

Son of Mir Yār Muhammad of Ghazni, a simple farmer. Shams-Ūd-Dīn, when about twenty years old, once dreamed that he held the moon under his arm, which dream was justified by the unparalleled luck which he owed to a little deed of kindness. Shams-Ūd-Dīn entered

Prince Kābūl's service as a common soldier, and was present in the great battle of Qasraj (10th Muharram, 947). Humāyūn, after the defeat, crossed the river "on an elephant", and dismounted on the other side, where a soldier who had escaped death in the current, stretched out his hand to assist the emperor to jump on the high bank. This soldier was Shams-Ūd-Dīn. Humāyūn attached him to his service, and subsequently appointed his wife wet-nurse (*angā*) to Prince Akbar at Amarkot, conferring upon her the title of *Ji Ji Anaga*. Shams-Ūd-Dīn remained with the young prince whilst Humāyūn was in Persia, and received after the emperor's restoration the title of *Atga* (forter father) Kābūl. Humāyūn sent him to Hīr, which Sirkār had been set aside for Prince Akbar's maintenance.

After Akbar's accession, Atga Kābūl was dispatched to Kābūl to bury in India the Emperor's mother and the other Begums. Soon after, on the march from Mankot to Lāhor, the elephant affair took place, which has been related under *Bayrām Kābūl*, p. 331. He held *Khushāb* in the Panjāb as *pāpā*, and received, after Bayrām's fall, the *irāqia* of that chief. He was also appointed Governor of the Panjāb. He defeated Bayrām Kābūl near Jāhndār, before Akbar could come up, for which victory Akbar honoured him with the title of *Aṣṣam Kābūl*. In the sixth year, he came from Lāhor to the Court, and acted as *Vakil* either in representation of Munṣim Kābūl or by "nouration", at which Akbar convalesced. Munṣim Kābūl and Shāhī Kābūl (No. 23) felt much annoyed at this, and instigated Adham (ride No. 19) to kill Atga Kābūl, 12th Ramaṣān, 979.

For Atga Kābūl's brothers *ride* Nos. 16, 28, 63, and for his sons, Nos. 18 and 21. The family is often called in Histories *Atga Kābūl* "the foster father, Dattabān."

16. Kābūl Kābūl Mir Muhammad, elder brother of Atga Kābūl.

He served under Kābūl and Humāyūn, and rose to high dignity during the reign of Akbar. Whilst Governor of the Panjāb, where most of the *Atga* (after *Kābūl*) had jāir, he distinguished himself in the war with the Ghakkars, the extirpation of Sulṭān Ādam, and in keeping down Kamāl Kābūl. In the ninth year he assisted Mirzā Muhammad Hakim against Mirzā Sulaymān (No. 5), restored him to the throne of Kābūl, settled the country, and sent back the imperial troops under

¹ He stabled at the *Atga*, and ordered one of his own servants, an Uzbek, of the name of Kābūl-Ūd-Dīn, to kill him. *Beṣṣat* (p. 52) and *Elphinstone* (p. 302, l. 1) say that Adham himself killed Atga.

his brother Quṭb 'd-Dīn (No. 28), though Akbar had appointed the latter *Atāliq* of the Prince. But Khān-i Kalān did not get on well with M. M. Iḥākīm, especially when the Prince had given his sister Fakhr 'n-Nisā Begum (a daughter of Humāyūn by Jūjak Begum, and widow of Mir Shāh 'Abd 'l-Ma'sālī) to Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī in marriage. To avoid quarrels, Khān-i Kalān left Kābul one night and returned to Lāhor.

In the 13th year (976) the *Atga Khayl* was removed from the Panjāb, and ordered to repair to Āgra. Khān-i Kalān received Sambhal as jāgīr, whilst Ḥusayn Qulī Khān (No. 24) was appointed to the Panjāb. In 981, he was sent by Akbar in advance, for the reconquest of Gujrāt (*Bad. II*, 165). On the march, near Sarohī (Ajmir), he was wounded by a Rājput, apparently without cause; but he recovered. After the conquest, he was made governor of Patan (Nahrwāla). He died at Patan in 983.

He was a poet and wrote under the *takhalluṣ* of "Ghaznawī", in allusion to his birthplace. Badā'onī (III, 287) praises him for his learning.

His eldest son, Fāzil Khān (No. 156), was a *Hazārī*, and was killed when Mirzā 'Azīz Koka (No. 21) was shut up in Aḥmadnagar. His second son, Farrukh Khān (No. 232) was a *Panṣadī*. Nothing else is known of him.

17. Mirzā Sharaf 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn, son of Khwāja Muṣīn.

He was a man of noble descent. His father, Khwāja Muṣīn, was the son of Khāwand Maḥmūd, second son of Khwāja Kalān (known as Khwāja-jagān Khwāja), eldest son of the renowned saint Khwāja Nāṣir 'd-Dīn 'Ubayd 'llah Aḥrār. Hence Mirzā Sharaf 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn is generally called *Aḥrārī*.

His grandfather, Khāwand Maḥmūd, went to India, was honorably received by Humāyūn, and died at Kābul.

His father, Khwāja Muṣīn, was a rich, but avaricious man; he held the tract of land called "RūdKhāna-yi Nasheb", and served under 'Abd 'llah Khān, ruler of Kāshghar. He was married to Kijak Begum, daughter of Mir 'Alā 'l-Mulk of Tirmiz, who is a daughter of Fakhr Jahān Begum, daughter of Sultān Abū Sa'īd Mirzā. "Hence the blood of Timūr also flowed in the veins of Mirzā Sharaf 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn." As the son did not get on well with his father, he went to Akbar. Through the powerful influence of Māhum, Akbar's nurse, and Adham Khān, her son (No. 19), Mirzā Sharaf was appointed *Panjhazārī*. In the 5th year, Akbar gave him his sister Bakhshī Bānū Begum in marriage, and made him governor of Ajmir and Nāgor. In 969, when Akbar went to Ajmir, Mirzā Sharaf joined the emperor, and distinguished himself in the siege

of Mairtha, which was defended by Jagmal and Devīdās, the latter of whom was killed in an engagement subsequent to their retreat from the fort.

In 970, Mirzā Sharaf's father came to Āgra, and was received with great honours by Akbar. In the same year, Mirzā Sharaf, from motives of suspicion, fled from Āgra over the frontier, pursued by Ḥusayn Qulī Khān (No. 24), and other grandees. His father, ashamed of his son's behaviour, left for Hijāz, but died at Cambay. The ship on which was his body, foundered. Mirzā Sharaf stayed for some time with Changiz Khān, a Gujrāt noble, and then joined the rebellion of the Mirzās. When Gujrāt was conquered, he fled to the Dakhin, and passing through Baglāna, was captured by the Zamindār of the place, who after the conquest of Sūrat handed him over to Akbar. To frighten him, Akbar ordered him to be put under the feet of a tame elephant, and after having kept him for some time imprisoned, he sent him to Muzaffar Khān, Governor of Bengal (No. 37), who was to give him a jāgīr, should he find that the Mirzā showed signs of repentance; but if not, to send him to Makkah. Muzaffar was waiting for the proper season to have him sent off, when Mir Ma'sūm-i Kābulī rebelled in Bihār. Joined by Bābā Khān Qāqshāl, the rebels besieged Muzaffar Khān in Tānda and overpowered him. Mirzā Sharaf fled to them, after having taken possession of the hidden treasures of Muzaffar. But subsequently he became Ma'sūm's enemy. Each was waiting for an opportunity to kill the other. Ma'sūm at last bribed a boy of the name of Maḥmūd, whom Mirzā Sharaf liked, and had his enemy poisoned. Mirzā Sharaf's death took place in 988. He is wrongly called *Siefuḍdeen* in Stewart's History of Bengal (p. 108).

18. Yūsuf Muhammad Khān, eldest son of Atga Khān (No. 15).

He was Akbar's foster brother (*koka* or *kūkaltāsh*). When twelve years old, he distinguished himself in the fight with Bayrām (p. 332, l. 9), and was made Khān. When his father had been killed by Adham Khān (No. 19) Akbar took care of him and his younger brother 'Azīz Koka (No. 21). He distinguished himself during the several rebellions of Khān Zamān (No. 13).

He died from excessive drinking in 973. *Bad. II*, p. 84.

19. Adham Khān,¹ son of Māhum Anga.

The name of his father is unknown; he is evidently a royal bastard.

¹ Generally called in European histories Ādam Khān; but his name is آدم, not آدَم.

entered. All rose to greet him, when Adham struck Atga with his dagger, and told one of his companions (*vide* p. 338) to kill him. He then went with the dagger in his hand towards the sleeping apartments of Akbar, who had been awakened by the noise in the state hall. Looking out from a window, he saw what had happened, rushed forward sword in hand, and met Adham on a high archway (*aywān*) near the harem. "Why have you killed my foster father, you son of a bitch?" (*bachcha-yi lāda*), cried Akbar. "Stop a moment, Majesty," replied Adham, seizing Akbar's arms, "first inquire." Akbar drew away his hands and struck Adham a blow in the face, which sent him "spinning" to the ground. "Why are you standing here gaping?" said Akbar to one of his attendants of the name of Farhat Khān; "bind this man." This was done, and at Akbar's orders Adham Khān was twice thrown down from the dais (*suffa*) of the *Ayurān* to the ground, with his head foremost. The corpses of Adham and Atga were then sent to Dihli.

Māhum Anga heard of the matter, and thinking that her son had been merely imprisoned, she repaired, though sick, from Dihli to Āgra. On seeing her, Akbar said, "He has killed my foster father, and I have taken his life." "Your Majesty has done well," replied Māhum, turning pale, and left the hall. Forty days after, she died from grief, and was buried with her son in Dihli in a tomb which Akbar had built for them. For Adham's brother, *vide* No. 60.

20. Pir Muhammad Khān of Shirwān.¹

Nothing is known of his father. Pir Muhammad was a Mullā, and attached himself to Bayrām in Qandahār. Through Bayrām's influence he was raised to the dignity of Amīr on Akbar's accession. He distinguished himself in the war with Hemū, and received subsequently the title of Nāsir-i-Mulk. His pride offended the Chaghatai nobles, and, at last, Bayrām himself to whom he once refused admittance when he called on him at a time he was sick.

Bayrām subsequently ordered him to retire, sent him, at the instigation of Shaykh Gadā'i (*vide* p. 282) to the Fort of Biyāna, and then forced him to go on a pilgrimage. Whilst on his way to Gujrāt, Pir Muhammad received letters from Adham Khān (No. 19) asking him to delay. He stayed for a short time at Rantanbhūr; but being pursued by Bayrām's men, he continued his journey to Gujrāt. This harsh treatment annoyed Akbar, and accelerated Bayrām's fall. Whilst in Gujrāt, P. M. heard of

His mother Māhum was one of Akbar's nurses (*angū*),¹ and attended on Akbar "from the cradle till after his accession". She appears to have had unbounded influence in the Harem and over Akbar himself, and Mun'im Khān (No. 11), who after Bayrām's fall had been appointed *Valīl*, was subject to her counsel. She also played a considerable part in bringing about Bayrām's fall; *Bad.* II, p. 36.

Adham Khān was a *Panjshazārī*, and distinguished himself in the siege of Mankot.² Bayrām Khān, in the third year, gave him *Hatkānth*,³ South-East of Āgra, as *jāgīr*, to check the rebels of the Bhadauriya clan, who even during the preceding reigns had given much trouble. Though he accused Bayrām of partiality in bestowing bad *jāgīrs* upon such as he did not like, Adham did his best to keep down the Bhadauriyas. After Bayrām's fall, he was sent, in 968, together with Pīr Muhammad Khān to Mālwal, defeated Bāz Bahādūr near Sārangpūr, and took possession of Bahādūr's treasures and dancing girls. His sudden fortune made him refractory; he did not send the booty to Āgra, and Akbar thought it necessary to pay him an unexpected visit, when Māhum Anga found means to bring her son to his senses. Akbar left after four days. On his departure, Adham prevailed on his mother to send back two beautiful dancing girls; but when Akbar heard of it, Adham turned them away. They were captured, and killed by Māhum's orders. Akbar knew the whole, but said nothing about it. On his return to Āgra, however, he recalled Adham, and appointed Pir Muhammad governor of Mālwal.

At Court, Adham met again Atga Khān, whom both he and Mun'im Khān envied and hated. On the 12th Ramaẓān 969, when Mun'im Khān, Atga Khān, and several other grandees had a nightly meeting in the state hall at Āgra, Adham Khān with some followers, suddenly

¹ This is the pronunciation given in the Calcutta Chaghatai Dictionary. Missed by the printed editions of *Badāoni*, *Firishṭa*, *Khāfi Khān*, etc., I put on p. 223 of my text edition of the *Aṣṭin*, *Māhum Atga*, as if it was the name of a man. *Vide* *Khāfi Khān* I, p. 132, l. 6 from below.

² The *Maṣāʾir* gives a short history of this fort, partly taken from the *Akbarnāma*.
³ *Hatkānth* was held by Rājputs of the Bhadauriya clan. *Vide* Beames's edition of *Elliot's Glossary*, II, p. 86, and I, 27, where the word *لہور* is doubtful, though it is certainly not *Lahore*; for the old spelling "Luhāwar" for "Lāhor" had ceased when the author of the *Maṣāʾir* wrote. Besides, a place in Gwālār is meant, not far from the *Sindh* river. For the two editions of *Badāoni* have *لہور*: Dorn has *لہور* Behair; Briggs has *Yehar*; the Lucknow edition of *Firishṭa* has *لہور*. There is a town and *Pargana* of the name of *لہور* in *Sirkār Rantanbhūr*.

⁴ *Arnāma* regarding Adham Khān quoted by Elliot may be found in *eight villages, called Āthghah, near Sakit, in the Sirkār*

¹ In my text edition, p. 223, No. 20, *dele* *شیر*. *Shirwān* is also, the birth-place *Khūqānī*. The spelling *Shirwān* given in the *Muṣṣam* does not appear to be

Bayrām's disgrace, and returned at once to Akbar who made him a Khān. In 968, he was appointed with Adham Khān to conquer Mālwah, of which he was made sole governor after Adham's recall. In 969, he defeated Bāz Bahādūr who had invaded the country, drove him away, and took Bijāgarh from Istimād Khān, Bāz Bahādūr's general. He then made a raid into Khandes, which was governed by Mirān Muḥammad Shāh, sacked the capital Burhānpūr, slaughtered most unmercifully the inhabitants, and carried off immense booty, when he was attacked by Bāz Bahādūr and defeated. Arriving at night on his flight at the bank of the Nerbaddah, he insisted on crossing it, and perished in the river.

21. Khān-i Aʿzam Mirzā ʿAziz Koka, son of Atga Khān (No. 15).

His mother was Jī Jī Anaga (*vide* p. 338). He grew up with Akbar, who remained attached to him to the end of his life. Though often offended by his boldness, Akbar would but rarely punish him; he used to say, "Between me and ʿAziz is a river of milk which I cannot cross."

On the removal of the Atga Khān (p. 338) from the Panjāb, he retained Dipālpūr, where he was visited by Akbar in the 16th year (978) on his pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaykh Farid-i Shakkarganj at Ajhodhan (Pāk Patan, or Patan-i Panjāb).

In the 17th year, after the conquest of Aḥmadābād, Mirzā ʿAziz was appointed governor of Gujrāt as far as the Mahindra river, whilst Akbar went to conquer Sūrat. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mirzā and Shāh Mirzā, joined by Sher Khān Fūlādī, thereupon besieged Patan; but they were at last defeated by Mirzā ʿAziz and Qulb ʿd-Dīn. ʿAziz then returned to Aḥmadābād. When Akbar, on the 2nd Šafar 981, returned to Faṭhpūr Sikrī, Ikhtiyār ʿI-Mulk, a Gujrātī noble, occupied Idar, and then moved against ʿAziz in Aḥmadābād. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mirzā also came from the Dakḥin, and after attacking Kambhāyit (Cambay), they besieged Aḥmadābād. ʿAziz held himself bravely. The siege was raised by Akbar, who surprised the rebels¹ near Patan. During the fight Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mirzā and Ikhtiyār ʿI-Mulk were killed. The victory was chiefly gained by Akbar himself, who with 100 chosen men fell upon the enemy from an ambush. ʿAziz had subsequently to fight with the sons of Ikhtiyār ʿI-Mulk.

In the 20th year Akbar introduced the Dāql (Āʿin 7), which proved a source of great dissatisfaction among the Amīrs. Mirzā ʿAziz especially

showed himself so disobedient that Akbar was compelled to deprive him temporarily of his rank.

Though restored to his honours in the 23rd year, M. ʿAziz remained unemployed till the 25th year (988), when disturbances had broken out in Bengal and Bihār (*vide* Muzaḥḥar Khān, No. 37). ʿAziz was promoted to a command of Five Thousand, got the title of Aʿzam Khān, and was dispatched with a large army to quell the rebellion. His time was fully occupied in establishing order in Bihār. Towards the end of the 26th year, he rejoined the emperor, who had returned from Kābul to Faṭhpūr Sikrī. During ʿAziz's absence from Bihār, the Bengal rebels had occupied Hājipūr, opposite Patna; and ʿAziz, in the 27th year, was again sent to Bihār, with orders to move into Bengal. After collecting the Tuyūddārs of Ilāhābād, Audh, and Bihār, he occupied Garhī, the "key" of Bengal. After several minor fights with the rebels under Maʿṣūm-i Kābulī, and Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl, ʿAziz succeeded in gaining over the latter, which forced Maʿṣūm to withdraw. The imperial troops then commenced to operate against Qutlū, a Lohānī Afghān, who during these disturbances had occupied Orīṣā and a portion of Bengal. ʿAziz, however, took this ill, and handing over the command, to Shāhbāz Khān-i Kambū, returned to his lands in Bihār. Soon after, he joined Akbar at Ilāhābād, and was transferred to Garha and Rāṣin. (993).

In the 31st year (994), M. ʿAziz was appointed to the Dakḥin; but as the operations were frustrated through the envy of Shahāb ʿd-Dīn Aḥmad (No. 26) and other grandees, ʿAziz withdrew, plundered Ilchpūr in Barār, and then retreated to Gujrāt, where the Khān Khānān was (Briggs, II, 257).

In the 32nd year, Prince Murād married a daughter of M. ʿAziz. Towards the end of the 34th year, ʿAziz was appointed Governor of Gujrāt in succession to the Khān Khānān. In the 36th year, he moved against Sulṭān Muzaḥḥar, and defeated him in the following year. He then reduced Jām and other zamindārs of Kachh to obedience, and conquered Somināt and sixteen other harbour towns (37th year). Jūnāgarh also, the capital of the ruler of Sorath, submitted to him (38th Zi Qaʿda 999), and Mirzā Khān and Taj Khān, sons of Dawlat Khān ibn-i Amin Khān-i Ghori, joined the Mughuls. ʿAziz gave both of them jāgīrs. He had now leisure to hunt down Sulṭān Muzaḥḥar, who had taken refuge with a Zamindār of Dwārakā. In a fight the latter lost his life, and Muzaḥḥar fled to Kachh, followed by ʿAziz. There also the Zamindārs submitted, and soon after delivered Sulṭān Muzaḥḥar into his hands. No sooner had he been brought

¹ Akbar left Agra on the 4th Rabiʿ I, and attacked the Mirzās on the ninth day after his departure. The distance between Agra and Patan being 400 kos, Akbar's forced march has often been admired. Briggs, II, p. 241.

to the Mirzā than he asked for permission to step aside to perform a call of nature, and cut his throat with a razor.

In the 39th year Akbar recalled M. 'Aziz, as he had not been at Court for several years; but the Mirzā dreading the religious innovations at Court,¹ marched against Diu under the pretext of conquering it. He made, however, peace with the "Farangi" and embarked for Hījāz at Balāwal, a harbour town near Somnāt, accompanied by his six younger sons (Khurram, Anwar, 'Abd' 'Ilah, 'Abd' 'I-Latif, Murtaẓā, 'Abd' 'I-Ghafūr), six daughters, and about one hundred attendants. Akbar felt sorry for his sudden departure, and with his usual magnanimity, promoted the two eldest sons of the Mirzā (M. Shamsī and M. Shādmān).

M. 'Aziz spent a great deal of money in Makkah; in fact he was so "fleeced", that his attachment to Islām was much cooled down; and being assured of Akbar's good wishes for his welfare, he embarked for India, landed again at Balāwal, and joined Akbar in the beginning of 1003. He now became a member of the "Divine Faith" (*vide* p. 217, l. 33), was appointed Governor of Bihār, was made *Vakil* in 1004, and received Multān as Jāgīr.

In the 45th year (1008) he accompanied Akbar to Āsir. His mother died about the same time, and Akbar himself assisted in carrying the coffin. Through the mediation of the Mirzā, Bahādur Khān, ruler of Khandes, ceded Āsir to Akbar towards the end of the same year. Soon after, Prince Khusrāw married one of 'Aziz's daughters.

At Akbar's death, Mān Singh and M. 'Aziz were anxious to proclaim Khusrāw successor; but the attempt failed, as Shaykh Farid-i Bukhārī and others had proclaimed Jahāngīr before Akbar had closed his eyes. Mān Singh left the Fort of Āgra with Khusrāw, in order to go to Bengal. 'Aziz wished to accompany him, sent his whole family to the Rāja, and superintended the burial of the deceased monarch. He countenanced Khusrāw's rebellion, and escaped capital punishment through the intercession of several courtiers, and of Salima Sulṭān Begum and other princesses of Akbar's harem. Not long after, Khwāja Abū 'I-Ḥasan laid before Jahāngīr a letter written some years ago by 'Aziz to Rāja 'Alī Khān of Khandes, in which 'Aziz had ridiculed Akbar in very strong language. Jahāngīr gave 'Aziz the letter and asked him to read it before

the whole Court, which he did without the slightest hesitation, thus incurring the blame of all the courtiers present. Jahāngīr deprived him of his honours and lands, and imprisoned him.

In the 3rd year of Jahāngīr's reign (1017), M. 'Aziz was restored to his rank, and appointed (nominally) to the command of Gujrāt, his eldest son, Jahāngīr Qulī Khān, being his *nā'ib*. In the 5th year, when matters did not go on well in the Dakhin, he was sent there with 10,000 men. In the 8th year (1022), Jahāngīr went to Ajmir, and appointed, at the request of 'Aziz, Shāhjahān to the command of the Dakhin forces, whilst he was to remain as adviser. But Shāhjahān did not like M. 'Aziz on account of his partiality for Khusrāw, and Mahābat Khān was dispatched from Court to accompany 'Aziz from Udaipur to Āgra. In the 9th year, 'Aziz was again imprisoned, and put under the charge of Āṣaf Khān in the Fort of Gwāliyār (*Tuzuk*, p. 127). He was set free a year later, and soon after restored to his rank. In the 18th year, he was appointed *Atāliq* to Prince Dāwar Baksh, who had been made Governor of Gujrāt. M. 'Aziz died in the 19th year (1033) at Aḥmadābād.

'Aziz was remarkable for ease of address, intelligence, and his knowledge of history. He also wrote poems. Historians quote the following aphorism from his "pithy" sayings. "A man should marry four wives—a Persian woman to have somebody to talk to; a Khurāsānī woman, for his housework; a Hindu woman, for nursing his children, and a woman from Māwarānnahr, to have some one to whip as a warning for the other three." *Vide* Iḥqāl-nāma, p. 230.

Koka means "foster brother", and is the same as the Turkish *Kukaldāsh* or *Kükaldāsh*.

Mirzā 'Aziz's sons. 1. *Mirzā Shamsī* (No. 163). He has been mentioned above. During the reign of Jahāngīr he rose to importance, and received the title of Jahāngīr Qulī Khān.

2. *Mirzā Shādmān* (No. 233). He received the title of Shād Khān. *Tuzuk*, p. 99.

3. *Mirzā Khurram* (No. 177). He was made by Akbar governor of Jūnāgarh in Gujrāt, received the title of Kāmil Khān under Jahāngīr, and accompanied Prince Khurram (Shāhjahān) to the Dakhin.

4. *Mirzā 'Abd' 'Ilah* (No. 257) received under Jahāngīr the title of Sardār Khān. He accompanied his father to Fort Gwāliyār.

5. *Mirzā Anwar* (No. 206) was married to a daughter of Zayn Khān *Koka* (No. 34).

All of them were promoted to commanderships of Five and Two Thousands. 'Aziz's other sons have been mentioned above.

¹ M. 'Aziz ridiculed Akbar's tendencies to Hinduism and the orders of the "Divine Faith". He used to call Fayzi and Abū 'I-Fazl, Ḥusmān and 'Alī. His disparaging remarks led to his disgrace on the accession of Jahāngīr, as related below.

A sister of M. 'Aziz, Māh Bānū, was married to 'Abd' r-Rahīm Khān Khānān. (No. 29).

22. Bahādur Khān-i Shaybānī, (younger) brother of Khān Zamān. (No. 13).

His real name is Muḥammad Sa'īd. Humāyūn on his return from Persia put him in charge of the District of Dāwar. He then planned a rebellion and made preparations to take Qandahār, which was commanded by Shāh Muḥammad Khān of Qalāt (No. 95). The latter, however, fortified the town and applied to the king of Persia for help, as he could not expect Humāyūn to send him assistance. A party of Qizilbāshes attacked Bahādur, who escaped.

In the 2nd year, when Akbar besieged Mānkoṭ, Bahādur, at the request of Bayrām Khān, was pardoned, and received Multān as jāgīr. In the 3rd year, he assisted in the conquest of Mālwa. After Bayrām's fall, through the influence of Māhum Anga (*vide* p. 340), he was made *Vakil*, and was soon after appointed to Itāwa (Sirkār of Āgra).

Subsequently he took an active part in the several rebellions of his elder brother (*vide* p. 336). After his capture, Shāhbāz Khān i-Kambū (No. 80) killed him at Akbar's order.

Like his brother he was a man of letters (Bad. III, 239).

23. Rāja Bihārī Mal, son of Prithirāj Kachhwāha.

In some historical MSS. he is called *Bihārā Mal*. There were two kinds of Kachhwāha, Rājāwat and Shaykhāwat, to the former of which Bihārī Mal belonged. Their ancient family seat was Amber in the Śūba of Ajmir. Though not so extensive as Marwār, the revenues of Amber were larger.

Bihārī Mal was the first Rājput that joined Akbar's Court. The flight¹ of Humāyūn from India had been the cause of several disturbances. Hājī Khān, a servant of Sher Khān, had attacked Nārnaul, the jāgīr of Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl (No. 50), who happened to be a friend of the Rāja's. Through his intercession both came to an amicable settlement; and Majnūn Khān, after the defeat of Hemū (963), brought Bihārī Mal's services to the notice of the emperor. The Rāja was invited to come to court, where he was presented before the end of the first year of Akbar's reign. At the interview Akbar was seated on a wild (*mast*)² elephant,

and as the animal got restive and ran about, the people made way; only Bihārī Mal's Rājput attendants, to the surprise of Akbar, stood firm.

In the 6th year of his reign (969), Akbar made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Muḥsin-i Chishtī at Ajmir, and at Kalālī, Chaghtā Khān reported to the Emperor, that the Rāja had fortified himself in the passes, as Sharaf' d-Dīn Husayn (No. 17), Governor of Mālwa, had made war upon him, chiefly at the instigation of Sojā, son of Pūran' Mal, elder brother of the Rāja. Sharaf' d-Dīn had also got hold of Jagnāth (No. 69), son of the Rāja, Rāj Singh (No. 174), son of Askaran, and Kangār, son of Jagmal (No. 134), his chief object being to get possession of Amber itself. At Deosa, 40 miles east of Jaipūr, Jaima, son of Rūpsi (No. 118), Bihārī Mal's brother, who was the chief of the country, joined Akbar, and brought afterwards, at the request of the emperor, his father Rūpsi. At Sangānīr, at last, Bihārī Mal with his whole family, attended, and was most honorably received. His request to enter Akbar's service and to strengthen the ties of friendship by a matrimonial alliance, was granted. On his return from Ajmir, Akbar received the Rāja's daughter at Sambhar, and was joined, at Ratan, by the Rāja himself, and his son Bhagawant Dās, and his grandson Kūwar Mān Singh. They accompanied Akbar to Āgra, where Bihārī Mal was made a Commander of Five Thousand. Soon after Bihārī Mal returned to Amber. He died at Āgra (Tabaqāt).

Amber is said to have been founded A.D. 967 by Dholā Rāj, son of Sojā, of whom Bihārī Mal was the 18th descendant.¹

The Akbarnāma mentions the names of four brothers of Bihārī Mal. 1. Pūran Mal; 2. Rūpsi (No. 118); 3. Askaran (*vide* No. 174); 4. Jagmal (No. 134). Bihārī Mal is said to have been younger than Pūran Mal, but older than the other three.

Three sons of Bihārī Mal were in Akbar's service—1. Bhagwān Dās (No. 27); 2. Jagannāth (No. 69); and 3. Salhadi (No. 267).

24. Khān Jahān Husayn Qulī Khān,² son of Wali Beg Zū 'l-Qadr.

He is the son of Bayrām Khān's sister. His father Wali Beg Zū 'l-Qadr was much attached to Bayrām, and was captured in the fight in the Pargana of دکنار (Jālandhar, *vide* p. 332, l. 5), but died immediately afterwards from the wounds received in battle. Akbar looked upon him as the chief instigator of Bayrām's rebellion, and ordered his head to

¹ The "flight" of Humāyūn from India was a delicate subject for Mughul historians. Abū 'l-Fazl generally uses euphemisms, as *an waq'ia-yi nāguzār*, "that unavoidable event," or *ihlāl* (departure); or *āmadan-i Sher Khān*, the coming of Sher Khān (not Sher Shāh), etc.

² The present Mahārāja of Jaipūr is the 34th descendant; *vide* Selections Government of India, No. LXV, 1869. Amber was deserted in 1728, when Jai Singh II founded the modern Jaipūr.

³ Husayn Qulī Beg. *Mā'sir*.

be cut off, which was sent all over Hindūstān. When it was brought to Itāwa, Bahādur Khān (No. 22) killed the foot soldiers (*tanūchīs*) that carried it. Khān Jahān had brought Bayrām's *insignia* from Mewāt to Akbar, and as he was a near relation of the rebel, he was detained and left under charge of Āsif Khān 'Abdū 'l-Majid, Commander of Dihli. When Bayrām had been pardoned, Khān Jahān was released. He attached himself henceforth to Akbar.

In the 8th year (end of 971) he was made a Khān and received orders to follow up Sharaf 'd-Dīn Husayn (No. 17). Ajmir and Nagor were given him as *tuqūl*. He took the Fort of Jodhpūr from Chandar Sen, son of Rājā Māldeo, and distinguished himself in the pursuit of Udai Singh during the siege of Chitor.

In the 13th year (976) he was transferred to the Panjāb, whither he went after assisting in the conquest of Rantanbhār.

In the 17th year he was ordered to take Nagarkot, which had belonged to Rājā Jai Chand. Badā'oni says (II, p. 161) that the war was merely undertaken to provide Bir Bar with a jāgir. Akbar had Jai Chand imprisoned, and Budī¹ Chand, his son, thinking that his father was dead, rebelled. Khān Jahān, on his way, conquered Fort Kotla, reached Nagarkot in the beginning of Rajab 980, and took the famous Bhawan temple outside of the Fort. The siege was progressing and the town reduced to extremities, when it was reported that Ibrāhīm Husayn Mirzā and Mas'ūd Mirzā had invaded the Panjāb. Khān Jahān therefore accepted a payment of five *mans* of gold and some valuables, and raised the siege. He is also said to have erected a *Masjid* in front of Jai Chand's palace in the Fort, and to have read the *Khutba* in Akbar's name (Friday, middle of Shawwāl 980).

Accompanied by Ismā'īl Qulī Khān and Mirzā Yūsuf Khān-i Rizawi (No. 35), Khān Jahān marched against the Mirzās, surprised them in the Pargana of Talamba, 40 *kos* from Multān, and defeated them. Ibrāhīm Husayn Mirzā escaped to Multān, but Mas'ūd Husayn and several other Mirzās of note were taken prisoners.

In the 18th year (981) when Akbar returned to Āgra after the conquest of Gujrāt, he invited his Amīrs to meet him, and Khān Jahān also came with his prisoners, whom he had put into cow skins with horns on, with their eyelids sewn together. Akbar had their eyes immediately opened, and even pardoned some of the prisoners. The victorious

general received the title of Khān Jahān, "a title in reputation next to that of Khān Khānān." About the same time Sulaymān, ruler of Badakhshān (p. 326) had come to India, driven away by his grandson Shāhrukh (No. 7), and Khān Jahān was ordered to assist him in recovering his kingdom. But as in 983 Muṣṣim Khān Khānūn died, and Bengal was unsettled, Khān Jahān was recalled from the Panjāb, before he had moved into Badakhshān, and was appointed to Bengal, Rājā Todar Mal being second in command. At Bhāgalpūr, Khān Jahān was met by the Amīrs of Bengal, and as most of them were Chaghtā'i nobles, he had, as Qizilbāsh, to contend with the same difficulties as Bayrām Khān had had. He repulsed the Afghāns who had come up as far as Garhī and Tānda; but he met with more decided opposition at Āg Mahāl, where Dā'ūd Khān had fortified himself. The Imperialists suffered much from the constant sallies of the Afghāns. Khān Jahān complained of the wilful neglect of his Amīrs, and when Akbar heard of the death of Khwāja 'Abdū 'lāh Naqshbandī, who had been purposely left unsupported in a skirmish, he ordered Muẓaffar Khān, Governor of Bihār (No. 37) to collect his Jāgirdārs and join Khān Jahān (984). The fights near Āg Mahāl were now resumed with new vigour. During a skirmish a cannon ball wounded Junayd-i Karārānī, Dā'ūd's uncle,¹ which led to a general battle (15th Rabi' II, 984). The right wing of the Afghāns, commanded by Kulā Pahār, gave way when the soldiers saw their leader wounded, and the centre under Dā'ūd was defeated by Khān Jahān. Dā'ūd himself was captured and brought to Khān Jahān, who sent his head to Akbar.

After this great victory, Khān Jahān dispatched Todar Mal to Court, and moved to Sātḡāw (Hūghlī) where Dā'ūd's family lived. Here he defeated the remnant of Dā'ūd's adherents under Jamshed and Mittī, and reannexed Sātḡāw, which since the days of old had been called *Bulghākh-lāna*,² to the Mughul empire. Dā'ūd's mother came to Khān Jahān as a suppliant.

Soon after Malkū Sā'i,³ Rājā of Kūch Bihār sent tribute and 54 elephants, which Khān Jahān dispatched to Court.

With the defeat and death of Dā'ūd, Bengal was by no means conquered. New troubles broke out in Bhāṭī,⁴ where the Afghāns had

¹ The Ed. Bibl. Indica of *Badā'oni* (II, 238) has by mistake 'uncle'. Badā'oni says that the battle took place near Colgong (Khalḡāw).

² This nickname of Sātḡāw is evidently old. Even the word *bulghākh* (rebellion), which may be found on almost every page of the *Tārīkh-i Firāz Shāhī*, is scarcely ever met with in historical works from the 10th century. It is now quite obsolete.

³ Ed. Govt. I.—B.]

⁴ For *Bhāṭī*, vide below under No. 32.

[¹ General Cunningham tells me that the correct name is Bidhi (Sansk. Vridhiti), not Budī, vide Index.—B.]

collected under Karīm Dād, Ibrāhīm, and the rich Zamindār Śrī (سرى). With great difficulties Khān Jahān occupied that district, assisted by a party of Afghāns who had joined him together with Dā'ūd's mother at Goā; and returned to Śīhatpūr, a town which he had founded near Tanda. Soon after, he felt ill, and died after a sickness of six weeks in the same year (19th Shawwāl, 986).

Abū 'l-Faṭl remarks that his death was opportune, inasmuch as the immense plunder collected by Khān Jahān in Bengal, had led him to the verge of rebellion.

Khān Jahān's son, Rīzā Qulī (No. 274) is mentioned below among the Commanders of Three Hundred and Fifty. In the 47th year he was made a Commander of Five Hundred with a contingent of 300 troopers. Another son, Ralīm Qulī, was a Commander of Two Hundred and Fifty (No. 335). For Khān Jahān's brother, vide No. 46.

25. Sa'īd Khān, son of Ya'qūb Beg, son of Ibrāhīm Jābūq.

He is also called Sa'īd Khān Chaghtā'i. His family had long been serving under the Timūrids. His grandfather Ibrāhīm Beg was an Amīr of Humāyūn's, and distinguished himself in the Bengal war. His son, Yūsuf Beg, was attacked near Jaunpūr by Jalāl Khān (i.e., Salīm Shāh), and killed. His other son also, Ya'qūb, Sa'īd's father, distinguished himself under Humāyūn. According to the *Tuzuk*, he was the son of the brother of Jahāngīr Qulī Beg, Governor of Bengal under Humāyūn. Sa'īd rose to the highest honours under Akbar. He was for some time Governor of Multān, and was appointed, in the 22nd year, *clāliq* of Prince Dānyāl. Some time after, he was made Subaldār of the Panjāb, in supercession to Shāh Qulī Muhrim (No. 45), of whom the inhabitants of the Panjāb had successfully complained. Sa'īd again was succeeded in the governorship by Rājā Bhagvān Dās (No. 27), and received Sambhal as *tuyūl*. In the 28th year, he was called to Court, was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and was sent to Hājīpūr (Patna) as successor to Mirzā 'Azīz Koka (No. 21). In the 32nd year, when Vazīr Khān (No. 41) had died in Bengal, Sa'īd was made Governor of Bengal, which office he held till the 40th year. He was also promoted to the rank of *Panjhazāri*. In the 40th year, Mān Singh (No. 30) being appointed to Bengal, he returned to Court, and was, in the following year, again made Governor of Bihār. In the 48th year (1001), when Mirzā Ghāzī rebelled in Thatha after the death of his father, Mirzā Jānī Beg (No. 47), Sa'īd was appointed to Multān and Bhakkar, and brought about the submission of the rebel.

After the accession of Jahāngīr, he was offered the Governorship of

the Panjāb on the condition that he should prevent his eunuchs from committing oppressions, which he promised to do. (*Tuzuk*, p. 6, l. 2.) He died, however, before joining his post, and was buried "in the garden of Sarhind."

His affairs during his lifetime were transacted by a Hindū of the name of Chetr Bhoj. Sa'īd had a passion for eunuchs, of whom he had 1,200.¹ One of these Khwājasarā, Hīlāl, joined afterwards Jahāngīr's service; he built Hīlālābād, six kos N.W. from Āgra, near Rankaṭṭa,² regarding which the *Ma'āzīr* tells an amusing incident. Another eunuch, Ikhtiyār Khān, was his Vakīl, and another, Istibār Khān, the Fawjdār of his jāgīr. For Sa'īd's brother, vide No. 70.

26. Shihāb Khān, a Sayyid of Nishāpūr.

His full name is Shihāb 'd-Dīn Ahmad Khān. He was a relation and friend of Māhum Anṡ (p. 311), and was instrumental in bringing about Bayrām's fall. From the beginning of Akbar's reign, he was Commander of Dihlī. When Akbar, at the request of Māhum, turned from Sikanḍarābād to Dihlī to see his sick mother, Shihāb Khān told him that his journey, undertaken as it was without the knowledge of Bayrām Khān, might prove disastrous to such grantees as were not Bayrām's friends; and the Chaghtā'i nobles took this opportunity of reiterating their complaints, which led to Bayrām's disgrace.

As remarked on p. 337, Shihāb served in Mālwh against 'Abdū 'Ulah-Khan.

In the 12th year (975) he was appointed Governor of Mālwh, and was ordered to drive the Mirzās from that province. In the 13th year, he was put in charge of the Imperial domain lands, as Muzaḡfar Khān (No. 37) had too much to do with financial matters.

In the 21st year, he was promoted to a command of Five Thousand, and was again appointed to Mālwh; but he was transferred, in the following year, to Gujrāt, as Vazīr Khān (No. 41) had given no satisfaction. He was, in the 28th year, succeeded by Istimād Khān (No. 119), and intended to go to Court; but no sooner had he left Ahmadābād than he was deserted by his servants, who in a body joined Sultān Muzaḡfar. The events of the Gujrāt rebellion are known from the histories. When Mirzā Khān Khānān (No. 29) arrived, Shihāb was attached to Qulīj

¹ If not acquired in Bengal, this predilection could not have been better satisfied elsewhere. The eunuchs of Bengal and Silhat were renowned; for interesting passages vide below, Third Book, Sūba of Bengal, and *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, pp. 72, 328.

² Sikandra (or Bihishtābād), where Akbar's tomb is, lies halfway between Āgra and Rankaṭṭa.

Khān (Mālwaḥ Corps). He distinguished himself in the conquest of Bahrōch (992), and received that district as *tuyūl*. In the 34th year (997), he was again made Governor of Mālwa, in succession to M. 'Aḥḥ Koka (No. 21).

Shihāb died in Mālwaḥ (Ujain, *Tabaqāt*) in 999. His wife, Bābī Āghā, was related to Akbar's mother; she died in 1005.

During the time Shihāb was Governor of Dhilli, he repaired the canal which Fīrāz Shāh had cut from the Paraganah of Khayrābād to Safidūn; and called it *Nahr-i Shihāb*. This canal was again repaired, at the order of Shāhjihān, by the renowned Makrama' Khān, and called *منشیر*, *Fayz Nahr*, (20th year of Shāhjihān). During the reign of Aurangzeb it was again obstructed, but has now again been repaired and enlarged by the English. (*Īḥṣān-i-Nāẓir*)

27. Rāja Bhagwān Dās, son of Rāja Bihārī Māl.

In the histories we find the spellings *Blaguant*, *Blaguant*, and *Blaguan*. He joined Akbar's service with his father (No. 23). In 980, in the fight with Ibrahim Husayn Mirzā near Sarāil (*Brown*, Sartāil), he saved Akbar's life. He also distinguished himself against the Rini of Idar, whose son, Amr Singh, he brought to Court. When, in the 23d year, the Kachwāhas had their *tuyūl* transferred to the Panjāb, Rāja Bh. D. was appointed Governor of the province. In the 29th year, Bh.'s daughter was married to Prince Salim, of which marriage Prince Khusrāw was the offspring. In the 30th year, Bh. D. was made a commander of Five Thousand and Governor of Zibulistān, as Mān Singh was sent against the Yūsufzais. But Akbar, for some reason, detained him. In Khayrābād, Bh. D. had a fit of madness, and wounded himself with a dagger; but he recovered soon after in the hands of the Court Doctors. In the 32d year, the jūgirs of the Rāja and his family were transferred to Bihār, Mān Singh taking the command of the province.

Rāja Bh. D. died in the beginning of 998 at Lāhor, a short time after Rāja Todar Mal (No. 39). People say that on returning from Todar Mal's funeral, he had an attack of stranguary, of which he died. He had the title of *Amīr-i-Umar*.

The Jāmi Masjid of Lāhor was built by him.

Regarding his sons, *vide* Nos. 30, 101, 336.

28. Qutb 'd-Din Khān, youngest brother of Atga Khān (15).

As he belonged to the *Atga Khayl* (*vide* p. 338), his *tuyūl* was in the Panjāb. He founded several mosques, etc., at Lāhor.

In the 9th year (972), Akbar sent him to Kābul. During his stay there, he built a villa at Ghaznīn, his birth-place. On the transfer of the

"Atga Khayl" from the Panjāb, Q. was appointed to Mālwa. After the conquest of Gujrāt, he received as jūgir the Sirkār of Bahrōch (Broach), "which lies south of Ahmadābād, and has a fort on the bank of the Narbuddā near its mouth." Subsequently he returned to Court, and was made a Commander of Five Thousand.

In the 21th year (12th Rajab, 987), he was appointed *atūq* to Prince Salim, received a *dāgū*,¹ and the title of *Beglar Begī*. Akbar also honoured him by placing at a feast Prince Salim on his shoulders. Afterwards Q. was again appointed to Bahrōch "as far as Nazrbar". In the 28th year (991), Muzaḥfir of Gujrāt tried to make himself independent. Q. did not act in concert with other officers, and in consequence of his delay and timidity he was attacked and defeated by Muzaḥfir near Baroda. Q.'s servants even joined Muzaḥfir, whilst he himself retreated to the Fort of Baroda. After a short time he capitulated and surrendered to Muzaḥfir, who had promised not to harm him or his family. But at the advice of a Zamindār, Muzaḥfir went to Bahrōch, occupied the fort in which Q.'s family lived, and confiscated his immense property (10 *krors* of rupees), as also 14 lacs of imperial money. Immediately after, Muzaḥfir had Q. murdered.

His son, Nawrang Khān, served under Mirzā Khān Khānān (No. 29) in Gujrāt (992), received a jūgir in Mālwa and subsequently in Gujrāt. He died in 999.

The MSS. of the *Tabaqāt*, which I consulted, contain the remark that Nawrang Khān was a Commander of Four Thousand, and was, in 1001, governor of Jūnāgarh.

His second son, Gūjar Khān, was a *Haftadī* (No. 193), and served chiefly under M. 'Aḥḥam Khān Koka (No. 21). He also had a *tuyūl* in Gujrāt.

29. Khān Khānān Mirzā 'Abd' r-Rahīm, son of Bayrām Khān.

His mother was a daughter of Jamāl Khān of Mewāt.² In 961, when Humāyūn returned to India, he enjoined his nobles to enter into matrimonial alliances with the Zamindārs of the country, and after marrying the eldest daughter of Jamāl Khān, he asked Bayrām Khān to marry the younger one.

M. 'Abd' r-Rahīm was born at Lāhor, 14th Šafar 961. When Bayrām Khān was murdered at Patan in Gujrāt (p. 332), his camp was plundered

¹ A kind of warm mantle—a great distinction under the Timūrīdes.

² He was the nephew of Haḥn Khān of Mewāt (*Ibid.* I, p. 361). In the fourth Book of the *A'in*, 'Abd' r-Faḥl says that the *Khānzādas* of Mewāt were chiefly converted Janūha Rājputs.

by some Afghāns; but Muḥammad Amin Dīwāna and Bābā Zambūr managed to remove the child and his mother from the scene of plunder and bring them to Aḥmadābād, fighting on the road with the Afghān robbers. From Aḥmadābād, M. 'Abd' r-Raḥīm was taken to Akbar (969), who, notwithstanding the insinuations of malicious courtiers, took charge of him. He gave him the title of *Mirzā Khān*, and married him subsequently to Mah Bānū, sister of M. 'Azīz Koka (No. 21).

In 981, M. 'Abd' r-Raḥīm accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan (p. 313). In 984 M. 'A. was appointed to Gujrāt, Vazīr *Khān* having the management of the province. In the 25th year, he was made *Mir 'Arz*, and three years later, *atāliq* to Prince Salim. Soon after, he was sent against Sultān Muzaḥfar of Gujrāt. Muzaḥfar, during the first Gujrātī war, had fallen into the hands of Akbar's officers. He was committed to the charge of Munṣim *Khān* (No. 11), and after his death, to the care of Shāh Mansūr the Dīwān (No. 122). But Muzaḥfar managed, in the 23rd year, to escape, and took refuge with the Kūthīs of Jūnāgarh, little noticed or cared for by Akbar's officers. But when Iṣtimād *Khān* was sent to Gujrāt to relieve Shihāb' d-Dīn (No. 26), the servants of the latter joined Muzaḥfar, and the Gujrāt rebellion commenced. Muzaḥfar took Aḥmadābād, and recruited, with the treasures that fell into his hands (*vide* Qutb' d-Dīn, No. 28), an army of 40,000 troopers. Mirzā 'Abd' r-Raḥīm had only 10,000 troopers to oppose him, and though his officers advised him to wait for the arrival of Qulij *Khān* and the Mālwa contingent, Dawlat *Khān* Lodī (No. 309), M. 'A.'s *Mir Shamsker*, reminded him not to spoil his laurels and claims to the *Khān Khānān*ship. M. 'A. then attacked Muzaḥfar, and defeated him in the remarkable battle of Sarkich, three *kos* from Aḥmadābād. On the arrival of the Mālwa contingent, M. 'A. defeated Muzaḥfar a second time near Nādot. Muzaḥfar concealed himself in Rajpipla.

For these two victories Akbar made M. 'A. a Commander of Five Thousand, and gave him the coveted title of *Khān Khānān*. For this reason historians generally call him Mirzā *Khān Khānān*.

When Gujrāt was finally conquered, *Khān Khānān* gave his whole property to his soldiers, even his inkstand, which was given to a soldier who came last and said he had not received anything. The internal affairs of Gujrāt being settled, Qulij *Khān* was left in the province, and M. 'A. rejoined the Court.

In the 34th year he presented to Akbar a copy of his Persian translation of Bābar's *Chaghtāi Memoirs* (*Wāqī'āt-i Bābarī*).¹

¹ *Iḍe* p. 105, last line.

Towards the end of the same year, he was appointed *Vakīl* and received Jaunpūr as *tuyūl*; but in 999 his jāgīr was transferred to Multān, and he received orders to take Thatha (Sind). Passing by the Fort of Sahwān,¹ he took the Fort of Lakhi, "which was considered the key of the country, just as Gaḍhi is in Bengal and Bārahmūla in Kashmir." After a great deal of fighting Mirzā Jānī Beg (No. 47), ruler of Thatha, made peace, which M. 'A., being hard pressed for provisions, willingly accepted. Sahwān was to be handed over to Akbar, M. Jānī Beg was to visit the emperor after the rains, and Mirzā Irīch, M. 'A.'s eldest son, was to marry Jānī Beg's daughter. But as M. Jānī Beg, after the rains, delayed to carry out the stipulations, M. 'A. moved to Thatha and prepared himself to take it by assault, when M. Jānī Beg submitted and accompanied M. 'A. to Court.² Thus Sindh was annexed.

When Sultān Murād assembled at Bahrōch (Broach) his troops for the conquest of the Dakḥin, Akbar dispatched M. 'A. to his assistance, giving him Bhilsā as jāgīr. After delaying there for some time, M. 'A. went to Ujain, which annoyed the Prince, though M. 'A. wrote him that Rāja 'Alī *Khān*,³ of *Khāndes* was on the point of joining the Imperialists, and that he would come with him. When M. 'A. at last joined headquarters at Fort Chāndor, 30 *kos* from Aḥmadnagar, he was slighted by the Prince; and, in consequence of it, he hesitated to take an active part in the operations, leaving the command of his detachment chiefly in the hands of M. Shāhrukh (No. 7). Only on one occasion after Murād's departure from Aḥmadnagar, he took a prominent part in the war. Muṣṭamid' d-Dawla Subayl *Khān* (Briggs II, 274; III, 308) threatened Prince Murād, who had been persuaded by his officers not to engage with him. M. 'A., Rāja 'Alī *Khān*, and M. Shāhrukh, therefore, took it upon themselves to fight the enemy. Moving in Jumāda II, 1005, from Shāhpūr, M. 'A. met Subayl near the town of Ashtī, 12 *kos* from Pathrī. The fight was unusually severe. Rāja 'Alī *Khān* with five or six of his principal officers and five hundred troopers were killed (Briggs IV, 324). The night put an end to the engagement; but each party, believing itself victorious, remained under arms. When next morning, M. 'A.'s troopers went to the river [near Sūpā, *Firishta*] to get water; they were attacked by 25,000 of the enemy's horse. Dawlat *Khān*, who commanded

¹ Also called Siwastān, on the right bank of the Indus. Lakhi (Lakkee) lies a little south of Sahwān.

² The conquest of Sindh forms the subject of a Masnawī by Mullā Shikabī, whom Abū'l-Faḍl mentions below among the poets of Akbar's age.

³ *Khānī* *Khān* calls him *Rājā 'Alī Khān*.

M 'A's avantguard, said to him, "It is dying a useless death to fall fighting with but 600 troopers against such odds" "Do you forget Dihli?", asked M 'A "If we keep up," replied Dawlat Khān, "against such odds, we have discovered a hundred Dihls, and if we die, matters rest with God" Qāsim of Bārha¹ and several other Sayyids were near, and on hearing M 'A's resolution to fight, he said, "Well, let us fight as Hindūstānīs, nothing is left but death, but ask the Khān Khānān what he means to do" Dawlat Khān returned, and said to M 'A "Their numbers are immense, and victory rests with heaven, point out a place where we can find you, should we be defeated" "Under the corpses," said M 'A Thereupon they charged the flank of the enemy and routed them After this signal victory, M 'A distributed 75 lacs of rupees among his soldiers At the request of the Prince, M 'A was soon after recalled (1006)

In the same year Mah Bānū, M 'A's wife, died

In the 44th year Prince Dānyāl was appointed to the Dakhin, and M 'A. was ordered to join the Prince, and besiege Ahmadnagar The town, as is known from the histories, was taken after a siege of 4 months and 4 days² M 'A then joined the Court, bringing with him Bahādūr ibn Ibrāhīm, who had been set up as Nivām Shāh Dānyāl was appointed governor of the newly conquered territory, which was called by Akbar *Dāndes*,³ and married to Jānā Begum, M 'A's daughter The Khān Khānān was also ordered to repair to Ahmadnagar, to keep down a party that had made the son of Shāh 'Alī, uncle of Murtazā, Nizam Shāh

After the death of Akbar, matters in the Dakhin did not improve. In the 3rd year of Jahāngir (1017), M 'A. promised to bring the war to a close in two years if he received a sufficient number of troops Shāhzāda Parwiz, under the *Atāliq* ship of Āsaf Khān, Mān Singh, Khān Jahān Lodi, and others, were appointed to assist M 'A He took the Prince in the rains from Burhānpūr to Bālāghāt, but in consequence of the usual duplicity and rancour displayed by the Amirs, the imperial army suffered from want of provisions and loss of cattle, and M 'A. was compelled to conclude a treaty dishonourable for Jahāngir, who appointed

Khān Jahān Lodi as his successor, and sent Mahābat Khān, subsequently M 'A's enemy, to bring the unsuccessful commander to Court

In the 5th year, M 'A received Kālpī and Qanawj as *tuyūl*, with orders to crush the rebels in those districts (*vide* p 341, note) Some time afterwards, M 'A was again sent to the Dakhin, as matters there had not improved, but he did not gain any advantage either

In the 11th year (1025) Jahāngir, at last, dispatched Prince Khurram, to whom he had given the title of Shah² Jahāngir himself fixed his residence at Māndū in Malwa, in order to be nearer the scene of war, while Shāh Khurram selected Burhānpūr as Head Quarters Here the Prince also married the daughter of Shahnavāz Khān, M 'A's son 'Ādil Shāh and Qutb⁴ 'I Mulk sent tribute and submitted, and Jahāngir bestowed upon 'Ādil Shāh the title of *Farzand* (son), and 'Ambar Malik handed over the keys of Ahmadnagar and other Forts, together with the Parganas of Bālāghāt, which he had conquered Shāh Khurram then appointed M 'A Sūbahdār of Khāndes, Barār, and Ahmadnagar, whilst Shāhnavāz Khān was appointed to Bālāghāt Leaving 30,000 horse and 7,000 artillery in the Dakhin, Shāh Khurram joined his father at Māndū, where new honours awaited him²

In the 15th year, Malik 'Ambar "broke" the treaty, and fell upon the Thānadārs of the Mughuls Dārāb Khān, M 'A's second son, retreated from Bālāghāt to Bālāpūr, and driven from there, he went to Burhānpūr, where he and his father were besieged On Shāhjahān's approach, the besiegers dispersed

In the 17th year (1031) Shāh 'Abbās of Persia attacked Qandahār, and Shāhjahān and 'Abd⁴ 'r Rahim were called to Court to take command against the Persians, but before they joined, Prince Parwiz, through Nūr Jahān's influence, had been appointed heir apparent, and Mahābat Khān had been raised to the dignity of Khān Khānān Shāhjahān rebelled, returned with M 'A to Māndū, and then moved to Burhānpūr On the march thither, Shāhjahān intercepted a letter which M 'A had secretly

¹ The Sayyids of Barha considered it their privilege to fight in the *Harawal* or van *Yide* No 75

² Abū 'I Fazl and the Lucknow edition of *Firishta* call the eunuch who murdered Chānd Bibi حیدر خان or حیدر Briggs has Hamid Khān For *Nihāng Khān*, which Briggs gives, all copies of the Akbarnāma and the *Ma'asir* have *Abhang Khān* The Lucknow Ed. of *Firishta* has *Ahang Khān* The difference, moreover, between Abū 'I Fazl and *Firishta* in details are very remarkable

³ A combination of the words *Dānyāl* and *khāndes*

¹ "Since the time of Timūr no Prince had received this title" *Ma'asir Shah Khurram* received subsequently the title of *Shahjahān*, which he retained as king, in conjunction with the titles of *Sahib Qiran*, *Shāh* and *Asla Ha'rat* (الملك الحارثي) The last title had also been used by Sulaymān 'I Karāni, King of Bengal Awrangzeb, in imitation of it, adopted the title of *Asla Khagān*

² He received the title of *Shahjahān* and was made a *Shikari*, or Commander of Thirty Thousand, personal (brevet) rank, and a contingent of 20 000 (as *asī wa rāfa*, i.e., his former contingent plus an increase in troops) He was also allowed a *Sandāl* (*vide* p 318), likewise a custom that had not been observed since the age of Timūr Jahāngir even came down from the *Jharola* (the window in the State hall, familiar to all that have seen the halls of the palaces of Agra and Fatehpur Sikri), and placed a dish full of jewels and gold on Shāhjahān's head, distributing the whole (as *naḍar*) among the Amirs

written to Mahābat Khān, whereupon he imprisoned him and his son Dārāb Khān, and sent him to Fort Āsir, but released them soon after on parole. Parwiz and Mahābat Khān had, in the meantime, arrived at the Narbadda to capture Shāhjahān. Bayrām Beg, an officer of Shāhjahān's, had for this reason removed all boats to the left side of the river, and successfully prevented the imperialists from crossing. At M. 'A.'s advice, Shāhjahān proposed, at this time, an armistice. He made M. 'A. swear upon the Qur'ān not to betray him, and sent him as ambassador to Parwiz. Mahābat Khān, knowing that the fords would not now be so carefully watched as before, effected a crossing, and M. 'A., forgetful of his oath, joined Prince Parwiz, and did not return to Shāhjahān, who now fled from Burhānpūr, marching through Talingāna to Orisa and Bengal. Mahābat and M. 'A. followed him up a short distance beyond the Tapti. M. 'A. wrote to Rāja Bhīm, a principal courtier of the Dawlatshāhi party, to tell Shāhjahān, that he (M. 'A.) would do everything in his power to detain the imperial army, if the prince would allow his sons to join him. Rāja Bhīm replied that the prince had still from five to six thousand followers, and that he would kill M. 'A.'s sons should it come to a fight. Shāhjahān then moved into Bengal and Bihār, of which he made Dārāb Khān, who had evidently attached himself to the prince, Governor. Mahābat Khān had in the meantime returned to Mahābād to oppose Shāhjahān, and had placed M. 'A., who looked upon him with distrust, under surveillance.

In the 21st year, Jahāngir ordered Mahābat Khān to send M. 'A. to court, where he was reinstated in his titles and honours. He afterwards retired to his jāgīr at Lāhor, when Mahābat Khān followed him and sent him back to Dihli. Soon after the failure of his scheme of retaining possession of Jahāngir's person, and the return of the monarch from Kābul, Mahābat Khān had to fly. Nūr Jahān now appointed M. 'A. to follow up Mahābat, and contributed herself twelve lacs of rupees to the expedition. But before the necessary preparations had been completed, M. 'A. fell ill at Lāhor, and on his arrival at Dihli, he died at the age of seventy-two, in the end of Jahāngir's 21st year (1036). The words Khān Sipahsālār kū (where is the Khān Commander?) are the *tārīkh* of his death.

M. 'A.'s great deeds are the conquests of Gujrāt and Sind and the defeat of Suhayl Khān of Bijāpūr. During Jahāngir's reign, he did nothing remarkable; nor was he treated with the respect which he had enjoyed during the lifetime of Akbar, though he was allowed to retain his rank. For nearly thirty years he had been serving in the Dakkhin.

Every grandee, and even the princes, accused him of secret friendship with the rulers of the Dakkhin, and 'Abd 'l-Faḡl, on one occasion, gave him *fateq* that M. 'A. was a rebel. Under Jahāngir, he was the open friend of Malik 'Ambar; and Muḥammad Ma'sūm, one of his servants, once informed the emperor that he would find Malik 'Ambar's correspondence in the possession of 'Abd 'r-Raḥīm of Lakhnau (No. 197), who was much attached to M. 'A. Mahābat Khān was appointed to inquire into this; but 'Abd 'r-Raḥīm of Lakhnau would not betray his friend. People said, M. 'A.'s *motto* was, "people should hurt their enemies under the mask of friendship," and all seem to have been inclined to blame him for maliciousness and faithlessness. He used to get daily reports from his newswriters whom he had posted at various stations. He read their reports at night, and tore them up. But he was also proverbial for his liberality and love of letters. The *Mā'āsir-i Raḥīmī*¹ is a splendid testimony of his generosity; it shows that he was the Mæcenas of Akbar's age. People, by a happy comparison, called him Mir 'Alī Sher (*vide* p. 107, note 6). M. 'A. wrote Persian, Turkish, Arabic, and Hindi with great fluency. As poet he wrote under the name of *Raḥīm*.

Though his father had been a Shī'ah, M. 'A. was a Sunni; but people said he was a Shī'ah, but practised *taḡiyya*.²

M. 'A.'s most faithful servant was Miyān Faḥīm. People said, he was the son of a slave girl; but he appears to have been a Rājput. He grew up with M. 'A.'s sons, and was as pious as he was courageous. He fell with his son Firūz Khān and 40 attendants in a fight with Mahābat Khān, who had imprisoned his master. M. 'A. built him a tomb in Dihli, which is now called *Nīla Burj*, near Humāyūn's tomb. (*Āḡar* 's-*ṣanādīd*.)

M. 'A. outlived his four sons.

1. *Mirzā Ṭrich* (or *Ṭrij*), *Shahnavāz Khān Bahādur* (No. 255). When young he used to be called *Khān Khānān-i jawān*. He distinguished himself by his courage. In the 40th year of Akbar he was made a Commander of 400. In the 47th year, after a fight² with Malik 'Ambar who got wounded, he received the title of *Bahādur*. During the reign of Jahāngir he was called *Shahnavāz Khān* (*vide* Tuzuk, p. 95), and was made a Commander of Five Thousand. He died in 1028, from excessive drinking. (*Vide* Tuzuk, p. 270.)

¹ Called *Mā'āsir-i Raḥīmī* in allusion to his name M. 'Abd 'r-Raḥīm. *Vide* Elliot's History, vol. 1, p. 377.

² minority, they practise, if necessary, *taḡiyya* (i.e., they were Sunnis. A Shī'ah may even vilify his own sect, if his personal safety requires it. [² Near Nānder.—B.]

Two of his sons are mentioned in the *Pādīshāhnāma*. 1. *Mirzā Khān*. He was Fawjdār of Kāngrah, and retired "foolishly" from public life in Rabi' II, 1016. But he was re-employed and was a Commander of Three Thousand in 1055 (*Pādīshāhnāma* II, pp. 483, 723). 2. Lashkar-shikan *Khān*. He got in 1017 a present of 4,000 R., and received an appointment in Bengal.

Historians call Shahnawāz *Khān* generally *Shahnawāz Khān-i Jahāngīrī*, to distinguish him from Shahnawāz *Khān-i Šafawī*, a grandee of Shāhjahān.

2. *Mirzā Dārūb Dārūb-Khān*. He has been mentioned above (p. 337). When Shāhjahān made him Governor of Bengal, he retained his wife, a son and a daughter, and a son of Shahnawāz *Khān* as hostages (*yarghamāl*). When the prince after the fight near the Tons (Benares) had again to go to the Dakkhin, he wrote to Dārūb *Khān* to move to Gadhi (N.W. entrance of Bengal) and join him. Dārūb wrote him that he could not come, being besieged by the zamīndārs of the place. He fell at last into the hands of Farwiz and Mahābat *Khān*, and as Jahāngīr had "no objections", Mahābat executed him (1035), wrapped his head in a table cloth, and sent it to his father M. 'A. as a present of a "melon". A short time before 'Abdu' 'l-lah *Khān* had killed Dārūb's son and a son of Shahnawāz *Khān*.

3. *Mirzā Raḥmān Dād*. His mother belonged to the Sandahas of Amarkot. Though very dissolute, he was the most liked by his father. He died, at Bālāpūr, about the same time as his eldest brother. *Vide* Tuzuk, p. 315. No one dared to inform his father of the event, till people sent at last the famous saint Ḥaḡrat 'Isā of Sindh to M. 'A. on a visit of condolence.

4. *Mirzā Anru' 'l-lah*. He grew up without education, and died when young.

30. *Rāja Mān Singh*, son of Bhagwān Dās.

He was born at Amber, and is the son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās (No. 27). European historians say that he was the adopted son of Rāja Bh. D., but Muhammadan historians do not allude to this circumstance, perhaps because Hindūs make absolutely no difference between a real and an adopted son. He is also known under the title of *Mirzā Rāja*, and Akbar bestowed upon him the title of *Farzand* (son).

He joined Akbar with Bihārī Mal (p. 329). In 984 he was appointed against Rānū Kikā, and gained, in 985,¹ the great battle near Goganda.²

¹ Corrected in No. 109.—B.]

² The best account of this battle is to be found in Badā'uni, who was an eye-witness. *Bad. II*, 230 to 237. The whole is left out in Briggs.

Rāja Rāmsāh of Gwāliyār was killed with his sons, whilst the Rānā himself in the *melée* was wounded by Mān Singh. Akbar, however, felt annoyed, because M. S. did not follow up his victory, and so recalled him.

When Bhagwān Dās was appointed governor of the Panjāb, M. S. commanded the districts along the Indus. In the year 993, Prince M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm died, and M. S. was sent to Kābul to keep the country in order. He rejoined Akbar near the Indus with M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm's sons (M. Afrāsyāb and M. Kayqubād); but was soon after sent back to Kābul, where he chastised the Raushānīs who, like other Afghān tribes, were given to predatory incursions. After the death of Rāja Bir Bar, in the war with the Yūsufzā'is, M. S. was appointed to the command of the army in Kābul, in supercession of Zayn *Khān* Koka (No. 34) and Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fath. He was also put in charge of Zabulistān, as Bhagwān Dās had a fit of madness (p. 358). In the 32nd year, M. S. was recalled in consequence of loud complaints of the people against the Rājputīs and M. S.'s indifference to the Kābulīs, and was appointed Governor of Bihār, to which province the *tuyūls* of the Kachhāwāhas had been transferred.

After the death of Bhagwān Dās in 998, M. S., who hitherto had the title of *Kūncar*, received from Akbar the title of Rāja and a Command of Five Thousand. In Bihār he punished several refractory Zamīndārs, as Pūrān Mal and Rāja Sangrām, and received their tribute.

The principal events in Mān Singh's life from 997 to 1015 are given in Stewart's History of Bengal (pp. 114 to 121).¹ In the 35th year, M. S. invaded Orīsa by way of Jhārkand (Chuttīā Nāgpur). The result of this expedition was the cession of Pūrī. In the 37th year, when the Afghāns under Khwāja Sulaymān and Khwāja 'Usmān attacked Pūrī, M. S. again invaded Orīsa, and re-annexed, in 1000, that province to the Dihlī empire. In the 39th year, M. S. continued his conquests in Bhāṭī (the eastern portions of the Sundarban), and built, in the following year, Akbarnagar, or Rājmaḥall, at a place which Sher Shāh, before him, had selected as a convenient spot, as also Salimnagar, the Fort of Sherpūr Murcha (Mymensing). The whole of Eastern Bengal on the right side of the Brahmaputra was likewise annexed. In the 41st year, M. S. married the sister of Lachmī Narāṣin, Rāja of Kūch Bihār, who had

¹ The name of "Sayyid" Khān (سید خان) which occurs several times in Stewart, i.e., should be corrected to Sa'id Khān (سعيد خان), the same grandee whose biography was given above (p. 351). Such as take an interest in the History of Bengal and Orīsa should make use of the Akbarnāma, which contains many new facts and details not given in Stewart.

declared himself a vassal of the Mughul empire. In the same year, M. S. fell dangerously ill at Ghorāghāt, when the *Afghāns* attacked him. They were soon after driven back by Himmat Singh, one of M. S.'s sons,¹ into the Sundarban. In the 42nd year, M. S. had to send a detachment under Hījāz *Khān* into Kūch Bihār for the protection of Lachmi Narā'in. In the 44th year M. S., at Akbar's request, joined the Dakhin war. Thinking that the *Afghāns*, in consequence of the death of their leader, the rich 'Īṣā of Ghorāghāt, would remain quiet, M. S. appointed his son Jagat Singh (No. 160) his deputy, and joined Prince Salim at Ajmir. Jagat Singh died after a short time, and was succeeded by Mahā Singh, a grandson of M. S. The *Afghāns* under 'Uṣman used this opportunity, defeated, in the 45th year, the imperialists near Bhadrak in Orisa, and occupied a great portion of Bengal. M. S. then hastened back over Rahtās, and defeated the *Afghāns* near Sherpūr 'Afāi, a town of the Sirkār of Sharifābād, which extended from Bardwān to Fath Singh, S. of Murshibābād. After this victory, which obliged 'Uṣmān to retreat to Orisa, M. S. paid a visit to the emperor, who promoted him to a (full) command of Seven Thousand. Hitherto Five Thousand had been the limit of promotion. It is noticeable that Akbar in raising M. S. to a command of Seven Thousand, placed a Hindū above every Muhammadan officer, though, soon after, M. Shāhrukh (*vide* p. 326) and M. 'Aziz Koka (No. 21), were raised to the same dignity.

M. S. remained in Bengal till 1013, when the sickness of the emperor induced him to resign his appointment in order to be in the capital. The part which he played at the time of Akbar's death is known from the histories. Jahāngir thought it prudent to overlook the conspiracy which the Rāja had made, and sent him to Bengal. But soon after (1015), he was recalled and ordered to quell disturbances in Rohtās (Bihār), after which he joined the Emperor. In the 3rd year of Jahāngir's reign, he was permitted to go to his home, where he raised levies, in order to serve with M. 'Abd' 'r-Rahīm (No. 29) in the Dakhin war.

M. S. died a natural death in the 9th year of J.'s reign, whilst in the Dakhin. Sixty of his fifteen hundred wives burned themselves on the funeral pile. At the time of his death, only one of his numerous sons was alive, Bhāo Singh, regarding whose succession to the title, *vide* *Tuzuk-i Jahāngir*, p. 130.

The ground on which the Taj at Āgra stands, belonged to Mān Singh.

¹ He died in 1005.

31 Muhammad Quli *Khān* Barlās, a descendant of the Barmaqs (?).¹

He served under Humāyūn, and held Multān as *jāgīr*. In the beginning of Akbar's reign, he conveyed, together with Shams' 'd-Din Atga (No. 15) the princesses from Kābul to India. His *tugl* was subsequently transferred to Nāgor. For a short time he was also Governor of Mālwa.

In the 12th year, he was sent against Iskandar *Khān* Uzbek (*vide* No. 48) in Audh. After the death of *Khān* Zamān, Iskandar fled to Bengal, and Audh was given to Muḥammad Quli *Khān* as *jāgīr*.

He subsequently served under Mun'im *Khān* in Bihār and Bengal. In the 19th year when Dā'ūd had withdrawn to Sātḡāw (Hūgli) Mun'im *Khān* dispatched M. Q. *Khān* to follow up the *Afghāns*, whilst he remained with Rāja Todar Mal in Tānda to settle financial matters. When M. Q. *Khān* arrived at Sātḡāw Dā'ūd withdrew to Orisa, to which country neither M. Q. *Khān* nor his officers had much inclination to go. From Sātḡāw M. Q. *Khān* invaded the district of Jesar (Jessore), where Ṣarmadī, a friend of Dā'ūd's, had rebelled; but the imperialists met with no success, and returned to Sātḡāw. Mun'im *Khān* at last ordered Todar Mal to join M. G. *Khān*, and subsequently both moved into Orisa. Soon after passing the frontier M. Q. *Khān* died at Mednīpūr (Midnapore), Ramaḡān, 982. He seems to have died a natural death, though some accused one of his eunuchs of foul play.

His son, Mirzā Faridūn Barlās (No. 227). He served under M. 'Abd' 'r-Rahīm (No. 29) in Sind, and accompanied, in 1001, Jānī Beg (No. 47) to Court. He was a Commander of Five Hundred. Under Jahāngir, he was rapidly promoted, and held, in the 8th year, a command of Two Thousand, when he served under Prince *Khurram* against Rānā Amr Singh. He died during the expedition.

His son Mihr 'Alī Barlās was made by Jahāngir a Commander of One Thousand.

32. Tarson *Khān*, sister's son of Shāh Muḥammad Sayf' 'l-Mulk.

In Histories he is called Tarson Muḥammad *Khān*. Sayf' 'l-Mulk had been an independent ruler in *Gharjistān* (a part of *Khurāsān*); but he had to submit to Tahmasp (A.H. 940).

¹ So in the MSS.; but the name *Barmaq* is very doubtful. Being a "*Barlās*", he belonged to that Chaghtāi tribe which traced its descent to *Bar* *Bar* *Bar*—the MSS. have various forms for this name—who is the 8th ancestor of Timūr. If *Bar* *Bar* *Bar* be the correct form, the substitution of *Bar* *Bar* *Bar*, a renowned name in Muhammadan history, would not appear altogether impossible. The MSS. of the *Ma'āzīr* have *Baranq* *Baranq* *Baranq*. In the beginning of the Akbarnāma, Abū 'l-Faḡl says that this 8th ancestor of Timūr was the first that held the title of *barlās*, which means the same as *shujā'*, brave. Another *Barlās* had been mentioned above on p. 216. An Amir Chākī *Barlās* served with distinction under Timūr.

Tarzon Khān was in the service of Bayrām Khān (No. 10), and joined Akbar when Bayrām fell into disgrace. Akbar sent him, together with Hāji Muhammad Siyānī (No. 55), to see Bayrām on his way to Makkah, as far as Nāgor, then the frontier of the empire. T. Kh. was subsequently promoted to the post of a Commander of Five Thousand, and was for some time Governor of Bhakkar (*vide* No. 107), and then of Patan in Gujrāt. In the 21st year he served in Rājputānā, *vide* No. 44. In the 23rd year he was made Fawjdar of Jaunpūr, at the same time that Mullā Muhammad Yazdī (*vide* p. 198) was appointed Qāriy-i-Qazāt and Šadr of the Sirkār. When the Jaunpūr Rebellion broke out, T. Kh. with other faithful Amirs moved to Bihār against Bahādūr Khān and ‘Arab Khān, who were joined by Maṣṣūm Khān Faranḡhādī (No. 157). In the 27th year he served under M. ‘Aziz Koka in Bihār. When the Qāsqhālā (No. 50) left Maṣṣūm Khān and joined the Imperialists, M. ‘Aziz sent T. Kh. to Ghorāghāt, where most of the Qāsqhālā had jāgirs. T. Kh. stayed at Tājpūr (Dinapore), settling matters, when Maṣṣūm Khān came with a large army from Bhāṭī (بہاٹی),¹ and plundered Western Bengal, approaching even the environs of Tānda. he also sent a detachment against T. Kh., who was besieged in the fort of Tājpūr. The siege was raised by a corps sent by Shāhbāz Khān-i-Kambū (No. 80) from Patna, and T. Kh. was thus enabled to join Shāhbāz and drive away the rebels from Upper Bengal. Maṣṣūm fled again to Bhāṭī, and Shāhbāz and T. Kh. planned an expedition against ‘Isā, who had afforded Maṣṣūm shelter. They crossed the Ganges at Khizrpūr, which stands on the frontier of Bhāṭī, took Sunnārgāw, plundered Baktrāpūr (?), where ‘Isā used to live, and nearly caught Maṣṣūm. At this juncture, ‘Isā returned from an expedition to Kūch Bihār, and attacked the Imperialists near Bhowāl (N. of Dacca). The Imperialists had entrenched themselves

near the Brahmaputra, and the fighting was continued for a long time both by land and on the river. At one time T. Kh. with a small detachment came too near a position held by the enemy, and was attacked by Maṣṣūm Khān and wounded. Immediately afterwards he was caught and killed by Maṣṣūm (992). For a relation of his, *vide* No. 400.

33. Qiyā Khān Gung.

Qiyā is a Turkish word and means *zeib*, ornament. *Gung*, if it is the Persian word, means “dumb.” He served under Humāyūn, and held Kol Jalālī. On the approach of Hemū, he joined Tardī Beg (No. 12) in Dihli, and retreated with him. After Hemū’s defeat, Qiyā was sent to Āgra, and was raised to the dignity of a Commander of Five Thousand. Several parganas in Gwālīār having been given to him as *tuyūl*, Qiyā Khān, in the 2nd year of Akbar’s reign, besieged Gwālīār, which was held by Bhil Khān, a general of Salim Shāh, during whose reign Gwālīār had been the capital of the empire. Bhil Khān, thinking it impossible to hold the Fort for a long time, wished¹ to hand it over for a consideration to Rāja Rāmsāh, whose ancestors had held Gwālīār, when Qiyā Khān arrived, and after defeating the Rāja, prepared himself to besiege Bhil Khān. When Akbar, in 966, came to Āgra, he sent a detachment to assist Qiyā, and Bhil Khān submitted.

He was a friend of Bayrām, but was the first that left him and joined Akbar.

A few years later, Qiyā Khān joined Khān Zamān’s rebellion, but repented and was pardoned, at the request of Mun‘im Khān.

After the first conquest of Bengal, Q. Kh. was sent to Orīsa, to settle matters. He remained in Orīsa and Bengal during the Bengal rebellion, and when, in the 25th year, the Imperialists withdrew from that country, Qutlū Khān seized upon Orīsa, and besieged Qiyā Khān in some fort. Deserted by his soldiers, Q. Kh. was killed (989).²

¹ Abū l-Farī gives this spelling in the Albarnāma, and says it means *lowland* (from the Hindīstānī *دویر* *duir* the river), and extends nearly 400 kos from east to west, and 300 kos from N.S. from Thibet to the ocean. It would thus include the Sundarban and the tracts along the Megna. Grant, in the Vth Report, p. 260, note, defines *Bhāṭī* as comprising the Sunderban and all the neighbouring low lands, even Hijli, overflowed by the tide.

² ‘Isā’s father, according to Abū l-Farī, was a Rājput of the Dais clan, if I read correctly my MSS. He came in contact with Salim Khān and Tāj Khān of Bengal, was killed; and his two sons, ‘Isā and Ismā‘īl, were sold as slaves. They were subsequently traced by Qutb u-Dīn Khān, ‘Isā’s uncle, to Tūrān, and brought back. ‘Isā soon became the chief of Bhāṭī, and had a great reputation, even lost on him. Hence he is generally called by Abū l-Farī “the Imperialist no end of trouble. He must have been killed by Qutlū Khān of Orīsa, who ceded Pūrī to Mān Singh.

¹ So the *Maṣṣūm*. The *Savānā* says that Rāja Rāmsāh had come to besiege Gwālīār. Irishita instead of Bhil K. Dadā, only has Suhayl Khān (?), and Iqbāl Khān (?) for Qiyā. The change from *قیو* to *قیو* is not remarkable; but the alteration of *قیو* to *قیو* is more violent, as we have an additional *alf* and *fān*.

How untrustworthy our printed editions are may be seen from Khāfi Khān’s List of Commanders of Five Thousand under Akbar (*Ed. Bibl. Indica* I, p. 237), where the native editors have given three wrong names among twelve, viz. :—

P. 237, last line, for *Amīn Khān Koka*, read *Zayn Khān Koka* (No. 34).

P. 238, l. 1, for *Shujā‘at Khān*, read *Shujā‘at Khān* (No. 14).

P. 238, l. 2, for *Rasūl Khān*, read *Tarzon Khān* (No. 32).

Moreover Khāfi Khān’s list is most incomplete, and does not coincide, although he says so, with the number of Panjshāzārā given in the *Tabaqāt*.

² Several copies of the *Tabaqāt* which I have consulted, say that Qiyā Khān died in 994 (?).

Tardī *Khān* (No. 101), his son, was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred. He accompanied Prince Dānyāl to the Dakhin, but fell later in disgrace. In the 49th year he was restored and promoted to a command of Two Thousand Five Hundred, and got a present of 5 lacs of Rupees.

V. Commanders of Four Thousand Five-Hundred.

34. Zayn *Khān*,¹ son of *Khawāja* Maqsūd of Harāt.

His father, *Khawāja* Maqsūd 'Alī, was a servant of Akbar's mother. The name of his mother was Pīcha Jān Anaga; she was one of Akbar's nurses. On Humāyūn's flight to Persia, Maqsūd was always near the howdah of Akbar's mother, and remained attached to her in all her misfortunes. His brother was *Khawāja* Ḥasan (Zayn *Khān*'s uncle), whose daughter married Prince Salīm. She is the mother of Prince Parwiz.

In 993, Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother, had died, and Akbar crossed the Indus for Zābulistān. Zayn *Khān* was at that time a Commander of Two Thousand and Five Hundred, and was sent against the Yūsufzā'is. This tribe, says 'Abu 'l-Faẓl, had formerly been in Qarābāgh and Qandahār, and had invaded Kābul, where a great number of them were killed by M. Ulugh Beg. The remainder settled at Lamghānāt, and subsequently at Ishtaghar. For the last one hundred years they had held the territory of Bajor,² and were notorious robbers. In Bajor, there was also a tribe of the name of Sulṭānī, who traced their descent to a daughter of Sulṭān Sikandar. The Yūsufzā'is deprived them treacherously of their district; a few of the Sulṭānīdes, however, remained in Bajor from attachment to their old country.

On a former occasion, when Akbar had moved against M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, the chiefs of the Yūsufzā'is submitted, and one of them, Kālū, went with Akbar to Āgra and was hospitably treated. He fled, however, but was caught by Shams 'd-Dīn *Khāfi* (No. 159) near Aṭak, and was sent back; and although Akbar continued to treat him kindly, he fled again and stirred up his countrymen.

Zayn *Khān* moved into the District of Bajor² (north of Pashāwar), and punished the Yūsufzā'is. Several chiefs asked for pardon. After this he erected a fort in Jakdara, in the middle of the country, and defeated the enemies in twenty-three fights. He had at last to ask

¹ As he was Akbar's foster-brother; he is generally called in histories, Zayn *Khān* Koka.

for reinforcements, and Akbar sent to him Rāja Bīr Bar and Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Faṭḥ with some troops. Zayn *Khān* asked them to attack the Afghāns whilst he would occupy the conquered districts, or he would attack the enemies and they should hold the district. But Bīr Bar and Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Faṭḥ, who were no friends of Zayn *Khān*, proposed that they should attack the Yūsufzā'is together and then go back. Z. *Kh.* said it would not do to return without better results from a country which had cost so many sacrifices; else, the best thing they could do, was to return the same way they had come. But to this they would not listen, and returned by another road (over *کر اکر*). Z. *Kh.* paid no attention to their insubordination and joined them, chiefly because he was afraid they would denounce him at Court. As soon as the Afghāns saw the Imperialists returning, they attacked them in every narrow valley. On passing the Girewa¹ Balandri (*کریرد بلندری*), Z. *Kh.* who commanded the rear (*chandāwal*), was so severely attacked that he had to face them. Arrows and stones were showered from all sides on the Imperialists, the soldiers got bewildered, and the horses ran into the train of elephants. Many lives were lost. Z. *Kh.*, unable to prevent a rout, rushed among the Afghāns seeking death, when Jānīsh Bahādūr (No. 235) got hold of the reins of his horse, and led him by force out of the *melee*. In the greatest disorder the Imperialists reached the next station, when the mere rumour of an approach of the Afghāns dispersed the soldiers. In the darkness of night most of them lost their way, and several detachments entered the valleys occupied by the Afghāns. Their enemies being engaged in plundering, they were at first safe; but next day were all cut off. This was the occasion when Bīr Bar with 500 officers fell (*vide p. 214*).

In the 31st year (994), Z. *Kh.* operated successfully against the Mahmands and Ghorīs near Pashāwar, who under their chief Jalāl 'd-Dīn Rawshānī had committed numerous predations. In the next year, Z. *Kh.* was made governor of Zābulistān vice Mān Singh, and moved, in the 33rd year, against the Yūsufzā'is. After eight months' fighting they submitted, but Z. *Kh.* insisted on occupying their territory. He followed the same policy as before, and erected a large Fort on the banks of the river Pajkora² (*پاجکورا*), where their district commences. During the festival of the 'Īd-i Qurbānī (Baqr 'Īd, in Zi Hijjah), he surprised the Afghāns and took possession of the whole district, erecting a fort wherever

¹ Girewa means a hill.

² Or Panjkora.

he thought necessary, and leaving in each a sufficient number of soldiers¹ (*vide* No. 46.)

In the 35th year he was sent to punish several rebellious zamindārs in the Himālayas. Most of them, as Rāja Budī (Badhī) Chand of Nagarkot (*vide* p. 349), Rāj Pertāb of Mankot, Rāja Paristām of Mount Jamū, Rāja Bāsū of Mau, Rāj Bahadur of Lakhnāpūr, etc., submitted and accompanied Z. Kh. to Court, though they had an army of 10,000 horse and a lac of foot soldiers.

After having been made, in the 36th year, a Commander of Four Thousand, Z. Kh. was allowed an *salām* and a *nagṛāra* (*vide* p. 52), and was appointed, in the following year, governor of the districts beyond the Indus up to the Hindūkush, when new opportunities offered for punishing the mountaineers.

In the 41st year he was made a Commander of Five Thousand and governor of Kābul, *vice* Qulij Khān. In the same year, Prince Salīm fell in love with Z. Kh.'s daughter, and married her soon after, though Akbar was displeased (*vide* p. 288, l. 1, from below). With the death of Jalāl Khān Rawshāni the disturbances in Zabulistān came to an end, and Z. Kh. was ordered to Lāhor, from where Akbar, on his return from Barhānpūr, called him to Āgra.

Z. Kh. died in 1010, partly from excessive drinking. He played on several instruments, and composed poems. As Saʿid Khān (No. 23) for his eunuchs, and Qulij Khān (No. 42) for his horses, so was Z. Kh. famous for his elephants.

A son of his, Shukr² 'Ullāh (No. 373), *vide* below, was a Commander of Two Hundred. The *Maṣāʾir* mentions another son, Muḡhul Khān, who served under Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān (*vide* Pādishāhn. II, p. 611) and died 19th Ramaṣān, 1067. He commanded for some time Fort Odgīr in the Dakhīn, where the author of the *Maṣāʾir* later found an inscription referring to his appointment. For a second daughter, *vide* p. 316.

For Zayn Khān's brother, *vide* No. 38.

35. Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, son of Mir Ahmad-i Razawī.

He was a real Sayyid of Mashhad, and was much liked by Akbar. In the 30th year he was a Commander of Two Thousand and Five Hundred.

When Shāhshāh Khān left Bihār for Bengal, M. Yūsuf Khān was sent from Audh to keep Bihār. In the 32nd year (995), when Qāsim Khān (No. 59) resigned, M. Y. was sent to Kashmir as ruler. He was much liked by the people of that country, conciliated Shams Chak, the claimant to the throne, and sent him to Court. In the 34th year (997), Akbar visited Kashmir, and issued several orders regarding the taxation of the country. In the districts of Mararāj and Kamrāj, i.e., the upper and lower districts on both sides of the Bahat river, he fixed the taxes at one-fourth.

In Kashmir every piece of ground is called *patta*, though a *patta* originally is equal to 1 Bigha, 1 Biswa (*Ilāhī*) of Akbar. Two and a half *patṭas* and a little more are equal to 1 *Kashmīrī* Bigha. Three kinds of grain pay taxes in Kashmir, and each village is assessed at some *khariwārs* of *shālī*. A *khariwār* is equal to 3 *mans*, 8 *seers* of Akbar. The principal weight used in Kashmir is the *tark*, which is equal to 8 *seers* of Akbar (*vide* p. 90, note 2). At the time of the *Rabī*³ crop, they take 2 *tarks* from each *patta* of wheat and vetches (*māsh*). The country having been recently annexed, was assessed very lightly, at 22 lacs *khariwārs*, which was 2 lacs more than before, the *khariwār* being reckoned at 16 *dāms*. For this sum, Akbar handed over Kashmir to M. Y. Kh.

In the 36th year, one of M. Y. Kh.'s Mutaʿaddis (revenue clerks) fled to Court, and stated that the revenue should be 50 per cent (*dah-pānzdah*) higher, and the *khariwār* should be valued at 29 *dāms*. M. Y. Kh. informed Akbar that so high an assessment was an impossibility; but Akbar sent Qāzi Nur⁴ 'Ilāh and Qāzi ʿAlī to Kashmir to report on the revenue. As M. Y. Khān's people assumed a threatening attitude, Nur⁴ 'Ilāh returned, and Akbar sent Ḥasan Beg Shaykh ʿUmari (No. 167) to Kashmir. On his arrival, some of M. Y. Kh.'s people made a conspiracy, and stirred up the malcontents of the country, who collected under Yādgar, the son of M. Y. Kh.'s uncle. The disturbances became so serious that Qāzi ʿAlī and Ḥasan Beg returned to Hindūstān; but the rebels blockaded the roads and killed Qāzi ʿAlī. Ḥasan Beg escaped, not without wounds. Yādgar then read the *khutba* in his name, and had dies prepared for striking coins. Several bad omens foreshadowed his speedy run. Without having any knowledge of this rebellion, Akbar revisited Kashmir; but when he was informed of the state of the country, he put M. Y. Kh. under the charge of Abū 'l-Faḡl. Yādgar in vain tried to oppose Akbar at the frontier passes, and fled from Srinagar to Hirāpūr, where some of M. Y. Kh.'s men spread at night the rumour that Akbar had suddenly arrived. In the confusion which ensued, Yādgar fled outside of the camp.

¹ Such forts were called *Tāḡirs*, now the common word for a police station.

² *Tāḡas* means a corps of cavalry, matchlockmen, and archers, stationed within an enclosure. Their duty is to guard the roads, to hold the places surrounding the *Tāḡana*, and to dispatch provisions (*varad*) to the next *Tāḡana*. Pādishāhnā, I, p. 167.

³ How old the use of the word *Tāḡana* is, may be seen from the fact that it occurs frequently on Tribeni and Sātḡaw inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries of the Hijrah.

accompanied by a servant of the name of Yūsuf. His camp was plundered and M. Y. Kh.'s men got hold of Yūsuf, who had returned to get a horse for his master. They tortured him, till he confessed where Yādgar was. Soon after, they caught him and cut off his head.

As M. Y. Kh. refused to remain in charge of Kashmir under the increased revenue, the country was made khālīṣa, and Shams 'd-Dīn Khāfi (No. 159) was appointed Governor with 3,000 troops. Some time after, at Prince Salīm's request, M. Y. Kh. was re-instated.

In the 38th year, M. Y. Kh. was appointed Dārogha of the Topkhāna, and received Jaunpūr as tuyūl, vice Qulij Khān (1002), but in the 41st year his jāgīr was transferred to Gujrat, to enable him to serve in the Dakhin. In the following year, when Šādiq of Harāt (No. 43) died, M. Y. Kh. was appointed atāliq to Prince Murād, whom he joined in Bālāpūr (Barār). After the death of Prince Murād (p. 322), M. Y. Kh. distinguished himself, together with Abū 'l-Fazl, in the Dakhin wars and later, under Prince Dānyāl, in the conquest of Ahmadābād, on which occasion M. Y. Kh. is said to have been more energetic than other grantees.

After joining Akbar's Court at Burhānpūr, in the 46th year, M. Y. Kh. went again to Prince Dānyāl, who, in 1010, sent him to assist Abū 'l-Fazl and the Khān-Khānān at Bālāghāt. But soon after, he died of an abscess at Jalnāpūr,¹ in Jumādā II, of the same year. His body was taken to Mashhad.

M. Y. Kh. generally stayed at Sulṭānpūr, which he looked upon as his Indian home. His contingent consisted exclusively of Rohīlas, whose wages he paid monthly.

His sons. 1. Mīrzā Lashkarī Šafshikan Khān (No. 375) He was under Akbar Thānadār of Bīr (East of Ahmadnagar), and got from Jahāngīr the title of Šafdar Khān, and a tuyūl in Bihār. In the 5th year (of Jahāngīr), he was promoted to the post of a Commander of 1,500, with 700 horse, and was made in the following year Subādār of Kashmir. In the 8th year, he was removed from his office. In the 21st year, when Mahābat Khān had fled, he was sent towards Dillī to intercept Mahābat's treasures which were known to have arrived from Bengal. This he did. In the beginning of Shāh Jahān's reign, he was made a Commander of 2,500, and 2,000 horse, received the title of Šafshikan Khān, and was

again sent to Bīr, where he remained for a long time. He withdrew at last from public life, got a pension of Rs. 12,000 *per annum*, and lived at Lāhor. He died in 1055.

He was frank to a fault. Once he invited the Manṣabdārs of Kābul, and feasted them on pork; and when called to Court, to answer for his conduct, he gave Jahāngīr a lesson by saying that not only pork, but also wine was forbidden in the law. For this answer he fell into disgrace.

2. Mīrzā 'Ivaz (عوض). He was a good prose writer, and wrote a history of the world, entitled *Chaman*.

3. Mīrzā Afāqūn. "He lived with his brother." He was subsequently made Mutawallī of Sikandra (Akbar's tomb), where he died.

A relation of M. Y. Kh., Mīr 'Abd' 'Ilāh, was under Shāhjahān a Commander of 1,500 and 600 horse. He was for some time Governor of Fort Dharūr, E. of Bīr, mentioned above. He died in the 8th year of Shāhjahān.

VI. Commanders of Four Thousand.

36. Mahdī Qāsim Khān.

The *Tabaqāt* mentions him among the Commanders of Five Thousand. He served under M. 'Askari, Bābar's third son, whose foster brother he was. His brother was Ghazanfar Koka¹ (غزنفر). Humāyūn, after the conquest of Gujrat, had appointed 'Askari to Ahmadābād. One night, when half drunk, M. 'Askari said, "I am king and the shadow of God"; when Ghazanfar gently replied, "Thou art drunk, and hast lost thy senses," at which all who were present laughed. 'Askari got enraged, and imprisoned Ghazanfar; but he escaped, went to Sulṭān Bahādūr, king of Gujrat, who had retreated to Fort Diu, and betrayed the plans of 'Askari. Bahādūr thereupon collected an army, marched to Ahmadābād and drove the Prince away (*vide* No. 13).

Mahdī Qāsim Khān joined Humāyūn on his return from Persia, and was made in the beginning of Akbar's reign, a Commander of Four Thousand. In the 10th year, 'Abd' 'l-Majīd Āṣaf Khān (No. 49) had been ordered to pursue Khān Zamān (No. 13); but entertaining doubts regarding his own safety, he fled to Garha (Jabalpūr). M. Q. Kh. was, therefore, sent to Garha, after Akbar had, in 973, returned from Jaunpūr to Āgra, and was ordered to capture 'Abd' 'l-Majīd. When M. Q. Kh. arrived

¹ My copy of the *Tabaqāt*, as also another MS. which I have seen, contains the following entry—"At the time he was appointed to operate against Rājā, he died at Jannatābād in the Dā'Khān, which is generally called Jalnāpūr." It is difficult to say how these words have found their way into some MS. of the *Tabaqāt*, which was finished in A.H. 1001, or nine years before M. Y. Khān's death.

¹ Ghazanfar means a lion. Badā'uni ('I. p. 125, l. 8) calls him Ghazanfar Beg. The Ed. Bibl. Indica Edition has, by mistake, Ghannafar.

at Garha. 'Abd' 'l-Majid fled to Khān Zamīn; but the wretched state of the country displeased M. Q. Kh so much, that without asking Akbar's permission, he left Garha and went to Makkah. From there he returned over Persia and Qandahār, and arrived, towards the end of the 13th year, at Ratanbhūr (which Akbar besieged), and asked to be forgiven, sending at the same time a fine batch of Persian horses as a present. Akbar pardoned him, restored him to his old rank, and gave him Lakhanau as *amīl*.

"Nothing else is known of him" (*Maṣṣūr*). He had been dead for some time in 1601, when the *Tal'at* was completed. Husayn Khān Tukriya (No. 53) was the son of his sister and his son-in-law.

He had a villa at Lāhor, which was called *Bigh-i Mahdī Qāsim Khān*, vide Badā'oni II. 90, 292, and *C. Icutta Review* for October, 1869 (*Jahāngir's Death*).

37. Muzaḥfir Khān-i Turbatī

Turbat is the name of a tribe (*ulū*) in Khurāsān. His full name is Khwāra Muzaḥfir 'Alī Khān-i Turbatī. He was Bayrām's *Diwān*. Bayrām delegated him from *Dipālpar* to Sher Muhammad *Diwān* (p. 332), who sent him in chains to Akbar. Though several courtiers advised the Emperor to kill Muzaḥfir, he pardoned him, and made him *Amīl* (Collector) of the *Parāna* of *Parsar*. Subsequently Akbar made him *Dā'īm-i Bayūṭāt* (Collector of the Imperial Stores, etc.), and at last *Diwān* of the Empire, with the title of Muzaḥfir Khān (971). Rāja Todar Mal was then under him. According to Badā'oni, the two quarrelled incessantly, though people said that the Rāja was a better financier than Muzaḥfir, whose accession to office was honoured by the short (*tarīkh* حاتم, *zā'im* (=971), or "Tyrant".

In the 11th year he abolished the *Jamc-i Raqmī*. This is the name of the assessment of the *Dihli* empire, which had existed since the time of Bayrām; but the rent roll showed an assessment very different from the actual state of things; "for, on account of the number of men (*ḡasrat-i mardum*, i.e. *Jāgīr*-holders) and the unsettled state (*galb-i wilāyat*) of the country, the revenue was increased in name (*ba-nām* *afzūda*) for the sake of mere show (*barā-yi ma'zid-i istibār*)." This *Jamc-i Raqmī* was now abolished (vide Third Book, *Ā'in-i Dahsāla*), and Muzaḥfir prepared a rent roll according to his experience and the returns of *Qānūngos*. The new rent roll was called *Jamc-i Hāsīl-i Hāl*, or the roll of the present actual income (vide p. 352). As the *Dāgh* law (pp. 265, 266, and p. 252) did not then exist, Muzaḥfir Khān fixed the number of soldiers which the contingents of the *Amīrs* and the *Mulāzims* (friends

of the king) should contain, and the soldiers were divided into three classes.¹

In the 12th year it was reported that Muzaḥfir loved a boy of the name of Qutb. Akbar had the boy forcibly removed, whereupon Muzaḥfir assumed the garb of a *Faqīr*, and went into the forest. Akbar was thus obliged to recall him, and restored the beloved.

In the 17th year a mania for *Chaupar* (p. 315) had seized Akbar's Court. Muzaḥfir lost not only his gold muhurs, but also his temper, and annoyed the Emperor so much that he was told to go to Makkah. But he was recalled, and joined the Court at *Sūrat*, which Akbar then besieged. In the 18th year (981), after having been for some time in *Sārangpūr* in *Mūlwa*, he was appointed *Fakīl* of the Empire, with the title of *Jumlat' 'l-Mulk*. But he did several things which Akbar did not approve of, and when the Emperor returned from *Patna*, from where he had dispatched a corps to take *Rahātās* in South *Bihār*, he ordered Muzaḥfir to join the expedition, without allowing him first to pay his respects (vide Briggs II, 219). Like his companion, Khawāja Shams' 'd-Dīn Khūfī (No. 159), M. distinguished himself in the campaign, punished the rebels on several occasions, and took *Hājīpūr*, of which the *Afghāns* had again taken possession. For these services, M. was appointed, in the 20th year, Governor of *Bihār*, from *Chausā* to *Garhi*. Soon after the taking of *Hājīpūr*, M. was nearly caught by a party of *Afghāns*, who saw him reconnoitering the banks of the *Ghandak*.

In the 22nd year, M. returned to Court, where *Shāh* *Manṣūr* (No. 122) and Rāja Todar Mal continued, under his superintendence, their financial reforms.

On the death of Khān *Jahān* (No. 24) in 986, he was made Governor of *Bengal*.

In the 25th year (988), *Shāh* *Manṣūr* subjected the *Amīrs* of *Bihar* and *Bengal* to strict inquiries, and called on them to refund sums which they had spent without permission. When he insisted on his

¹ The *Maṣṣūr* says, he allowed the first class 18,000 *dāms*, the second 32,000 *d.*, and the third 24,000 *d.* per annum. These numbers appear to be very large, when compared with p. 241. But what was the value of a *dām* in those days? In the 40th year of Akbar's reign, the following pay regulation was introduced:—

Mughul, Afghān, or Hindī	
<i>Shāshpas</i>	1,000 <i>d.</i> per mensem.
<i>Du aspas</i>	800 <i>d.</i> "
<i>Yak aspas</i>	600 <i>d.</i> "
1st Class <i>Rājputs</i>	800 <i>d.</i> "
2nd ditto ditto	600 <i>d.</i> "

(Akbarnāma). But at that time 40 *dāms* were equal to 1 Akbarshāhī Rupee, which differed very little from our rupee.

demands, Ma^qsum-i Kābuli and several other grantees that held jāgirs in Bihār, rebelled. Muzaḥḥar imitated Shāh Maṅṡūr's policy in Bengal, and when he commenced vigorously to collect outstandings, Bābā Khān Qāqshāl and other Jāgirdārs of Bengal rebelled likewise. M. defeated them on several occasions, but would not listen to proposals of peace. At last the Bihār rebels joined those of Bengal, and mustered a sufficient force to take the field against Muzaḥḥar. Notwithstanding this, the rebels would have gladly come to terms and gone to Orisā, had not Muzaḥḥar betrayed his weakness by moving to the Fort of Tāṇḍa, which, according to Badāonī, consisted of nothing but four old walls. The rebels thus emboldened demanded full pardon, permission to go to Makkah, and restoration of one-third of their property. At this juncture, Sharaf^u 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn (No. 17) escaped from Muzaḥḥar's custody, joined the rebels, and informed them of M.'s miserable condition. They moved, therefore, against Tāṇḍa, took it, captured M., and killed him (Rabī^u I, 988).¹

The Jāmi^u Masjid in Āgra was built by Muzaḥḥar. I am told the Masjid is now in ruins, which still go by the name of *Nawāb Muzaḥḥar Khān ki Masjid* or *Kālī Masjid*. The Ma^qasir says it stood in the Kaṭra Miyān Raḡiq, but this name does not appear to be now-a-days in use. The Masjid now called the Jāmi^u Masjid of Āgra was built, in 1058, by Jahān Ārā Begum, Shāhjahān's daughter, at a cost of five lacs of Rupees.

According to the *Mir^{at} 'l-Ālam*, his youngest daughter was married to Shāh Fath^u 'llah of Shīrāz.

36. Sayf Khān Koka, elder brother of Zayn Khān Koka (No. 34).

His mother had only daughters, and when she was pregnant with Sayf Khān, her husband threatened to divorce her, should it again turn out to be a daughter. She complained of this to Akbar's mother, and Akbar, though then a child, told her husband that he would incur his displeasure if he should do so; "besides," said he, "it shall be this time a fine boy." The mother looked upon Prince Akbar's words as a prophecy from heaven, and in course of time Sayf Khān was born.

Akbar was very fond of Sayf Khān, and made him, though quite young, a Commander of Four Thousand. He distinguished himself by his bravery, especially in the 17th year, at the taking of Sūrat, where he was wounded by a bullet. In the beginning of the next year (981), he accompanied Akbar on his forced march from Āgra to Aḥmadābād (p. 343), and was killed bravely fighting with Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mirzā.

¹ According to Badāonī (II, p. 382), Muzaḥḥar capitulated, left the fort, and was then captured and slain.

How Akbar appreciated his services may be seen from the fact, that having heard that Sayf Khān was heavily involved, he paid, on his return to Āgra, every debt due by him.

His two sons, Sher Afkan (355), and Amān^u 'llah (356) are mentioned below as Commanders of Two Hundred and Fifty.

39. Rāja Toḍar Mal, a Khatrī.

He was born at Lāhor. The Ma^qasir^u 'l-Umarā does not record his services before the 18th year of Akbar's reign; but T. M. appears to have entered Akbar's service at a very early period. In 971, he was employed under Muzaḥḥar (Bad. II, 65), and in 972, he served under Akbar against Khān Zamān (vide No. 61). He held the first important post in the 18th year, when after the conquest of Gujrāt he was left there to assess that province. In the 19th year, after the conquest of Patna, he got an *ġalam* and a *naqqāra* (Ā^u in 19), and was ordered to accompany Mun^{im} Khān to Bengal. He was the soul of the expedition. In the battle with Dā^uud Khān-i Kerarānī, when Khān ġalam (vide No. 58) had been killed, and Mun^{im} Khān's horse had run away, the Rāja held his ground bravely, and "not only was there no defeat, but an actual victory" "What harm," said Toḍar Mal, "if Khān ġalam is dead; what fear, if the Khān Khānān has run away, the empire is ours!" After settling several financial matters in Bengal and Orisā, Toḍar Mal went to Court, and was employed in revenue matters. When Khān Jahān (No. 24) went to Bengal, Toḍar Mal was ordered to accompany him. He distinguished himself, as before, in the defeat and capture of Dā^uud. In the 21st year, he took the spoils of Bengal to Court, among them 300 to 400 elephants. In the following year, he was again sent to Gujrāt, vice Vazīr Khān (No. 41), who had given no satisfaction. Whilst arranging at Aḥmadābād matters with Vazīr Khān, Muzaḥḥar Ḥusayn, at the instigation of Mīr^u 'Alī Kolābī, rebelled. Vazīr Khān proposed to retreat to the Fort, but Toḍar Mal was ready to fight, and defeated Muzaḥḥar in the 22nd year, near Dholqah, which lies 12 *loṣ* from Aḥmadābād. Vazīr Khān would have been lost in this battle, if Toḍar Mal had not come to his assistance. Muzaḥḥar, after his defeat, fled to Jūnāgarh.

In the same year Toḍar Mal was appointed Vazīr. When Akbar left Ajmīr for the Panjāb, the house idols of the Rāja were lost, as mentioned on p. 33, note.

When the news of Muzaḥḥar's death (No. 37) and the occupation of the whole of Bengal and Bihār by the rebels reached Akbar, he sent Toḍar Mal, Ṣādiq Khān, Tarson Khān, etc., from Fathpūr Sikrī to Bihār. Muḥibb 'Alī (No. 107), Governor of Raḥtās and Muḥammad Mī^u 'Im

Khā-i Faranḥūdī (No. 157) were appointed *Jumālīs*, or auxiliaries. The latter joined the Rājā with 3,000 well equipped horse, evidently bent on rebellion. Todar Mal managed to keep him quiet; but he reported the matter to Court. The Bengal rebels, under Maṣṣūm-i Kibuli, the Qāqshā, and Maṣṣūm-i Dīn Huseyn, with 30,000 horse, 500 elephants, and many chieftains and artillery, had collected near Mungir, and Todar Mal, from fear of treachery among his auxiliaries, shut himself upon the Fort of Mungir, instead of risking a general engagement. During the siege, two of his officers, Humāyūn Farmanī and Tarḥīn Dīvān, joined the rebels. Though suffering from want of provisions, Todar Mal held himself bravely, especially as he received timely remittances from Court. After these had lasted for some time, Bibī Khān Qāqshā died and Jabāri, son of Maḥmūd Khān Qāqshā desired to leave. The rebel army dispersed; Maṣṣūm-i Kibuli went to South Bihār, and Arab Balāur rushed to surprise Patna, and take possession of the Imperial treasury, which Pahlū Khān (perhaps No. 407) had safely lodged in the Fort of that town. After sending Maṣṣūm-i Faranḥūdī to Patna, to assist Pahlū Khān, Toler Mal, and Šādiq Khān followed Maṣṣūm-i Kibuli to Bihār. Maṣṣūm made a fruitless attempt to defeat Šādiq Khān in a sudden night attack, but was obliged to retreat, finding a ready asylum with Šērā Khān, Zamindār of Orissā. Todar Mal was thus enabled to report to Akbar that South Bihār, as far as Garhi, was re-annexed to the Delhi empire.

In the 27th year (990) Todar Mal was made Dīvān, or rather *Valī*. During this year he introduced his financial reforms which have made him so famous. The third book of the *Aḥḥin* contains his new rent-roll, or *Asl-i Jam'i-i Tūmār*, which superseded Muḥammad's assessment (p. 373). His regulations regarding the coinage have been alluded to above, and others may be found in the *Albarnāma*.

The most important reform introduced by Todar Mal is the change in the language and the character used for the revenue accounts. Formerly they had been kept in Hindi by Hindu *Mularrars*. Todar Mal ordered that all government accounts should henceforth be written in Persian. He thus forced his co-religionists to learn the court language of their rulers—a circumstance which may well compare to the introduction of the English language in the courts of India. The study of Persian therefore became necessary for its pecuniary advantages.

Todar Mal's order, and Akbar's generous policy of allowing Hindūs to compete for the highest honours—we saw on p. 363 that Mān Singh was the first Commander of Seven Thousand—explain two facts, *first*, that before

the end of the 18th century the Hindūs had almost become the Persian teachers of the Muhammadans; *secondly*, that a new dialect could arise in upper India, the *Urdū*, which without the Hindūs as receiving medium, never could have been called into existence. Whether we attach more influence to Todar Mal's order or to Akbar's policy, which once initiated, his successors, willing or not, had to follow, one fact should be borne in mind that before the times of Akbar, the Hindūs, as a rule, did not study Persian, and stood therefore politically below their Muhammadan rulers.

In the 29th year, Akbar honoured him by paying him a visit. In the 32nd year, a *Khatri*, from private hatred, wounded T. M. on a march at night time. The man was at once cut down.

When Bir Bar (No. 85) had been killed in the war with the Yūsufzā'is, T. M. was ordered to accompany Mān Singh, who had been appointed commander-in-chief. In the 34th year, when Akbar went to Kashmir, T. M. was left in charge of Lāhor. Soon after, he applied for leave to go to the banks of the Ganges, as he was old and wished to die. Akbar let him go; but he recalled him from Haridwar, and told him that looking after his duties was more virtuous than sitting on the banks of the Ganges. T. M. unwillingly returned, but died soon after, on the 11th day of the year 998 (*vide* No. 27, p. 353).

Though often accused of headstrongness and bigotry by contemporaneous historians, Todar Mal's fame, as general and financier, has outlived the deeds of most of Akbar's grandees, together with Abū 'l-Fazl and Mān Singh, he is best known to the people of India at the present day.

His son Dhārū (No. 190) was a Commander of Seven Hundred, and was killed during the Sindh expedition, while serving under Khān Khānān (p. 335). People say that he used to shoe his horses with golden shoes.

The name *Todar Mal* is often spelt in MSS. with the Hindi *T, d,* and *r*, which explains the spelling "Torel Mall", which we find in old histories. Under Shāhjahān also there lived a distinguished courtier of the name "Todar Mal".

The *Tafriḥ-i-Imārāt*¹ says Todar Mal's father died when T. M. was quite young, and that the widow was in great distress. T. M., at an early

¹ This is the title of a Persian MS. preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was composed by Šāh Jahān's Governor at Calcutta, and contains the antiquities of that town. In the preface an English gen. Stephen, but the surname is not legible. The name clearly ends in *glon*, and may be Blington or some other similar name. The style is bombastic, and there is no proper arrangement.

age, showed much clearness and common sense, and received an appointment as writer, from which humble position he rose to the greatest honours.

40. Muhammed Qāsim Khān, of Nishāpūr.

The *Maʿāzīr* calls him Qāsim Muhammad Khān, and has put his name under the letter Q; but Abū 'l-Faḡl, Badāʾonī, and the *Ṭabaqāt* give his name in the above order.

He was a rich landowner of Nishāpūr, and fled after the invasion of the Uzbaks to India, where he served under Bayrām Khān. He distinguished himself in the war with Sikandar Sūr, and served as *Harāwāl*, or leader of the van, under Khān Zamān (No. 13) in the battle with Hemū. Immediately after, but still in the first year of Akbar's reign, he was sent against Hāji Khān, who had defeated Rānā Udai Sing of Maiwār, and taken possession of Nāgor and Ajmīr. Hāji Khān was an old servant of Sher Khān, and was distinguished for his wisdom and bravery. On the appearance of the Imperialists, however, Hāji Khān's army dispersed, and he himself withdrew to Gujrāt. M. Q. Kh. thus took possession of Nāgor and Ajmīr, which for a long time remained the south-western frontier of Akbar's empire.

In the 5th year, he left Bayrām's party, and joined the Chaghtā'i nobles. He commanded the left wing of Shams' d-Dīn Atga's corps in the fight in which Bayrām was defeated (p. 332). After the victory, he received Multān as jāgīr.

He was next sent to Sārangpūr in Mālwa, where, in the 9th year, he was visited by Akbar on his sudden hunting expedition to that province, the object of which was to get hold of 'Abd' 'l-lah Khān Uzbek (No. 14). M. Q. Kh. assisted in the pursuit.

According to the *Ṭabaqāt*, M. Q. Kh. died soon after at Sārangpūr.

41. Vazīr Khān, brother of 'Abd' 'l-Majīd-i Aṣaf Khān (I), of Harāt (No. 49).

When Vazīr Khān escaped with his brother (*vide* below, No. 49) from Bahādūr Khān (No. 21), he fled to Kara, and obtained subsequently, through the mediation of Muzaḡaffar Khān (No. 37), free pardon for himself and Aṣaf Khān.

In the 21st year, when 'Aziz Koka (p. 344) had incurred Akbar's displeasure. V. Kh. was sent to Gujrāt to govern in 'Aziz's name, and when that chief had been called to Court, he was appointed governor (*sipahsālār*) of the province. But he did not distinguish himself, and Akbar, in the 22nd year, sent Ṭoḡar Māl (No. 39) to Gujrāt, to take the administration out of V. Kh.'s hands. It happened that about the

same time, Mihr 'Alī Gulābī, a friend of M. Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn, rebelled and set up as king Muzaḡaffar Ḥusayn Ibrāhīm's young sūn, whom he had brought from the Dakkhin. As mentioned above, the rebellion was crushed through Ṭoḡar Māl's bravery. When the Rāja left, Mihr 'Alī appeared again, and V. Kh., most of whose soldiers had joined the rebel, shut himself up in the fort of Aḡmadābād. In one of the assaults, Mihr 'Alī was killed by a bullet, and Muzaḡaffar Ḥusayn Mirzā, from timidity, raised the siege. Notwithstanding this success, matters in Gujrāt did not improve, and oppressions became so numerous, that Akbar deposed V. Kh. and called him to Court.

In the 25th year, Akbar appointed him *vazīr* in the place of Shāh Maḡūr of Shirāz (No. 122), and soon after governor of Audh.

In the 27th year, when M. 'Aziz (No. 21) had been sent to Bihār, V. Kh. was ordered to join him with his contingent, and as after the flight of Ma'ṣūm Khān sickness obliged 'Aziz to return to Bihār, he left V. Kh. in charge of the province, till a new Šubadār should be appointed. V. Kh. made use of the opportunity, and moved against Qutlū Khān, ruler of Orīṣā, whom he defeated (*vide* p. 383.). Qutlū, in the following (29th) year, sent tribute, and was left in possession of Orīṣā. V. Kh. returned to Tānḍa, and applied himself, with the assistance of Šadiq Khān (No. 43) and Shāhbāz Khān-i Kambū (No. 80) to financial matters.

In the 31st year, Akbar ordered that each sūba should, in future, be ruled by two Amīrs, and Vazīr Khān was appointed Šubadār of Bengal, with Muḡhibb 'Alī Khān (No. 107) as assistant. In the following year, 995, V. Kh. died.

Shāhbāz Khān, who was Bahshī of Bengal, allowed Mirzā Muḡammad Šāliḥ, V. Kh.'s son, to take command of his father's contingent. But M. M. Šāliḥ showed much inclination to rebel, and Akbar sent Mīr Murād (282, or 380) to bring him and his contingent to Court. On the route, at Fatḡpūr Hanswah, he behaved so rebelliously, that Mīr Murād imprisoned him with the assistance of the jāgīrdārs of the district, and took him fettered to Akbar. He was kept imprisoned for some time.

42. Qulij Khān.

He is called *Andajānī*, from Andajān, a province of *Farghāna*, south of the Sayḡhūn. His ancestors had been for many years serving under the Timūrides. His grandfather was a noble at Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā Bāyqarā's court.

The principal facts of his life have been mentioned on p. 35, note 2. In mentioning his appointment to Sūrat, the "iron fort", which Akbar, in the 17th year, conquered in one month and seventeen days, Abū 'l-Faḡl

says that the Fort had been built in 947 (A.D. 1540-41), by Šāfar Āghā, alias Khudāwand Khān, a Turkish slave of Sultān Mahmūd of Gujrat. The style of its construction is characteristic (more long Ramal).

سد بود ترست و جان فرنگی این بنای

"May this structure prove a barrier for the chest and the life of the Fringī!"

Qulij Khān died at the age of eighty, on the 10th Rāmāzān 1022 (end of A.D. 1613),¹ at Peshāwar. He was at his death a Commander of Six Thousand, Five Hundred horse.

The *Ma'āsir* and Badā'uni (III, p. 158) say that he belonged to the tribe of جانی قربانی (*Jānī Qurbānī*); but for the latter word the MSS. have different readings, as *Qurbānī Farhānī*, *Faryīnī*, etc.

The *Ma'āsir* copies from the *Zakīyat al-Mu'minīn* the following story which is said to have taken place in A.H. 1009, when Jaunpūr was Q. a jāgir. "Q. was building a house, when the working men in digging came to a capalili structure. Q. and several other respectable men were called, and they remained on the spot till the newly discovered building was fully dug out. It had a door with an immense lock attached to it weighing one *man*. When forced open, an old man made his appearance, who asked the bystanders in Sanscrit, whether Rām Chandra's *avatār* (incarnation) had taken place; whether he had got back his *Śitā*; whether Krishna's *avatār* had taken place at Mathurā; and, lastly, whether Muhammad had appeared in Arabia. On receiving affirmative answers to these questions, the old man further wished to know, whether the Ganges still flowed. This also being affirmed, he expressed a wish to be taken out. Q. then put up seven tents, joined to each other, in each of which the sage remained for a day. On the 8th day he came out, and said prayers according to the way of Muhammadans. In sleep and

eating he differed from other men; he spoke to no one, and died after six months."

Qulij Khān's sons. 1. Mirzā Sayf al-'Ilah (No. 292). 2. Mirzā Chīn Qulij (No. 293), regarding whom vide below.

43. Šādiq Khān, son of Bāqir of Harāt.

Other historians call him Šādiq Muhammad Khān.¹ His father, Muhammad Bāqir, had been *vazīr* to Qarā Khān Turkmān, ruler of Khurāsān. Qarā had rebelled against Shāh Tadmūsp, and fled to India. Šādiq entered Bayrām's service as *Rikābdār* (spur-holder),² and got soon after a *nangsh*, and was made, after Bayrām's death, an Amīr. Badā'uni (II, 220) alludes to his services under Humāyūn in Qandahār, and the *Tarikh-i* says that he had been since his youth in Akbar's service.

After the conquest of Patna, Akbar returned by boat to Jaunpūr. On the road, in crossing the river at Chausā, a valuable elephant perished through Š.'s carelessness. Akbar confiscated his jāgir, excluded him from Court, and told him to go to Bhath (Bhath Ghorā, or Banda-Rewa), to get another elephant. After passing over "the heights and the low places" of fortune, Šidiq, in the 20th year, returned to Court with 166 elephants, and was restored to favour. He was made governor of Garha, vice Rāi Sarjan (No. 96). In the 22nd year (985), Š., with several other grandees, was ordered to punish Rāja Madhukar, should he not submit peacefully. Passing the confines of Narwar, Š. saw that kindness would not do; he therefore took the fort of Karharā (کرهرا), and cutting down the jungle, advanced to the river Dasthārā, close to which Ūndehkhāly, Madhukar's residence. A fight ensued. Madhukar was wounded and fled with his son Rām Sāh. Another son of his, Horal Deo (*Ma'āsir*, Hoal Rāo), and about 200 Rājapūts were killed. Š. remained encamped in the Rāja's territory. Driven to extremities, Madhukar sent Rām Chand (No. 248), a relation of his, to Akbar at Bahira, and asked and obtained pardon. On the 3rd Rāmāzān, 986, Šādiq with the penitent Rāja arrived at Court.

Soon after Š.'s *aqūsh* were transferred to the Eastern Districts of the empire, so that he might take part in the suppression of the revolt in Bengal. In the 27th year, during the temporary absence of Šāziz Koka

¹ The numbers added give 947. The last 93, though somewhat irregular, cannot be left out.

² According to the *Tarikh-i Jahāngiri* (ed. Sayyid Ahmad, p. 123, l. 1). Mobsel by bad MSS., I mentioned on p. 35, note, the year 1035 as the year of his death. The *Ma'āsir*, *al-Akām* and the *Ma'āsir* give as *ʿilālā* of his death the Arabic words, *Almanā jaym ʿasāl al-ʿilālā ilā al-ʿilālā*; "Death is the bridge which joins the beloved to the beloved;" but the letters added give 1023, not 1022, as in the *Tarikh*.

For *Ilāziz* in the last line of the note on p. 35, which is given in inferior MSS., better copy, see *Chin Qulij*, which is to be substituted for it.

His father, "Ulāli" has been mentioned above. The *Tarikh-i* says that another part of the same *al-kollus* was in the service of Zayn Khān Koka (No. 34), and Badā'uni (III, 185, 186) mentions two other parts of the same *al-kollus*.

Qulij, properly *qūlij*, means in Turkish a *second*, and "Qulij Khān" is the same as *Shahar Khān*. The word is variously spelled in MSS., sometimes with long vowels and a final *ā*.

¹ Akbar disliked the names *Muhammad* and *Ahmad*; hence we find that Abū'l-Fazl leaves them out in this list. Similar omissions occurred above, as Mun'im Khān (No. 11), Mirzā Šāziz (No. 21), for Muhammad Mun'im and M. Muhammad Šāziz; or, Shihāb Khān (No. 26), for Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad Khān. More examples will be found below.

² *Rikābdār* "stirrup-holder, one that runs at the stirrup of a great man, retinue." The pointed corner of the plate, that forms the foot-rest of the Indian stirrup is used as a spur.—P.]

(No. 21), *Ṣidiq* and *Muhibb Ṣālī Khān* (No. 107), defeated *Khābita*,¹ one of Maṣṣūm's officers, on the Ghandak near Hīlpūr, and sent his head to Akbar. In the beginning of the 24th year, he paid his respects at Court, but was immediately ordered to rejoin Mirzā Koka, who had again left for Bihār.

In the beginning of the 29th year, he was ordered to move to Vazīr Khān (No. 41), who at a place six *kos* from Burdwan was treating with Qulūṣ. Through Ṣā's skill, a sort of peace was concluded, which confirmed Qulūṣ in the possession of Orissā. Ṣ then returned to his *ṭupāṭ* at Patna.

When Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80) returned from his expedition to Bihār, the *tuḡl* forces of Bengal and Bihār were ordered to move to him. Ṣ, however, was no friend of Shāhbāz. The mutual dislike rose to the highest pitch, when once Ṣ's elephant ran against Shāhbāz, who believed the accident premeditated, and Akbar sent *Khawājā Sulaymān* (No. 327) to Bengal to settle their differences. One was to remain in Bengal, the other to go to Bihār, but Ṣ, in the 30th year, left Bengal without permission, and went to Court, where he was not admitted. But when Shāhbāz went from Bihār to Bengal, Ṣ went again to Court, and was appointed governor of Multān.

When the *Raḥḥisī* in the District of Mount Terāh (تراه), "which lies a sort of Pashāwar, and is 32 *kos* long, and 12 *kos* broad," commenced disturbances, Ṣ, in the 33rd year, was ordered to bring them to obedience, which he did with much tact and firmness. After the return of Zayn Khān (No. 34) from Bijor, Ṣ was sent there, to subjugate the Yū Ṣāṣīyā.

In the 36th year, Prince Mūrad was sent from Milwa to Gūjrāt, and as Ismāʿīl Qulī Khān (No. 46) had not given satisfaction at Fāṭil, Ṣ was appointed *atāliq* to the Prince,² whom in the 40th year he accompanied to the Dakḥan. Shāhbāz Khān, being one of the auxiliaries, the old enmity broke out again. After the siege of Ahmadnagar had been raised, Ṣ distinguished himself in protecting the frontiers of Burār.

In the beginning of the 51st year he was made a Commander of Five Thousand. In the same year he defeated Farāwar Khān, and made much

¹ *Khābita* (کھابیتا) was a *Mughl*, and had risen by favour under Maṣṣūm's Kāhili from a humble position to the post of a Commander. In *Baddison* (Ed. Bull. Indica, p. 316), he is called *Khābita Bahādur* (کھابیتا بہادر) and *Khābita* (کھابیتا) in my MS. of the *Taṭarīkh*, where, moreover, the event, according to the erroneous chronology of that history, is put in the 23rd year.

² The spelling *Qulūṣ* is perhaps preferable to *Qulūṣ* if this name is a shortened form of *Qulūṣh*.

³ From several passages in the *Albānārā* it is clear that *atāliq* (pr. a tutor) means the same as *Valī* or *Ṣāṣī*. The imperial princes kept up Courts of their own, and appointed their *Vazīrs*, their *Dīwāns*, *Bāṭlīs*, etc. The appointment of the *Valī*, however, appears to have rested with the emperor.

booty. He was then made governor of Shāhpūr, which town Prince Mūrad had founded six *kos* from Hīlpūr.

Ṣāḍiq died at Shāhpūr in the beginning of 1005. At Dhulpūr, which "lies 20 *kos* from Agra, near the left bank on the Chambal river," Ṣ had erected splendid buildings and a museum. He had also done much for the cultivation of the surrounding country.

He was one of the best officers Akbar had.

His sons: 1. Zilād Khān (No. 286), a Commander of Three Hundred and Fifty. In the 47th year he was made a *Khāṣṣ*, and, on the accession of Jahāngir, a Commander of Ten Thousand.

2. Dost Muhammad (No. 287) 3. Yār Muhammad (No. 288) "Neither of them was alive at the time of Shāhjahān." Maṣṣūḡir.

4. Rāy Rāyasingh, son of Rāy Kalyān Māl (No. 93).

Rāy Singh belonged to the Rāthors of Bilāṣṭir, and is the fourth descendant from Rāy Māldeo. His father, Kalyān Māl, was a friend of Bayrām (p. 316), and paid, in the 15th year, his respects to Akbar at Ajmir, when he together with his son entered the emperor's service. He also sent his brother's daughter to Akbar's harem. Kalyān Māl was in the 10th year a Commander of Two Thousand.

Rāy Singh, in the 17th year, when Akbar made preparations to crush the rebellion in Gajrāt, occupied Jodhpūr, the old seat of Māl Deo, in order to prevent the rebels from invading the Dillī territory; but Ibrāhīm, after his defeat at Sarāṭ, invaded Akbar's territory, and besieged Nāgor, which at that time was the *tuḡl* of Khān-i Kalān (No. 16), and was defended by his son, Farrukh Khān (p. 339). R. came to his relief, and the Mirzā had not only to raise the siege, but was pursued and defeated by R. In the following year also, R. distinguished himself in the engagement with Muhammad Husayn Mirzā (p. 313).

In the 19th year, R. and Shāh Qulī Mahram (No. 45) were ordered to punish Chandr Sen, son of Rāy Māl Deo; but as they were unable to take Siwāna, Chandr Sen's stronghold, notwithstanding the auxiliaries which Akbar had sent them at R.'s request, R., in the 21st year, was called to Court, and Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80) took the command. Before the end of the same year, however, R. and Tarson Muhammad Khān (No. 32) were sent against the refractory zamindārs of Jālor and Sarohī, but as they applied to Akbar for pardon, R. and Sayyid Hāshim of Birha (No. 143) garrisoned Nādot to watch the Rānā of Udaipūr, and bring the rebels of those districts to obedience. As at this time Sāṭhā Deoda, the zamindār of Sarohī, from distrust again assumed a hostile attitude, R. marched against Sarohī and besieged it. During the siege,

R. called his family to his camp; but Saltān Deoda fell upon the caravan, killed several relations of R., and then withdrew to Abūgarh.¹ R. in the meantime took Sarohi, and hastened to Abūgarh, which Saltān surrendered. R. left a garrison there, and took Saltān to Court.

In the 26th year, when Mirzā Muḥammad Hākīm, Akbar's brother, threatened to invade the Panjāb, R. together with several other grandees was sent in advance. They were soon followed by Prince Murād. When the imperial army, in the end of the same year, returned to Āgra, R. and several others were sent as *tayālīfīs* to the Panjāb. In the 28th year he served in Bengal.

In the 30th year R. and Jemāl Qulī Khān (*vide* No. 46) led successfully an expedition against the Balūchīs. In the following year (19th Rajab, 994), R.'s daughter was married to Prince Salīm. In the 35th year he went for some time to Bikānir, and served, in the end of the 36th year, in Sindh under M. 'Abd' l-Rahīm (No. 29).

In the 38th year Akbar paid R. a visit of condolence. The son of Rāja Rāmchand Bāghela of Bāndhū died suddenly on his way to Bāndhū, to which he had only lately, after the death of his father, been appointed. The young Rāja had married a daughter of R. Akbar interceded for their young children, and prevented R.'s daughter from burning herself. Soon after, R. stayed away from Court for some reason, during which time one of his servants complained of him to Akbar. The emperor called the man to Court; but R. concealed him, and gave out he had run away. Akbar was annoyed, and excluded R. for some time from the darbārs; but after some time he restored him and sent him as governor to Sūrat, with the order to assist in the Dakkhin wars. R., however, delayed in Bikānir, and when he had at last left, delayed on the road to Sūrat. Akbar advised him to be obedient; but seeing that he would not go, called him to Court, but without allowing him to attend the darbārs. After some time he was pardoned.

In the 45th year, R. was ordered to accompany Abū 'l-Faṭl to Nāsik; but as his son Dalpat² (No. 252) had caused disturbances in Bikānir

(*vide* p. 386), R. got leave to go home. In the following year, he went again to Court. In the 48th year he served under Prince Salīm against the Rānā of Udaipūr.

At the death of the emperor, R. was a Commander of Four Thousand. Jahāngir, on his accession, made him a Commander of Five Thousand. When the emperor set out for the Panjāb to pursue Khusrāw, R. was put in charge of the travelling harem; but on the road he left without order and went to Bikānir. In the second year, when Jahāngir returned from Kābul, R., at the advice of Sharif Khān, presented himself before the emperor with a *ṣūta* round his neck, to show his willingness to suffer punishment for his crimes, and was again pardoned. He died in 1021.

His sons. 1. *Dalpat* (No. 252). He was a Commander of Five Hundred. In the 36th year, he served in the Sindh war, but was looked upon as a coward. In the 45th year, when Akbar was in the Dakkhin, Muzaffar Husayn Mirzā, in consequence of his differences with Khwājagī Fath' Allāh had fled; and Dalpat, under the pretext of following him up, had gone to Bikānir and created disturbances. In the 46th year, his father brought him to his senses. D. asked to be pardoned, and was ordered again to come to Court.

In the third year of Jahāngir's reign (1017), he appears to have offended the emperor; but at the request of Khān Jahān Lodi he was pardoned. After the death of his father, D. came from the Dakkhin to Court, was appointed successor, and got the title of *Rāy*, although his younger brother (by another mother), Sūr Singh, claimed the right of succession, which Rāy Singh had promised him from affection to his mother. Sūr Singh, however, disgusted Jahāngir by the bold way in which he preferred his claim.

D. was then ordered to join M. Rustam-i Ṣafawī (No. 8), the governor of Sindh. In the 8th year, it was reported to Jahāngir that Sūr Singh had attacked and defeated his brother, who in consequence had created disturbances in Hīṣār. Hūshim, the Fawjdār of the Sarkār, caught him and sent him fettered to court, where he was executed as a warning to others.

For Dalpat's son, Mahes Dās, and grandson, Ratan, *vide* Pādishāhnāma, pp. 635, 723; 681, 729.

2. *Sūr Singh*. After the death of his brother he rose to favour. In Histories he is generally called *Rāo Sūr Singh*, a title which he received from Shāhjahān. He died in 1040. He had two sons, Karan and Satr Sāl, the former of whom inherited the title of *Rāo* (*vide* Pādishāhnāma II, p. 727).

¹ "Abūgarh is a fort near Sarohi, and not far from the frontier between Gujrat and Ajmir." Abū 'l-Faṭl says in the Akbarnāma (events of the 21st year) that the old name of Abūgarh was *Arbudī Aclat*, *Arbudī* being the name of a spirit, who, disguised as a female, shows wanderers the way, and *acclat* meaning mountain. The fort on the top of this high mountain was difficult of access; it could, moreover, hold out for a long time, as there were several springs and fields within it. My copies of the *Sawāḥir* and the *Akbarnāma* have *Sulṭān Dīra* (سلطان دیر) for Saltān Deoda (دودا) of the *Maṣṣā'ir*.

² For Dalpat, the *Tuzuk-i Jahāngirī* (pp. 36, 106, and 126) has wrongly *Dalip*. The *Tuzuk* and the second volume of the *Pādishāhnāma* (Edit. Bibl. Indica, p. 635) have *Sūraj Singh*, for Sūr Singh. But the *Maṣṣā'ir* and the first volume of the *Pādishāhnāma* have *Sūr Singh* (pp. 297, 302, at the end of the first decade.)

VII. Commanders of Three Thousand Five Hundred.

45. Shāh Qulī Mahram-i Bahārū.

He was in Bayrām's service, and distinguished himself in the war with Hemū. It was Shāh Qulī that attacked Hemū's elephant, though he did not know who his opponent was. The driver, however, made him a sign, and he led the elephant with Hemū; whose eye had been pierced by an arrow, from the battle-field, and brought the wounded commander to Akbar.¹ Soon after, before the end of the first year, Sh. Q. served with Muḥammad Qāsim Khān (No. 40) against Hājī Khān in Nāgor and Ajmir.

In the third year, it was brought to Akbar's notice, that Sh. Q. was passionately attached to a dancing boy of the name of Qabūl Khān; and as the emperor had the boy forcibly removed,² Sh. Q. dressed as a Jogī, and went into the forests. Bayrām traced him with much trouble, and brought him back to court, where the boy was restored to him.

Like Bābā Zambūr, he remained faithful to Bayrām to the last, and was pardoned together with his master in Tilwāra (p. 332).

After Bayrām's death, he was rapidly promoted and made an Amīr. In the 20th year, when Khān Jahān (No. 24) was sent from the Panjāb to Bengal, Sh. Q. was appointed Governor of the Panjāb, rising higher and higher in Akbar's favour.

It is said that the Emperor, from goodwill towards him, admitted him to his female apartments. After the first time he had been allowed to enter the Harem, he went home, and had his testicles removed (*majbūb*). From the circumstances, he was everywhere called *Mahram*,³ i.e., one who is admitted to the Harem and knows its secrets.

In the 34th year, Akbar, after his return from Zābulistān, crossed the Bahat (Jhelum) near Rasūlpūr, and encamped at Hailān. During his stay there, he mounted a female elephant, and was immediately attacked by a male elephant. Akbar was thrown down and sustained severe contusions. A rumour of his death spread over the whole country; in some provinces even disturbances broke out. The Rājputs of Shaykhāwat, especially, plundered the districts from Mewāt to Rewārī; and in the

¹ "Before the end of the first year, Pir Muḥammad was dispatched against Hājī Khān in Alwar, and as he withdrew, the imperialists took possession of the Sarkār of Alwar as far as Deolī Sājūrī [or *Sāchārī*], the birth-place of Hemū, and performed many brave deeds. They also caught Hemū's father alive, and brought him to Pir Muḥammad, who asked him to embrace Islām. As he would not, he was killed by him. After gathering his spoils, Pir M. returned to Akbar." *Sawānīh from the Akbarnāma*.

² For similar examples, vide p. 335, which also happened in the third year, and No. 37, p. 374.

³ Or *Mahrim*.

35th year, Akbar had to send Sh. Q. against them. He soon restored order.

In the 41st year, he was made a commander of Four Thousand, and soon after of Five Thousand. The *Tabaqāt* says that in 1001 he had been a commander of Three Thousand for thirty years.

He died at Āgra in 1010. At Nārnaul, where he chiefly lived, he erected splendid buildings, and dug large tanks. When he felt death approaching, he gave the soldiers of his contingent two years' pay in advance, and left, besides, many legacies. As he had no heirs, his remaining property lapsed to the state (*Tuzuk*, p. 22).

46. Ismā'īl Qulī Khān, brother of Khān Jahān (No. 24).

He must not be confounded with No. 72. He was caught in the battle near Jālındhar (p. 317). He joined Akbar's service with his brother, under whom he mostly served. When his brother had died in Bengal, he came with the immense property he had left behind him to Court, and was favourably received. In the 30th year, he was sent against the Balūchīs (*vide* No. 44). On his arrival in Balūchistān the people soon submitted, and their chiefs, Ghāzī Khān Wajhiya and Ibrāhīm Khān, repaired to Court, and were allowed to retain the country. In the 31st year, when Bhagwān Dās (No. 27), on account of his madness, had not been allowed to go to Zābulistān, I. Q. was sent there instead. But he committed certain improprieties and fell into disgrace, and was ordered to go from Bhakkar to Makkah. He begged hard to be forgiven; but he was not allowed to see the Emperor, and was sent against the Yūsufzā'is.

At that time epidemics were raging in Bijor, and the chiefs of the Yūsufzā'is came forward and submitted to I. Q., whilst Zayn Khān (No. 34), governor of Zābulistān pressed hard upon Jalāla Rawshānī, who had left Terāh and entered Bijor. Zayn Khān therefore entered the district, determined to use the opportunity to wipe off the disgrace of his former defeat. The arrival of Šādiq Khān (No. 43), however, who had been sent from Court, to occupy the district, and capture Jalāla, annoyed I. Q. still more, as he thought that that duty might have been left to him as Thānadār of the district. I. Q. forgot himself so far as to allow Jalāla to escape. He then went to Court, where he was severely reprimanded for his conduct.

In the 33rd year, he was made Governor of Gujrāt. In the 36th year, when Prince Murād had been made Governor of Mālwa, I. Q. was appointed his *atāliq* or *Vakil*; but he gave no satisfaction, and was called to Court, Šādiq Khān having been appointed in his stead.

In the 39th year, he was sent to Kālpī, to look after his jāgir. In the 42nd year (1005), he was made a Commander of Four Thousand.

He was given to luxury, and spent large sums on carpets, vessels, dress, etc. He kept 1,200 women, and was so jealous of them, that whenever he went to Court, he put his seal over the strings attached to their night drawers. The women resented this and other annoyances, made a conspiracy, and poisoned him:

Three sons of his are mentioned below—1. Ibrāhīm Qulī (No. 322), a commander of Three Hundred: 2. Salīm Qulī (No. 357), and 3. K̄halīl Qulī (No. 358), both commanders of Two Hundred. They do not appear to have distinguished themselves.

VII. Commanders of Three Thousand.

47. Mirzā Jānī Beg, ruler of Thatha.

He belonged to the *Arghūn* clan, and therefore traced his descent to Chingiz Khān. Abū 'l-Faḡl in the Akbar-nāma gives his tree as follows:—

Chingiz Khān

Tūli Khān.

Hulāgū Khān (the brother

[of Mangū
[Qān).

Abāgh (or, Abāghā) Khān,

[d. 663.

Arghūn Khān, d. 690.

Four generations inter-

[vening.

Atkū Timūr

Shankal Beg Tarkhān

Several generations not

[known.

'Abd' 'l-Khālīq Tarkhān

Mirzā 'Abd' 'l-'Alī

[Tarkhān.

Of his ancestors Atkū Timūr had been killed in the war with Tuqtamish Khān, and the Emperor Timūr took care of Shankal Beg, and made him a *Tarkhān* (vide the note at the end of this biography).

Mirzā 'Abd' 'l-'Alī, fourth ancestor of M. Jānī Beg, had risen to high dignities under Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of M. Abū Sā'id, and received the government of Bukhārā. He was treacherously killed, together with his five eldest sons, by Shaybānī Khān Uzbek; only his sixth son, M. Muḥammad 'Isā escaped. The Arghūn clan in Bukhārā, being thus left without a head, emigrated to Khurāsān, where they attached themselves to Mir Zū 'l-Nūn Beg Arghūn, who was the Amīr 'l-Umarā and Sipāhsālār of Sulṭān Husayn Myrzā. He also was *atāliq* and father-in-law to Prince Badī' 'z-Zamān Mirzā, and held Qandahār as

M. Muḥammad 'I'sā jāgir. When the prince's career ended, his [Tarkhān, d. 975. two sons, Badī' 'z-Zamān and Muzaḡfir Mirzā, M. Muḥammad Bāqī proclaimed themselves kings of Khurāsān. [Tarkhān, d. 993. Anarchy prevailed; and matters grew worse, Mirzā Pāyanda Muḥammad when Shaybān Khān invaded the country. [mad Tarkhān. Zū 'l-Nūn Beg fell in battle against him. Mirzā Jānī Beg Tarkhān.

Mirzā Ghūzī Beg Tarkhān.

Shujā' Beg, better known as Shāh Beg, Zū 'l-Nūn's son, held Qandahār during the absence of his father, and succeeded him in the government. He was bent on conquest. In 890, he took Fort Sewe from Jām Nizām 'd-Dīn (generally called in Histories *Jām Nandā*), king of Sindh. He continued to interfere, as related by Abū 'l-Faḡl below in the Third Book, (Ṣūba of Sindh), and managed, at last, in 929, to conquer the country, thus compensating himself for the loss of Qandahār, which had been occupied by Bābar. A short time before his death, which took place in 930, he invaded Multān, then in the hands of the *Langāhs*.

Shāh Beg Arghūn was succeeded by his son Mirzā Shāh Husayn Arghūn, who took Multān from Sulṭān Husayn Langāh (vide Third Book, Ṣūba of Multān). M. Shāh Husayn Arghūn was afflicted with a peculiar fever, which only left him when he was on the river Indus. He therefore used to travel down the Indus for six months of the year, and upwards for the remaining portion. On one occasion, he went towards Bhakkar, when some of the nobles deserted him, and elected Mirzā Muḥammad 'Isā, third ancestor of M. Jānī Beg, as their chief. M. Shāh Husayn, assisted by his foster brother, Sulṭān Maḥmūd, Governor of Bhakkar, opposed him; but he had at last to come to terms, and ceded a large part of Sindh to M. 'Isā. On Shāh Husayn's death, in 963, the whole country fell to 'Isā.

In this manner the older branch of the Arghūns came to the throne of Thatha.

'Isā died in 975, and was succeeded by his son M. Muḥammad Bāqī, who successfully crushed the revolt of his younger brother, M. Jān Bābā. M. Bāqī, in 993, committed suicide during an attack of insanity; and as his son, M. Pāyanda Muḥammad, was also subject to fits of madness, the government passed into the hands of M. Jānī Beg, the son of M. Pāyanda.

¹ Shāh Beg was a learned man, like his renowned opponent Bābar. He wrote a to the - known Arabic grammar *Kāfiya* (شرح كافية), and commentaries to "Aḡa'id-i Nasafi (شرح أغايد نسافي).

Akbar had often felt annoyed that, notwithstanding his frequent stays in the Panjāb, M. Jānī Beg had shown no anxiety to pay him a visit. In the 35th year therefore (999), when the Khān Khānān was ordered to invade Qandahār, he was told to send some one to M. J. B., and draw his attention to this neglect; if no heed was paid, he was to invade Sindh on his return. Multān and Bhakkar being the *tuyūl* of the Khān Khānān, he did not move into Qandahār by way of Ghaznī and Bangash, but chose a round-about way through his jāgīr. In the meantime the conquest of Thatha had been determined upon at Court, and the Khān Khānān set out at once for Sindh (*vide* p. 356, and Brigg's *Firishta*). After bravely defending the country, M. J. B. had at last to yield. In the 38th year (1001), accompanied by the Khān Khānān, he paid his respects to Akbar at Lāhor, was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and received the *Ṣūba* of Multān as *tuyūl*, Sindh itself being assigned to M. Shāhrukh (No. 7). But before this arrangement was carried out, a report reached Akbar that the Arghūn clan, about 10,000 men, women, and children, moved up the river, to follow M. J. B. to his new *tuyūl*, and that great distress had thereby been caused both among the émigrants and those who were left behind. Akbar felt that under such circumstances policy should yield to mercy, and M. J. B. was appointed to Sindh. Lāharī Bandar, however, became *khālīṣa*, and the Sarkār of Siwistān which had formerly paid *pishkash*, was parcelled out among several grandees.

In the 42nd year, M. J. B. was promoted to a command of Three Thousand and Five Hundred. He was much liked by Akbar for his character, religious views (*vide* p. 218-9), pleasing manners, and practical wisdom. It is perhaps for this reason that Abū 'l-Faḍl has placed him first among the Commanders of Three Thousand, though names much more renowned follow. From his youth, M. J. B. had been fond of wine, but had not indulged in excesses; his habitual drinking, however, undermined his health, and brought on delirium (*sarsām*), of which he died, in 1008, at Burhānpūr in the Dakhin, after the conquest of Āsīr.

A short time before his death, he offended Akbar by declaring that had he had an Āsīr, he would have held it for a hundred years.

M. J. B. was fond of poetry; he was himself a poet and wrote under the *takhalluṣ* of *Halīmī*.¹

¹ Here follows in the *Ma'āmir 'l-Umarā*, a description of Sindh taken from the Third Book of the *Ā'in*, concluding with the following remark:—

"At present (when the author of the *Ma'āmir* wrote), the whole of Sindh is under Khudā Yār Khān Latī (علي). From a long time he had farmed (*ijāra kard*) the *Ṣūba* of Thatha, and the Sarkars of Siwistān and Bhakkar. Subsequently when the district on the other side of the Indus were ceded to Nādir Shāh, Khudā Yār Khān administered them for Nādir Shāh."

Mirzā Ghāzī Beg, son of M. Jānī Beg. At the death of his father, he was only 17 years old; and though not at Court, Akbar conferred Sindh on him. He was opposed by Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān, son of Mirzā Jān Bābā (brother of M. Muḥammad Bāqī, grandfather of M. Jānu Beg); but Khusrāw Khān Chirgis, an old servant of the Arghūns and *Vakil* to his father, espoused his cause, and M. 'Isā Tarkhān fled from Sindh. The army which M. Ghāzī Beg and Khusrāw Khān had at their disposal, seems to have made them inclined to rebel against Akbar; but the Emperor sent promptly Sa'id Khān (No. 25) and his son Sa'd 'llāh¹ to Bhakkar, and M. Ghāzī Beg came to Court, and was confirmed in the government of Sindh.

After the accession of Jahāngīr, M. Ghāzī Beg received Multān in addition to Sindh, was made a Commander of Seven Thousand, and was sent to relieve Qandahār (*Tuzuk*, pp. 33, 72, 109), which had been besieged by Ḥusayn Khān Shāmlū, the Persian Governor of Harāt. He also received the title of *Farzand* (son). Shāh 'Abbās of Persia often tried to win him over, and sent him several *khiṣlats*.

He died suddenly at the age of twenty-five in 1018,² the word *Ghāzī* being the *Tārīkh* of his death. Suspicion attaches to Luṭf 'llāh, his *Vakil* and son of Khusrāw Khān Chirgis, who appears to have been treated unkindly. M. Ghāzī does not appear to have had children.

Like his father, he was a poet. He wrote under the *takhalluṣ* of *Vagārī*, which he had bought of a Qandahār poet. He played nearly every instrument. Poets like Tālibī of Amul, Mullā Murshid-i Yazdijirdī, Mir Ni'mat 'llāh Vacili, Mullā Asad Qissa-khwān, and especially Fughfūrī of Gilān enjoyed his liberality. The last left him, because his verses were too often used for *dakhl* (*vide* p. 108, note 8). In his private life, M. Ghāzī was dissolute. Not only was he given to wine, but he required every night a virgin; girls from all places were brought to him, and the

² Sa'd 'llāh has been omitted to be mentioned on p. 351. He received the title of *Navāzish Khān* in 1020: *vide Tuzuk*, pp. 34, 96.

³ So the *Ma'āmir*. The *Tuzuk* (p. 109), perhaps more correctly, places the death of M. Ghāzī in the 7th year of Jahāngīr's reign, 1021.

After M. Ghāzī Beg's death, Sindh was taken away from the Tarkhāns, and M. Rustam was appointed Governor (*vide* p. 314).

Khusrāw Chirgis tried to set up some *Ṣāb* 'l-*Ḥālī* Tarkhān, whose pedigree is not known; but Jahāngīr bestowed his favours on Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān, son of M. Jān Bābā (brother of M. Muḥammad Bāqī, grandfather of M. Jānu Beg), and died more

... ho played
... 'llāh, Mirzā
... red under
Shāh-jāhān.

women of the town of Thatha are said to have been so debauched, that every bad woman, even long after his death, claimed relationship with the Mirzā.

Note on the meaning of the title of "Tarḫān".

Abū 'l-Faḥl, in the Akbarnāma (38th year) has a valuable note regarding the meaning and the history of this ancient title. The title was hereditary, and but rarely given. Chingiz Khān conferred it on Qishliq and Bātā for having given him correct information regarding the enemy. The title in this case, as in all others, implied that the holder was excused certain feudal services, chiefly attendance at Court (*alāḥ-i ḥūr*).¹ Chingiz Khān, moreover, did not take away from the two nobles the royal share of the plunder. Under Timūr, a Tarḫān had free access to every place of the palace, and could not be stopped by the macebearers; nor was he or his children liable to be punished for any crime, provided the number of his or their crimes did not exceed the number nine.²

Some say, a Tarḫān had seven distinctions and privileges—1. a *ḥabī*; 2, a *tāmānogh*; 3, a *naqqūra*; 4, he can confer on two of his men a *qushūn togh*, or *chatr togh*; 5, his *Qur* (p. 116) was carried (*qūr-i āniz-bardārānd*). Among the Mughuls no one but the king was allowed to use a quiver. 6. He could enclose (*qurq*) a forest as his private hunting ground, and if any one entered the enclosure, he forfeited his personal liberty. 7. He was looked upon as the head of the clan to which he belonged. In the state hall the Amirs sat behind him to his right and left arranged in form of a bow (*lamānir*).

When Tughluq Timūr conferred this title upon an Amīr,⁴ he put all financial matters (*dād o sitad*) as far as a Hazāri (?) in his charge; nor were his descendants, to the ninth generation, liable to be called to account; but should their crimes exceed the number nine, they were to be called to account. When a Tarḫān had to answer for blood shed by him (*pādāsh-i khūn*), he was placed on a silver-white horse two years old, and a white cloth was put below the feet of the animal. His statement was made by a chief of the Barlās clan (*vide* p. 364 note), and the

sentence was communicated to him by a chief of the Arkīwat (ارکيوٽ) clan. His neck vein was then opened, the two chiefs remaining at his side, and watching over him till he was dead. The king was then led forth from the palace, and sat down to mourn over him.

Khizr Khwāja in making Mir Khudādād a Tarḫān, added three new privileges. 1. At the time of wedding feasts (*tūt*), when all grandees have to walk on foot, and only the *yasūcal* (chief mace-bearer) of the king on horseback to keep back the crowds, the Tarḫān also proceeds on horseback. 2. When during the feast the cup is handed to the king from the right side, another cup is at the same time handed to the Tarḫān from the left. 3. The Tarḫān's seal is put on all orders; but the seal of the king is put to the beginning of the last line and below his.

Abū 'l-Faḥl, in concluding these remarks, says that these distinctions are extraordinary enough; he believes it possible that a king may grant a virtuous man immunity for nine crimes; but he thinks it absurd to extend the immunity to nine generations.

48. Iskandar Khān, a descendant of the Uzbek Kings.

He distinguished himself under Humāyūn, who on his return to India made him a Khān. After the restoration, he was made Governor of Āgra. On Hemū's approach, he left Āgra, and joined Tardi Beg at Dihli. Both opposed Hemū, Iskandar commanding the left wing (*yūranghār*). His wing defeated the right wing (*burunghār*) and the van (*harāval*) of Hemū, and hotly pursued them, killing many fugitives. The battle was almost decided in favour of the Imperialists, when Hemū with his whole force broke upon Tardi Beg, and put him to flight. The victorious Iskandar was thus obliged to return. He afterwards joined Akbar at Sarhind, fought under Khān Zamān (No. 13) against Hemū, and received after the battle for his bravery, the title of *Khān 'Ālam*.

As Khizr Khwāja Khān,¹ the Governor of the Panjāb, had retreated

¹ Nine was looked upon as an important number by the Mughuls. Thus kings received nine presents or the present consisted of nine pieces of the same article. Hence also the Chaghtā'i *tuḡuz* (or *tūḡūz* or *tuḡūz*), nine came to mean a present, in which sense it occurs in the *Pādishāhnāma* and the *Ālamgīr-nāma*, especially in reference to presents of stuffs, as *haft tuḡuz pārchā*, "a present of seven pieces of cloth."

² *vide* p. 52.

³ The MSS call him *لعلی* or *لعلی*, with every variety of diacritical points.

¹ Khizr had descended from the kings of Mughulistan; but according to the *Tabaqāt* from the kings of Kāshghar. He was a grandee of Humāyūn, left him on his flight to Persia, and was with M. Ḥakari in Qandahār, when Humāyūn on his return besieged that town. Before the town surrendered, Khizr Khwāja threw himself down from the wall, managed to reach Humāyūn's tent, and implored forgiveness. He was restored to favour, was made Amīr 'l-Umarā, and married Gulbadan Begam, H.'s sister. When Akbar marched against Hemū, Khizr Khān was made Governor of the Panjāb and ordered to operate against Sikandar. Bār, who during Humāyūn's lifetime had retreated to the Sawālik. Leaving Hājī Khān Sīstāni in Lāhor, Khizr Khān moved against Sikandar, whom he met near a place called in the MSS. *جھاری*. Kh. selected two thousand horsemen to reconnoitre; but Sikandar was on the alert, fell upon the detachment, and defeated the Imperialists. Kh. without further fighting retreated to Lāhor. Sikandar used the respite, and collected a large army, till Akbar himself came. Akbar's army too strong, Sikandar shut himself up in M. Sikandar bribed Shams 'd-Dīn Atgah (No. 15) and Pir '...

before Sikandar Khān Sūr, and fortified himself in Lāhor, leaving the country to the Afghāns, Akbar appointed Iskandar to move to Siyālkoṭ and assist Khizr Khwāja.

Afterwards he received Audh as *tuyūl*. "From want of occupation," he rebelled in the tenth year. Akbar ordered Ashraf Khān (No. 74) to bring him to Court but Isk. joined Khān Zamān (No. 13). Together with Bahādūr Khān (No. 22), he occupied Khāyṛābād (Audh), and attacked Mir Muṣṭizz 'I-Mulk (No. 61). Bahādūr ultimately defeated the Imperialists; but Isk. had in the first fight been defeated and fled to the north of Audh.

When in the 12th year Khān Zamān and Bahādūr again rebelled, Isk. in concert with them occupied Audh. He was attacked by Muhammad Qulī Khān Barlās (No. 31), and besieged in Avadh. When Isk. heard that Khān Zamān and Bahādūr had been defeated and killed, he made proposals of peace, and managed during the negotiation to escape by boat with his family to Gorākhpūr, which then belonged to Sulaymān, king of Bengal. He appears to have attached himself to the Bengal Court, and accompanied, in 975, Bāyazīd. Sulaymān's son, over Jhārkand to Orīṣā. After Sulaymān's return from the conquest of Orīṣā,¹ Isk.'s presence in Bengal was looked upon as dangerous, as Sulaymān wished at all hazards to be at peace with Akbar, and the Afghāns waited for a favourable opportunity to kill Iskandar. He escaped in time, and applied to Mun'im Khān, who promised to speak for him. At his request, Isk. was pardoned. He received the Sarkār of Lakṣhnaū as *tuyūl*, and died there in the following year (980).

49. Āṣaf Khān 'Abd' 'I-Majīd (of Hirāt), a descendant of Shaykh Abū Bakr-i Tāybadī.

His brother Vazīr Khān has been mentioned above (No. 41). Shaykh Zayn' 'd-Dīn Abū Bakr-i Tāybadī² was a saint (*sāhib kamāl*) at the time of Timūr. When Timūr, in 782, set out for the conquest of Hirāt, which was in the hands of Malik Ghiyās' 'd-Dīn, he sent, on his arrival at

Tāybad, a messenger to the Shaykh, to ask him why he had not paid his respects to the conqueror of the world. "What have I," replied the Shaykh, "to do with Timūr?" Timūr, struck with this answer, went himself to the Shaykh, and upbraided him for not having advised Malik Ghiyās. "I have indeed done so," said the Shaykh, "but he would not listen, and God has now appointed you over him. However, I now advise you, too, to be just, and if you likewise do not listen, God will appoint another over you." Timūr afterwards said that he had seen many dervishes; every one of them had said something from selfish motives, but not so Shaykh Abū Bakr, who had said nothing with reference to himself.

Khwāja 'Abd' 'I-Majīd was a Grandee of Humāyūn, whom he served as Diwān. On Akbar's accession, he also performed military duties. When the Emperor moved to the Panjab, to crush Bayrām's rebellion, 'Abd' 'I-Majīd received the title of Āṣaf Khān, regarding which *vide* the note after this biographical notice. Subsequently Āṣaf was appointed Governor of Dihli, received a flag and a drum, and was made a Commander of Three Thousand. When Fattū, a servant of 'Adli, made overtures to surrender Fort Chanāḍh (Chunar), Ā., in concert with Shaykh Muḥammad Ghawṣ, took possession of it, and was appointed Governor of Kaṣa-Mānikpūr on the Ganges. About the same time, Ghāzi Khān Tannūri, an Afghān noble who had for a time been in Akbar's services, fled to Bhath Ghorā, and stirred up the Zamīndārs against Akbar. Ā., in the 7th year, sent a message to Rāja Rām Chand, the ruler of Bhath, to pay tribute to Akbar, and surrender the enemies. But the Rāja prepared for resistance. Ā. marched against the Rāja, defeated him, and executed Ghāzi Khān. The Rāja, after his defeat, shut himself up in Bāndhū,¹ but obtained Akbar's pardon by timely submission, chiefly through the influence of several Rāja's at Court. Ā. then left the Rāja in peace; but the spoils which he had collected and the strong contingent which he had at his disposal (*vide* p. 251, l. 29), made him desirous of further warfare and he planned the famous expedition against Gadha-Katangah,²

upon Akbar to pardon him. Sikandar sent his son 'Abd' 'I-Rahmān with some elephants as *pishkash*, and was allowed by Akbar to occupy Bihār as *tuyūl* (*vide* p. 335). Mānok surrendered on the 27th Ramāzān 964. Sikandar died two years later.

It is difficult to say why Abū 'I-Fazl had not entered Khizr Khān in the List of Grandees. His name is given in the *Tabaqāt*. Similarly Khwāja Mu'izzim and Mir Shāh 'Abd' 'I-Maṣāḥ are left out. For Kh.'s son, *vide* No. 153.

¹ On Sulaymān's return from Orīṣā, he appointed Khān Jahān Lodhī, his Amīr-ū-Umarā, Governor of Orīṣā. Qutlū Khān, who subsequently made himself king of Orīṣā, was then Governor of Pūri (Jagganath) Bād. II. 174.

² He died A.H. 791. His biography is given in Jāmi's Nafhat' 'I-Uns. Tāybad belongs to Jām-i Khurāsān.

¹ Abū 'I-Fazl in the events of the 42nd year of the Akbarnāma, says that 'Alā' 'd-Dīn-i Khilji besieged Bāndhū in vain.

² Gadha (Gurh, Gurhab, Gurrah) lies close to Jabalpūr in Central India. Katangah is the name of two small places, one due south of Jabalpūr below lat. 22, as on the map in Journal A. S. B., Decr. 1837, pl. lvii; another apparently larger place of the same name lies N.W. of, and nearer to, Jabalpūr and Gadha, about lat. 23° 30', as on the map of Central India in Sir J. Malcolm's Malwa; but both are called on the maps Katangi. In Muhammadan Histories, the country is generally called Gadha-Katangah. Abū 'I-Fazl says, it had an extent of 150 *kos* by 80 *kos*, and there were in ancient times 80,000 flourishing cities. The inhabitants, he says, are all Gonds, who are looked upon by Hindūs as very low. The Rājas of Gadha-Katangah are generally called the Gadha-Mandlā Rājas. Mandlā lies S.E. of Jabalpūr, on the right side of the Narbaddah.

or Gondwānah, south of Bhath, which was then governed by Durgāwati,¹ the heroine of Central India. Her heroic defence and suicide, and the death of her son, Bir Sāh, at the conquest of Chaurāgaḥ (about 70 miles west of Jabalpur) are well-known. The immense spoils which Ā. carried off, led him temporarily into rebellion, and of the 1,000 elephants which he had captured, he only sent 200 to Court. But when Khān Zamān (No. 13), in the 10th year, rebelled and besieged Majnūn Qāqshāl (No. 50) in Mānikpūr, Ā. came with 5,000 troopers to his relief, presented himself before Akbar, who had marched against Khān Zamān, and handed over the remainder of the Gaḥha spoils. He thereby regained Akbar's confidence and was appointed to follow up the rebels. At this juncture, the imperial Mutaṣaddis, whom Ā. before had handsomely bribed, reported, from envy, his former unwillingness to hand over the spoils, and exaggerated his wealth. Hypocritical friends mentioned this to Ā.; and afraid of his personal safety, he fled to Gaḥha (Safar, 973).

Akbar looked upon his flight as very suspicious, and appointed Mahdī Qāsim Khān (No. 36) to Gaḥha. Ā. then left Central India "with a sorrowful heart", and joined, together with his brother (No. 41), Khān Zamān at Jaunpūr. But he soon saw that Khān Zamān only wanted his wealth and watched for a favourable moment to kill him. Ā. therefore made use of the first opportunity to escape. Khān Zamān had sent his brother Bahādūr (No. 22) against the Afghāns, and Ā. was to accompany him. Vazīr Khān, whom Khān Zamān had detained, managed likewise to escape, and was on the road to Mānikpūr, which Ā. had appointed as place of rendezvous. No sooner had Ā. escaped than Bahādūr followed him up, defeated his men, and took Ā. prisoner. Bahādūr's men immediately dispersed in search of plunder, when suddenly Vazīr Khān fell over Bahādūr. Bahādūr made some one a sign to kill Ā., who sat fettered on an elephant, and Ā. had just received a wound in his hand and nose, when Vazīr in time saved his life, and carried him away. Both reached, in 973, Kaḥah, and asked Muṣaffar Khān (No. 37) to intercede for them with the emperor. When Muṣaffar, in 974, was called by the emperor to the Panjab, he took Vazīr with him, and obtained full pardon for the two brothers. Ā. was ordered to join Majnūn Qāqshāl at Kara-Mānikpūr. His bravery in the last struggle with Khān Zamān induced Akbar, in 975, to give him Piyāg as *tuyūl*, vice Hājī Muḥammad Sīstānī (No. 55), to enable him to recruit a contingent for the expedition against

Rānā Udai Singh. Ā. was sent in advance (*mangalā*). In the middle of Rabi' I, 975, Akbar left Āgra for Chitor. The Rānā had commissioned Jay Mal, who had formerly been in Mirtha, to defend the fort, whilst he himself had withdrawn to the mountains. During the siege, which lasted four months and seven days, Ā. distinguished himself, and when, on the 25th Sha'bān 975, the fort fell Ā. was made Governor of Chitor.

Neither the *Ma'āsir*, nor the *Tabaqāt*, mentions the year of his death. He must have been dead in 981, because the title of Āṣaf Khān was bestowed upon another noble.²

Note on the Title of "Āṣaf Khān"

Āṣaf was the name of the Vazīr of Sulaymān (Solomon), who like his master is proverbial in the East for his wisdom. During the reign of Akbar three 'grandeess received this title. Badā'onī, to avoid confusion, numbers them Āṣaf Khān I, II, and III. They are:—

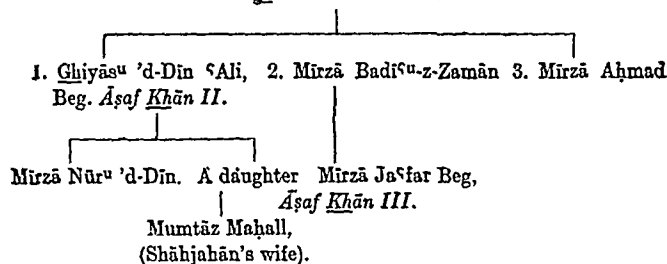
1. 'Abdu 'l-Majid, Āṣaf Khān I, d. before 981 (No. 49).

2. Khwāja Mirzā Ghiyās 'd-Dīn 'Alī Āṣaf Khān II, d. 989 (No. 126).

3. Mirzā Ja'far Beg, Āṣaf Khān III (No. 98).

The three Āṣafs were Diwāns or Mir Bakhshis. The third was nephew to the second, as the following tree will show:—

Āghā Mullā Dawūdār.



Jahāngīr conferred the title of "Āṣaf Khān" (IV) on Abū 'l-Ḥasan, elder brother of Nūr Jahān, and father of Mumtāz Maḥall (or Tāj Bibī, Shāhjahān's wife), whose mother was a daughter of Āṣaf Khān II. During the reign of Shāhjahān when titles containing the word *Dawla*² were

¹ Capt. Sleeman in his "History of the Gurha Mandala Rājās", Journal A.S. Bengal, vol. vi, p. 627, spells her name *Durghoutee*. He calls her son *Bir Nardin*. Vide also *Badā'onī*, II, 66.

² Stewart (History of Bengal, p. 120) says, 'Abdu 'l-Majid Āṣaf Khān officiated in 1013 for Mān Singh in Bengal. This is as impossible as his statement on p. 112, that Farīd 'd-Dīn Bukhārī [No. 99] is the author of the History of the Emperor Jahāngīr.

³ They had been in use among the Khalīfas and the Ghaznawīs. Thus *Yamīn 'd-Dawla* which title Shāhjahān bestowed on Abū 'l-Ḥasan Āṣaf Khān IV, had also been the title of the king of the Dakkhin when prince The kings of the Dakkhin occasionally conferred titles

revived, *Āṣaf Khān* was changed to *Āṣaf 'd-Dawla*, and this title was conferred on *Āṣaf 'd-Dawla Jumlatu 'l-Mulk Asadjang* (Shāhjahān-Awraṅ-zeb), a relation of *Āṣaf Khān IV*. Under Ahmad Shāh, lastly, we find *Āṣaf 'd-Dawla Amīr 'l-Mamālīk*, whose name like that of his father, *Nirām 'l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh*, occurs so often in later Indian History.

50 Majnūn Khān-i Qāqshāl.¹

He was a grandee of Humāyūn, and held Nārnaul as *jāgīr*. When Humāyūn fled to Persia, Hājī Khān besieged Nārnaul, but allowed Majnūn Khān to march away unmolested, chiefly at the request of Rāja Bihārī Mal, who, at that time, was with Hājī Khān (*vide* p. 347).

On Akbar's accession, he was made Jāgīrdār of Mānīkpur, then the east frontier of the Empire. He remained there till after the death of Khān Zamān (No. 13), bravely defending Akbar's cause. In the 14th year, he besieged Kālinjar. This fort was in the hands of Rāja Rām Chand, ruler of Bhat, who during the Afghan troubles had bought it for a heavy sum, from Bijli Khān, the adopted son of Pahār Khān. When, during the siege, the Rāja heard of the fall of Chitor and Rantanbhūr, he surrendered Kālinjar to M. (29th Šafar, 997). Akbar appointed M. Commander of the Fort, in addition to his other duties.

In the 17th year (980), he accompanied Muṣṣim Khān (No. 11) on his expedition to Gorākhpur. At the same time the Gujrātī war had commenced, and as Bābā Khān Qāqshāl had words with Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80), the Mir Tozak, regarding certain arrangements, he was reproved by Akbar. But the rumour spread in Muṣṣim's army that Bābā Khān Jabārī (Majnūn's son), Mirzā Muḥammad, and other Qāqshāls, had killed Shāhbāz Khān, and joined the rebellion of the Mirzās in Gujrāt; and that Akbar had therefore ordered Muṣṣim to imprison Majnūn. In consequence of these false rumours, M. and others of his clan withdrew from Muṣṣim, who in vain tried to convince them of the absurdity of the rumours; but

with *Dawla*. This is very likely the reason why Akbar conferred the title of *Āzād 'd-Dawla* on Mir Fath 'Ilah of Shirāz, who had come from the Dakhin.

The title *Malik*, so common among the Pathāns, was never conferred by the Mughūl (Chachī) Kings of Delhi.

Titles with *Jang*, as *Firāzjang*, *Nusratjang*, etc., came into fashion with Jahāngīr. ¹ Name of a Turkish clan. Like the Uzbaks, they were disliked by Akbar, and rebelled. Majnūn Khān was certainly the best of them.

² Bābā Khān Qāqshāl also was a grandee of Akbar, but Abū 'l-Faṣl has left him out in this list. Like Majnūn he distinguished himself in the war with Khān Zamān and the Mirzās. During Muṣṣim's expedition to Bengal, the Qāqshāls received extensive *jāgīrs* in Ghorāghāt. Bābā Khān was looked upon as the head of the clan after Majnūn's death. He rebelled with Maṣṣum Khān-i Kabuli, partly in consequence of Muzaffar Khān's (No. 37) exactions, and assumed the title of Khān Khānān. He died in the same year in which Muzaffar died, of cancer in the face (*Khūra*), which he said he had brought on himself by his faithlessness.

when M. soon after heard that Bābā Khān and Jabārī had been rewarded by Akbar for their brave behaviour in the Gujrātī war, he was ashamed of his hastiness, and rejoined Muṣṣim who, in the meantime, had taken Gorākhpur.

M. accompanied Muṣṣim on his Bengal expedition. When, in 992, Dāūd, retired to Orisā, and Kūli Pahār,¹ Sulaymān Mankli and Bābū Mankli had gone to Ghorāghāt, Muṣṣim sent M. against them. M. conquered the greater part of Northern Bengal, and carried off immense spoils. On the death of Sulaymān Mankli, the acknowledged ruler of Ghorāghāt, a great number of the principal Afghan nobles were caught, and M. with the view of securing peace, married the daughter of Sulaymān Mankli to his son Jabārī. He also parcelled out the whole country among his clan. But Bābū Mankli and Kūli Pahār had taken refuge in Kūch Bihār, and when Muṣṣim was in Kāṭak, they were joined by the sons of Jalāl 'd-Din Sūr, and fell upon the Qāqshāls. The latter, without fighting, cowardly returned to Tāṇḍa, and waited for Muṣṣim, who, on his return from Orisā, sent them with reinforcements to Ghorāghāt. The Qāqshāls re-occupied the district. Majnūn died soon after at Ghorāghāt.

The *Ṭabaqāt* says that he was a Commander of Five Thousand, and had a contingent of 5,000 troopers.

His son Jabārī,² distinguished himself by his zeal and devotion. The enforcing of the *Dāgh* law led him and his clan into rebellion. Jabārī then assumed the title of *Khān Jahān*. When the Qāshāls left Maṣṣum (p. 344), Jabārī went to Court. Akbar imprisoned him, but pardoned him in the 39th year.

51. Shujā'at Khān, Muḡim-i 'Arab.

He is the son of Tardi Beg's sister (No. 12). Humāyūn made Muḡim-a Khān. On the emperor's flight to Persia, he joined Mirzā 'Askari. When Humāyūn took Qandahār on his return, Muḡim, like most old nobles,

¹ The renowned conqueror of the temple of Jagannath at Pūri in S. Orisā. *vide* below Third Book, Subas of Bengal and Orisā. A minute description of his conquest is given in the *Makhan-i Afṣān* and by Stirling in his Account of Orisā, Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. But Stirling's account, taken as it is from the Pūri Vynsavali (a chronicle kept for the last six hundred years in the temple of Pūri) differs considerably from the Akbarnāma. Kāla Pahār was killed by a gun-shot in one of the fights between Maṣṣum and Qutlu of Orisā, and 'Aziz Koka (*vide* p. 344) which, in 990, took place between Khālgaw (Colgong) and Gadhi (near Rajmahal).

Bābū Mankli subsequently entered Akbar's service (*vide* No. 202). European historians generally spell his name Bābū Mangali, as if it came from the Hindi *manḡal*. Tuesday. This may be correct; for common people in India do still use such names. But *mankli* is perhaps preferable. Two of Timur's ancestors had the same name. The Turkish *mankli* means *خاندان*, *khāndār*, spotted.

² The best MSS. of the Akbarnāma, Badāoni, and the Ma'asir have *جاری*. Stewart (p. 109) calls him *Jebbaburdy* (?).

presented himself before the emperor with a sword hanging from his neck, and was for a short time confined. After his release, he remained with Mun'im Khān (No. 11) in Kābul, and followed him to India, when Akbar called Mun'im to take Bayrām's place.

In the 9th year, Muqim distinguished himself in the pursuit of 'Abdu' llāh Khān Uzbek (No. 14), "the king of Mandū," and received the title of *Shujā'at Khān*, which Akbar had taken away from the rebellious 'Abdu' llāh.

In the beginning of the 15th year, Akbar honoured him by being his guest for a day.

In the 18th year, he accompanied the Emperor on his forced march to Ahmadābād (p. 343). Once he slandered Mun'im, and Akbar sent him to the Khān Khānān to do with him what he liked; but Mun'im generously forgave him, and had him restored.

In the 22nd year, he was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Mālwah.

In 988, when troubles in Bihār and Bengal had broken out, Shujā'at Khān, at Akbar's order, left Sārangpūr for Fathpūr (*Badā'oni* II, 284). At the first stage, 'Iwaz Beg Barlās who complained of arrears of pay and harsh treatment of the men, created a tumult, made a man of the name Hāji Shihāb Khān leader, fell upon Shujā'at's tent, and killed his son Qawim Khān.¹ Shujā'at himself was mortally wounded. Some of his adherents, at last, managed to put the dying Sh. on an elephant, and led him off to Sārangpūr. Though Sh. had expired before they reached the town, they did not spread the news of his death, and thus kept the greater part of the soldiers together, and joined Akbar in Sārangpūr.

Akbar punished the rebels severely. According to p. 294, Akbar once saved Shujā'at's life in the jungles.

From *Badā'oni* (II, 284), we learn that Qawim Khān was a young man, renowned for his musical talents.

Muqim Khān (No. 386) is Shujā'at Khān's second son. He was promoted under Akbar to a Commandership of seven hundred.

Qā'im Khān was the son of Muqim Khān. Qā'im's son, *Abdu' r-Rāḥim*, was under Jahāngir a Commander of seven hundred and 400 horse, got the title of *Tarbiyat Khān*, and was made in the 5th year, *Fawjdār* of Alwar. Qā'im's daughter, *Ṣāliha Bānū*, was received (3rd year) by Jahāngir in his harem, and went by the title of *Pādishāh Mahall*. She adopted *Miyān Joh*, son of the above, *Abdu' r-Rāḥim*. *Miyān Joh* was

¹ So the *Ma'āsir* and the *Akbarnāma*. *Badā'oni* (ii, 284) has *Qā'im Khān*; but this is perhaps a mistake of the native editors of the *Bibl. Indica*.

killed by Mahābat Khān when near the Bahat (Jhelam) he had taken possession of Jahāngir's person.

No. 52. Shāh Budāgh 'Khān, a descendant of Uymāq¹ of Miyānkāl, Samarqand.

The Turkish *Budāgh* means "a branch of a tree". He distinguished himself under Humāyūn and was made by Akbar a Commander of Three Thousand.

In the 10th year he accompanied Mir Mu'izz² 'l-Mulk (No. 61) against Bahādūr (No. 22). Though the imperialists were defeated, B. Kh. fought bravely, and was captured. His son 'Abdu' l-Maṭlab (No. 83) ran away. In the 12th year, B. Kh. went with Shihāb³ 'd-Dīn Ahmad (No. 26) against Mirzās in Mālwah, received Sārangpūr as *tuyūl*, fought under 'Aziz Koka (No. 21) in the battle of Patan (18th Ramaẓān 980), and was for a long time Governor of Mandū, where he died. The *Tabaqāt* says, he had the title of *Amīr 'l-Umarā*. He was alive in 981, when he met Akbar at Mohini.

Inside Fort Mandū, to the south, close to the walls, he had erected a building, to which he gave the name of *Nillānṭh*, regarding the inscriptions on which the *Ma'āsir* gives a few interesting particulars.

53. Hurayn Khān (*Tulḡiya*), sister's son of Mahāḍ Qāsim Khān (No. 36.)

"He is the Bayard and the Don Quixote of Akbar's reign." In his *jihāds* he was *sans peur*, and his private life *sans reproche*; he surpassed all grantees by his faithfulness and attachment to his masters, but his contingent was never in order; he was always poor, though his servants, in consequence of his liberality, lived in affluence. He slept on the ground, because his Prophet had enjoyed no greater luxuries; and his motto in fight was "death or victory"; and when people asked him why he did not invert the order and say "victory or death", he would reply, "O! I so long to be with the saints that have gone before."

He was the patron of the historian *Badā'oni*,² who served Ḥusayn as almoner to his estate (Shamsūbād and Patyālī).

¹ There were two tribes of the Qarā Turks called *ایمان* or *ایمان* *Uymāq*. They were renowned in India as horsemen. Hence *ایمان* as the word is generally spelt by Mughul Historians, means a kind of superior cavalry; vide *Tuzuk*, p. 147, l. 17. How this Turkish word lost its original meaning in India, may be seen from p. 57, l. 1 of the second volume of my *A'in* text, where *Abū 'l-Faṭl* applies the word to Rājput cavalry of the Rāṣṭhor clan. The word is pronounced *aimāq* in India.

The meaning of *Miyān Kāl* is still unclear to me. To judge from *Abū 'l-Faṭl's* phrase it must be the name of the head or founder of a clan. The adjective *Miyān Kāl* occurs frequently. Two *Miyān Kālīs* may be found below among the list of learned men (*Qāṣī 'Abdu' s-Samī*) and the poets (*Qāsim-i Kāhl*).

² Vide my Essay on *Badā'oni* and his Works in *J.A.S. Bengal*, for 1869, p. 120.

Husayn Khān was not only sister's son, but also son-in-law to Mahdi Qāsim Khān (No. 35). He was in Bayrām's service. In the second year, after the conquest of Mānkot, Akbar made him Governor of Lāhor, where he remained four months and four days. When Akbar in Šafar 965, marched to Dihli, he appointed H. Kh. Governor of the Panjāb. During his incumbency, he showed himself a zealous Sunni. As the Christians did with the Jews, he ordered the Hindūs as unbelievers to wear a patch (Hind. *tulā*) near the shoulders, and thus got the nickname of *Tulānigā* "Patcher".

Like Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram (No. 45), he stuck to Bayrām to the last, and did not meet Akbar at Jhūjhar; but after Bayrām had been pardoned, he entered Akbar's service. When Mahdi Qāsim Khān, from dislike to Gadhā, went by way of the Dakkhin to Makkah, H. Kh. accompanied him a short distance on the road. On his return, he reached Satwā in Mālwah, when the rebellion of the Mirzās broke out, and in concert with Muqarrīb Khān, the *tuyū* of that place, he tried to fortify himself in Satwā. But Muqarrīb lost heart and fled; and H. Kh. was forced to leave the Fort, and asked Ibrāhīm Husayn Mirzā for an interview. Though urged to join the Mirzā, H. Kh. remained faithful to Akbar.

In the 12th year, when Akbar moved against Khān Zamān, H. Kh. was to take a command, but his contingent was not ready. In the 13th year his jāgīr was transferred from Lakhnau, where he and Badāoni had been for about a year, to Kānto Gola.¹ His exacting behaviour towards Hindūs and his religious expeditions against their temples annoyed Akbar very much. In the 19th year, when the Emperor went to Bihār, H. Kh. was again absent; and when Akbar returned after the conquest of Hājīpūr, he confiscated H.'s jāgīr; but on satisfying himself of his harmlessness, he pardoned him, restored his jāgīr, and told him to get his contingent ready. His *mania*, however, again overpowered him. He made an expedition against Basantpūr in Kamāon, which was proverbially rich, and got wounded by a bullet in the shoulder. Akbar was almost convinced that he had gone into rebellion, and sent Šādig Khān (No. 43) to him to bring him by force to Court. H. Kh. therefore left Gadh Muktesar, with the view of going to Mun'im Khān, through whose influence he hoped to obtain pardon. But he was caught at Bārha, and was taken to Fathpūr Sikri, where in the same year (983) he died of his wounds.

The Tabaqāt says, he was a Commander of Two Thousand; but according to the Akbarnāma, he had since the 12th year been a Commander of Three Thousand.

His son, Yūsuf Khān, was a grandee of Jahāngīr. He served in the Dakkhin in the corps of 'Aziz Kokā (No. 21), who, in the 5th year, had been sent with 10,000 men to reinforce Prince Farwiz, the Khān Khānān, and Mān Singh, because on account of the duplicity of the Khān Khānān (Tuzul p. 88) the imperialists were in the greatest distress (*vide* pp. 344 and 357). Yūsuf's son, 'Izzat Khān, served under Shāhjahān, (*Pādshāhn*. II, 121).

54. Murād Khān, son of Amīr Khān Mughul Beg.

His full name is Muhammad Murād Khān. In the 9th year he served under Āṣaf Khān (No. 45) in Gadhā Katanga. In the 12th year, he got a jāgīr in Mālwā, and fought under Shihāb 'd-Dīn Ahmad against the Mirzās. After the Mirzās had returned to Gujrāt, M. got Ujjain as *tuyū*.

In the 13th year, the Mirzās invaded Mālwā from Khandesh, and Murād Khān, together with Mir 'Aziz 'Ullah, the Diwān of Mālwā, having received the news two days before the arrival of the enemies, shut themselves up in Ujjain, determined to hold it for Akbar. The Emperor sent Qulij Khān (No. 42) to their relief, when the Mirzās retreated to Mandū. Followed up by Qulij and Murād they retreated at last across the Narbaddāh.

In the 17th year, the Mirzās broke out in Gujrāt, and the jāgīrdārs of Mālwā assembled under the command of M. 'Aziz Kokā (No. 21). Murād held a command in the left wing, and took part, though not very actively, in the confused battle near Patan (Ramazān, 980).

In 982, he was attached to Mun'im's expedition to Bengal. He conquered for Akbar the district of Fathābād, Sarkār Boglā (S.E. Bengal), and was made Governor of Jalesar (Jellalore) in Oṛiṣā, after Dā'ūd had made peace with Mun'im.

When in 983, after Mun'im's death, Dā'ūd fell upon Nazar Bahādūr, Akbar's Governor of Bhadrak (Oṛiṣā), and treacherously killed him, Murād wisely retreated to Tānda.¹

Subsequently M. was again appointed to Fathābād, where he was when the Bengal rebellion broke out. Murād at Fathābād Qiyā Khān in

¹ As Mun'im left Thānādhāra in Bhadrak and Jalesar, Dā'ūd must have been restricted to Katak proper. Mun'im's invasion of Oṛiṣā was certainly one of the most daring exploits performed during Akbar's reign.

Having mentioned Katak, I may here state that the name "Atak" (Attock, in the Panjāb) was chosen by Akbar who built the town, because of *shamsa* with Katak. The two frontier towns of his empire were to have similar names. *Akbarnāma*.

¹ Elliot (Index, p. 235, First Edition) has by mistake Lakhnau (on the Rāmgangā) instead of Lakhnau (in Audh), and he calls Husayn Khān a Kozmiri. This must be an oversight.

Orisā, Mirzā Najāt at Sātḡāw, were almost the only officers of Akbar's Bengal corps that did not take part in the great military revolt of 988. Qiyā was killed by Qutlū (p. 366), and Murād died at Fathābād immediately after the first outbreak of the revolt in 988, "before the veil of his loyalty was rent".

After his death, Mukand, the principal Zamīndār of Fathābād, invited Murād's sons to a feast, and treacherously murdered them.

Vide No. 369.

65. Hāji Muhammed Khān of Sistān.

He was in the service of Bayrām, who was much attached to him. In 961, when Bayrām held Qandahār, rumours of treason reached Humāyūn. The Emperor went from Kābul to Qandahār, and personally investigated the matter, but finding Bayrām innocent, he went back, taking Hāji Muhammad with him, who during the investigation had been constantly referred to as inclined to rebellion.¹

After the conquest of Hindūstān, H. M. at Bayrām's request, was made a Khān, and was rapidly promoted.

In the 1st year of Akbar's reign, H. M. was ordered to accompany Khizr Khwāja'n (p. 324, note 1.) on his expedition against Sikandar Sūr. Tardi Beg's (No. 12) defeat by Hemū had a bad effect on the Emperor's cause; and Mullā 'Abd'ulāh Maḥdūm 'l-Mulk who, though in Akbar's service, was said to be devoted to the interests of the Afghān's, represented to Sikandar that he should use this favourable opportunity and leave the Sawālīk. As related above Khizr Khwāja moved against Sikandar, leaving H. M. in charge at Lāhor. Being convinced of Maḥdūm's treason, H. M. tortured him, and forced him to give up sums of money which he had concealed.

In 966, Bayrām fell out with Pīr Muhammad (No. 20), and deprived him of his office and emoluments which were given to H. M. When Bayrām fell into disgrace, he sent H. M. with several other Amīrs to Dīhli with expressions of his humility and desire to be pardoned. But H. M. soon saw that all was lost. He did not receive permission to go back to Bayrām. After Bayrām had been pardoned (p. 318) H. M. and Muhammad Tarāḡ Khān (No. 32) accompanied him on his way to Hījāz as far as Nāḡor, then the frontier of the Empire. Once, on the road, Bayrām charged H. M. with faithlessness, when the latter gently reminded him that he had at least never drawn his sword against his master.

¹ Hāji Muhammad is the same to whom Erskine's remark refers quoted by Elphinstone (Fifth Edition), p. 470 note.

H. M. was present in almost every campaign, and was promoted to the post of Sih-lazārī. In the 12th year, when Akbar set out for the conquest of Chitor, he sent H. M. and Shibāb 'd-Dīn Ahmad (No. 26) from Gāgrūn against the sons of Sultān Muhammad Mirzā, who had fled from Sambhal and raised a revolt in Mālwah. H. M. then received the Sarkār of Mandū as jāḡīr.

In the 20th year, H. M. accompanied Mun'īm Khān on his expedition to Bengal and Orisā, and got wounded in the battle of Takarōi (20th Zī Qasda, 982). He then accompanied the Khūn Khānān to Gaur, where soon after Mun'īm's death he, too, died of malaria (983).

Note on the Battle of Takarōi, or Muḡhulmārī, in Orisā.

This battle is one of the most important battles fought by Akbar's generals. It crushed the Afghāns, and decided the possession of Bengal and Upper Orisā. The MSS. of the *Akbarnāma* and the *Ma'āzīr* have Takarōi تکروئی *Takarōi*, and تکروئی *Takarōi*. My copy of the *Sawānīh* has the former spelling. A few copies of the *Akbarnāma* have Nakrohi نکروئی. In *Badā'onī* and the *Tabaqāt* the battle of Takarōi is called the battle of Bajhorah بجھورہ (vide p. 331) which may be *Bajhorah*, *Bachhorah*, *Bajhorh*, or *Bachhorh*. Stewart's account of Mun'īm's Orisā expedition (5th Section), differs in many particulars from the *Akbarnāma* and the *Tabaqāt*. He places the battle in the environs of Kaṭak, which is impossible, and his "Bukhtoro" is a blunder for ba-chittuā, "in Chittuā," the final *alif* having assumed the shape of چ, and the چ that of خ. The Lucknow lithograph of the *Akbarnāma*, which challenges in corruptness the worst possible Indian MS., has *ba-chitor*, "in Chitor."

The *Akbarnāma*, unfortunately, gives but few geographical details. Todar Mal moved from Bardwān over Madārān¹ into the Pargana of Chittuā (چیتوہ), where he was subsequently joined by Mun'īm. Dā'ūd had taken up a strong position at Haripūr حریپور, Harpūr or Haripūr, "which lies intermediate (*barzakh*) between Bengal and Orisā." The same phrase (*barzakh*), in other passages of the *Akbarnāma*, is applied to Chittuā itself. Dā'ūd's object was to prevent the Imperialists from entering Orisā into which led but few other roads; "but Ilyās Khūn Langāh

¹ Madārān lies in Jahānābād, a Pargana of the Hūgli district, between Bardwān and Mehinipūr (Midnapore). Regarding the importance and history of this town, vide my "Places of Historical Interest in the Hūgli District", in the April Proceedings of the As. Soc. of Bengal for 1870.

showed the victorious army an easier road," and Munṣim entered the country, and thus turned Dā'ūd's position. The battle then takes place (20th Zi Qa'da, 982, or a.d., 3rd March, 1575). After the battle Todar Mal leads the pursuit and reaches with his corps the town of Bhadrak. Not long after, he writes to Munṣim to come and join him, as Dā'ūd had collected his troops near Katak, and the whole army moves to Katak, where a peace was concluded, which confirmed Dā'ūd in the possession of Katak.

Now from the facts that the battle took place soon after the Imperialists had left Chittur, which lies a little E.N.E. of Midnāpūr (Midnapore), and that after the victory Rāja Todar Mal, in a pursuit of several days, pushed as far as Bhadrak, I was led to conclude that the battle must have taken place near Jalesar (Jalgaore), and probably north of it, as Abū 'l-Faṭl would have mentioned the occupation of so large a town. On consulting the large Trigonometrical Map of Oṛiṣā lately published, I found on the road from Midnāpūr to Jalesar the village of Mogulmārī (Mughulmārī, i.e., Mughul's Fight) and about seven miles southwards, half way between Mughulmārī and Jalesar, and two miles from the left bank of the Soobanreeka river, the village of Tookaroṭ.

According to the map the latitude of Mughulmārī is 22°, and that of Tookaroṭ, 21° 53' nearly.

There can be no doubt that this Tookaroṭ is the تَكَروٹی, *Takaroti*, of the *Altamāma*.

The battle extended over a large ground. Badā'oni (II, p. 195, l. 3) speaks of *three, four kos*, i.e. about six miles, and thus the distance of Takaroṭ from Mughulmārī is accounted for.

I can give no satisfactory explanation of the name *مُغُولْمَارِ*, by which the battle is called in the *Tabaqāt* and Badā'oni (II, 194, l. 2). It looks as if the name contained the word *chaur* which occurs so often in the names of Parganas in the Jalesar and Balesar districts.

In Badā'oni (Edit. Bibl. Indica, p. 196) and the *Tabaqāt*, it is said that Todar Mal in his pursuit reached *كل كلیا Kalkalghāṣī* (?), not Bhadrak.

List of Officers who died in 983, after their return from Oṛiṣā, at Gaur, of malaria.

1. Munṣim Khān, Khān Khānān, 2. Hājī Khān Sistānī (No. 55).
(18th Rājāb). *Vide* p. 334. 3. Haydar Khān (No. 66).

¹ Another "Mughulmārī" lies in the Bardwān district between Bardwān and Jahānsbād (Hugli district) on the old high road from Bardwān over Madāran to Midnāpūr.

4. Mirzā Qulī Khān, his brother. 10. Hāshim Khān.
5. Ashraf Khān (No. 74). 11. Muḥsin Khān.
6. Muṣin 'd-Dīn Ahmad (No. 128). 12. Qunduz Khān.
7. Laṣī Khān (No. 209). 13. Abū 'l-Muṣayn.
8. Hājī Yūsuf Khān (No. 224). 14. Shāh Khalil.
9. Shāh Tāhir (No. 236).

55. Afzal Khān, Khwāja Sultān 'Alī 'yi Turbatī.

Regarding *Turbatī* vide No. 37. He was *Mushrif* (accountant) of Humāyūn's Treasury, and was, in 956, promoted to the post of *Mushrif-i Bayūtāt* (store accountant). In 957, when Mirzā Kāmran took Kābul, he imprisoned A. Kh., and forced him to pay large sums of money. On Humāyūn's return to India, A. Kh. was made *Mir Balkhshī*, and got an *ʿalām*. He was together with Tardi Beg (No. 12) in Dillī, when Humāyūn died. In the battle with Hemū, he held a command in the centre (*gol*), and his detachment gave way during Hemū's charge. A. Kh., together with Pīr Muḥammad (No. 20) and Ashraf Khān (No. 74), fled from the battlefield, partly from hatred towards Tardi Beg—the old hatred of Khurāsānis towards Uzbaks—and retreated to Akbar and Bayrām. As related above, Tardi Beg was executed by Bayrām for this retreat, and A. Kh. and Ashraf Khān were convicted of malice and imprisoned. But both escaped and went to Makkah. They returned in the 5th year, when Bayrām had lost his power, and were favourably received at Court. A. Kh. was made a Commander of three thousand.

"Nothing else is known of him." *Ma'āṣir*.

57. Shāhbeg Khān, son of Irbāhim Beg Harik (?).²

He is sometimes called *Beg Khān* (p. 327). He was an *Arghūn*; hence his full name is *Shāh Beg Khān Arghūn*. Under Jahāngir he got the title of *Khān Daurān*.

He was in the service of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm of Kābul, Akbar's brother, and was Governor of Peshāwār. When after the Prince's death, Mān Singh, in 993, crossed the Nilāb (p. 362) for Kābul, Shāh Beg took M. M. Ḥakīm's two sons, Kay Qubāb and Afrāsiyāb, to Akbar, and received a *manṣab*. Sh. B. distinguished himself in the war with the Yūsufzā'is, and got *Khushāb* as *jāgīr*. He then served under the Khān Khānān in Sindh, and was for his bravery promoted to a command of 2,500. In the 39th year Akbar sent him to Qandahār (p. 327), which,

¹ The word *ʿAlī* has been omitted in my text edition on p. 224.

² So the *Ma'āṣir*. My MSS. of the *ʿĀ'in* have *حرک*, which may be *Harik*, *Harmak*, *Horak*, etc. Some MSS. read clearly *Harrak*.

Muzaffar Husayn had ceded. During the time of his Governorship Sh. B. succeeded in keeping down the notorious Kākar كَكَر tribe. In the 42nd year, he was made a Commander of 3,500. In the 47th year, Ghaznin was placed in his charge (*vide* No. 63).

Immediately after the accession of Jahāngir, Husayn Khān Shāmlū, the Persian Governor at Hirāt, thinking Akbar's death would lead to disturbances, made war upon Sh. B. and besieged Qandahār, which he hoped to starve out. To vex him, Sh. B. gave every night feasts on the top of the castle before the very eyes of the enemies (*Tuzuk*, p. 33). One day Husayn Khān sent an ambassador into the Fort, and Sh. B., though provisions had got low, had every available store of grain spread out in the streets, in order to deceive the enemies. Not long after, Husayn Shāh received a reprimand from Shāh ʿAbbās for having besieged Qandahār "without orders", and Husayn Khān, without having effected anything, had to raise the siege.

When Jahāngir in 1016 (18th Šafar) visited Kābul,¹ Sh. B. paid his respects, was made a Commander of 5,000, and received the title of *Khān Dowrān*. He was also made Governor of Kābul (in addition to Qandahār), and was ordered to prepare a financial settlement for the whole of Afghānistān. After having held this office till the end of 1027 he complained of the fatigues incident to a residence in Kābul, horse-travelling and the drizzly state of the atmosphere of the country,² paid in the beginning of 1028 his respects at Court (*Tuz.*, p. 257), and was appointed Governor of Thatha.³ He resigned, however, in the same year (*Tuz.*, p. 275) and got the revenue of the Pargana of *Khushāb* assigned as pension (75,000 Rs.).

Before he went to Thatha, he called on Āsaf to take leave and Āsaf recommended to him the brothers of Mullā Muḥammad of Thatha, who had been a friend of Āsaf. Shāhbeg had heard before that the Mullā's brothers, in consequence of Āsaf's support, had never cared for the Governors of the province; hence he said to Āsaf, "Certainly, I will take an interest in their welfare, if they are sensible (*sarhīsh*); but if not, I shall slay them." Āsaf got much annoyed at this, opposed him in everything, and indirectly forced him to resign.

¹ According to the *Tuzuk* (p. 53), Sh. B. then held the Pargana of Shor as *jāgīr*, regarding which *vide* Elliot's Index, first edition, p. 198.

² The text has *qatra*, which is mentioned as a peculiarity of Kābul. I do not know whether I have correctly translated the term.

³ Sayyid Ahmad in his edition of the *Tuzuk* (p. 266) makes him governor of a confusion of *جند* and *جند*.

Sh. B. was a frank Turk. When Akbar appointed him Governor of Qandahār, he conferred upon him an *ʿalam* and a *naggāra* (p. 52); but on receiving the *insignia*, he said to Farid (No. 99), "What is all this trash for? Would that His Majesty gave me an order regarding my *manṣab*, and a *jāgīr*, to enable me to get better troopers for his service." On his return, in 1028, from Kābul, he paraded before Jahāngir his contingent of 1,000 picked Mughul troopers, whose appearance and horses created much sensation.

He was much given to wine drinking. He drank, in fact, wine, *cannabis*, opium, and *kūknār*, mixed together, and called his beverage of four ingredients *Chār Bughrā* (p. 63, l. 2), which gave rise to his nickname *Chār Bughrā Khur*.

His sons. 1. *Mirzā Shāh Muḥammad Ghaznūn Khān*, a well educated man. Jahāngir, in 1028, made him a Commander of One Thousand, six-hundred horse.

2. *Yaʿqūb Beg*, son-in-law to Mirzā Jaʿfar Āsaf Khān (III), (No. 98), a Commander of Seven Hundred, 350 horse. The *Maʿāsir* says, he was a fatalist (*azalparast*), and died obscure.

3. *Asad Beg* (*Tuz.*, p. 275), a Commander of Three Hundred, 50 horse. The *Maʿāsir* does not mention him.

The *Tuzuk*, p. 34, mentions a Qāsim Beg Khān, a relation of Sh. B. This is perhaps the same as No. 350.

Shāhbeg Khān Arghān must not be confounded with No 148.

58. *Khān ʿĀlam Chalda Beg*,¹ son of Hamdam who was Mirzā Kāmran's foster brother.

Chalda Beg was Humāyūn's *safarchī*, or table attendant. Mirzā Kāmran had, in 960, been blinded, and at the Indus asked for permission to go to Makkah. Before he left, Humāyūn, accompanied by some of his courtiers, paid him a visit, when the unfortunate prince, after greeting his brother, quoted the verse—

کلاه گوشه درویش برفلک سایه همچو نو شاهی فکند بر سر او
"The fold of the poor man's turban touches the heaven, when a king like thee casts his shadow upon his head."

And immediately afterwards he said the following verse *extempore* :—

بر جانم از تو هر چه رسد جای منت است گر ناوک جفاست و گر خنجر است

¹ For Chalda, the MSS. of the *Ā'in* have, at this place, *Halim*. In No. 100, the same name occurs. The *Maʿāsir* MSS. of the *Akbarnāma* have *Chalmah*. Turkish dictionaries give of wild goat's dung and *chālma* (چالمة) in that of "

ʿĀlam is wrongly called *چالمة*, instead of

"Whatever I receive at thy hands is kindness, be it the arrow of oppression or the dagger of cruelty."

Humāyūn felt uncomfortable and tried to console him. He gave next day orders that any of Kāmran's old friends might accompany him free to Makkah; but as no one came forward, he turned to Chalmah Beg, and said, "Will you go with him, or stay with me?" Chalmah Beg, though he knew that Humāyūn was much attached to him, replied that he thought he should accompany the Prince in the "gloomy days of need and the darkness of his solitude." The Emperor approved of his resolution, and made liberal provisions for Kāmran and his companion.

After Kāmran's death, Chalmah Beg returned to India, and was favourably received by Akbar, who made him a Commander of 3,000, bestowing upon him the title of *Khān Ṣālam*. He served under the emperor against the Mirzās in Gujrāt, and was present in the fight at Sarnāl (p. 353, No. 27).

In the 19th year, when Akbar moved against Dā'ūd in Patna, *Khān Ṣālam* commanded a corps, and passing up the river in boats towards the mouth of the Ghandak, effected a landing, though continually exposed to the volleys of the enemies. Akbar praised him much for his daring. In the same year he was attached to Munṣim's corps. In the battle of Takaroi (p. 406), he commanded the *harāwal* (van). He charged the Afghāns, and allowing his corps to advance too far, he was soon hard pressed and gave way, when Munṣim sent him an angry order to fall back. But before his corps could be brought again into order, Gūjar *Khān*, Dā'ūd's best general, attacked the Imperialists with his line of elephants, which he had rendered fierce looking by means of black Yak tails (*qutās*) and skins of wild beasts attached to them. The horses of the Imperialists got frightened, nothing could make them stand, and their ranks were utterly broken. *Kh.* Ṣā's horse got a sword cut, and reared, throwing him on the ground. He sprang up, and mounted it again, but was immediately thrown over by an elephant, and killed by the Afghāns who rushed from all sides upon him (20th Zi Qaṣda, 982).

It is said that before the battle he had presentiment of his death, and begged of his friends, not to forget to tell the Emperor that he was willingly sacrificed his life.

Kh. Ṣā. was a poet and wrote under the *Takhalluṣ* of *Hamdamī* (in allusion to the name of his father).

A brother of his, Muzaffar, is mentioned below (No. 301) among the Commanders of Three Hundred, where for اعظم, in my Text edition, p. 229, read عالم.

. 59. Qāsim *Khān*, Mir Baḥr Chamanārāi (?) *Khurāsān*.¹

He is the son of Mirzā Dost's sister, who was an old servant of the Timūrīdes. When Mirzā Kāmran was, in 954, besieged in Kābul, Humāyūn had occupied Mount Aqābīn, which lies opposite the Fort of Kābul. Whilst the siege was going on, Qāsim *Khān* and his younger brother, *Khawājā* Muḥammad Ḥusayn (No. 241) threw themselves down from a turret between the Ḥananin Darwāza and the Qāsim Barīās bastion, and went over to Humāyūn, who received them with distinction.

Soon after Akbar's accession, Q. *Kh.* was made a Commander of Three Thousand. He superintended the building of the Fort of Āgra, which he completed "after eight years at a cost of 7 *krors* of tankas, or 35 lacs of rupees. The Fort stands on the banks of the Jamna river, E. of the town of Āgra, on the place of the old Fort, which had much decayed. The breadth of the walls is 30 yards, and the height from the foundation to the pinnacles 60 *gaz*. It is built of red sandstone, the stones being well joined together and fastened to each other by iron rings which pass through them. The foundation everywhere reaches water".²

In the 23rd year, Q. was made Commander of Āgra. In the beginning of Shaḥbān 995 (32nd year), he was ordered to conquer Kashmir, "a country which from its inaccessibility had never tempted the former kings of Dihlī." Though six or seven roads lead into Kashmir, the passes are all so narrow that a few old men might repel a large army. The then ruler of Kashmir was Yaṣqūb *Khān*, son of Yūsuf *Khān* Chak. He had fortified a pass;³ but as his rule was disliked, a portion of his men went over to Q., whilst others raised a revolt in Srinagar. Thinking it more important to crush the revolt, Yaṣqūb left his fortified position, and allowed Q. to enter the country. No longer able to oppose the Imperialists, he withdrew to the mountains, and trusted to an active guerilla warfare;

¹ I am doubtful regarding the true meaning of the odd title *chaman-drāyī Khurāsān*. "Ruler of Khurāsān." The Maṣāsir, not knowing what to do with it, has left it out. *Mir Baḥr* means "admiral". If *chamanārāi Kh.* be a genitive, the words mean, "Admiral of the ruler of Khurāsān," which from his biography does not appear to be correct. His brother (No. 241) is styled *Mir Bar*, an officer whose duties seem to have been confined to looking after arrangements during trips, hunting expeditions, etc.

² The old Fort of Āgra was called *Badalgarh* (Bad. I, 429). It suffered much during the earthquake of 911 (3rd Safar), and was nearly destroyed during an explosion which happened in 962.

The Fort *Badalgarh* بادلگارہ, not بادشاہ, which Elliot (Index, First Edit., p. 229) identifies with the Fort of Āgra, cannot be the old Fort of Āgra, because *Bada*, not *Bad*, clearly says that it was a lofty structure at the foot of the Fort of Gwālār, not "one of the Forts dependent on Gwālār".

For *Udanagar*, on the same page in Elliot, read *Uṭgar* (ونگر). It was a Fort in the Sarkār of Mandlār, on the left side of the Chambal. Our maps have *Qutgr* or *Donjgr*.

³ Called in the MSS. کتل کربل. The word *kutal*, means "a mountain" or "a mountain-pass". (Bad. II, 355, کتل کربل.—B.)

but disappointed even in this hope, he submitted and became "a servant of Akbar". The Kashmiris, however, are famous for love of mischief and viciousness, and not a day passed without disturbances breaking out in some part of the country. Q., tired of the incessant petty annoyances, resigned his appointment (*vide* No. 35). In the 31th year he was made Governor of Kābul. At that time a young man from Andajān (Farḡhāna) gave out that he was a son of Shāhrukh.¹ He met with some success in Badakhshān, but was defeated by the Tūrān Shāh. The pretender then made friendship with the Zābuli Hazāras, and when Q., on one occasion, had repaired to Court, he entered Akbar's territory giving out that he was going to pay his respects to the Emperor. But Hāshim Beg, Q.'s son, who officiated during the absence of his father, sent a detachment after the pretender, who now threw himself on the Hazāras. But Hāshim Beg followed him, and took him a prisoner to Kābul. Q., on his return from India, let him off and even allowed him to enter his service. The pretender, in the meantime, rearranged his old men, and when he had five hundred together, he waited for an opportunity to fall on Q. At this juncture, Akbar ordered the pretender to repair to Court. Accompanied by his ruffians, he entered at noon Q.'s sleeping apartments, when only a few females were present, and murdered his benefactor (1002). Hāshim Beg soon arrived, and fired upon the pretender and his men. In the *melée*, the murderer was killed.

For Qāsim's brother, *vide* No. 241, and for his son, No. 226.

60. Bāqī Khān (elder), brother of Adham Khān (No. 19).

His mother is the same Māhum Anaga, mentioned on p. 340. "From Badā'oni (II, 340) we learn that Bāqī Khān died in the 30th year as Governor of Gadhā-Katanga." This is all the *Ma'āṣir* says of him.

His full name is Muḥammad Bāqī Khān Koka. From Badā'oni II, 81, we see that Bāqī Khān took part in the war against Iskandar Khān and Bahādūr Khān (972-3), and fought under Muḥizzu'l-Mulk (No. 61)

in the battle of Khayrābād, in which Budāgh Khān (No. 52) was captured. The battle was lost, chiefly because Bāqī Khān, Mahdī Qāsim Khān (No. 36), and Husayn Khān Tukriya (No. 53) had personal grievances —their Uzbek hatred—against Muḥizzu'l-Mulk and Rāja Toḍar Mal.

61. Mīr Muḥizzu'l-Mulk-i Mūsawī of Mashhad.

He belongs to the Mūsawī Sayyids of Mashhad the Holy, who trace their descent to 'Alī Mūsā Razā, the 8th Imām of the Shi'ahs. A branch of these Sayyids by a different mother is called *Razawī*.

In the 10th year, Akbar moved to Jaunpūr to punish Khān Zamān (No. 13), who had dispatched his brother Bahādūr and Iskandar Khān (No. 48) to the district of *Sarwār*.¹ Against them Akbar sent a strong detachment (*vide* No. 60) under Muḥizzu'l-Mulk. Bahādūr, on the approach of the Imperialists, had recourse to negotiations, and asked for pardon, stating that he was willing to give up all elephants. M. M., however, desired war, and though he granted Bahādūr an interview, he told him that his crimes could only be cleansed with blood. But he reported the matter to Akbar, who sent Lashkar Khān (No. 90) and Rāja Toḍar Mal to him, to tell him that he might make peace with Bahādūr, if he was satisfied with his good intentions. But here also the rancour of the Khurāsānis towards the Uzbaks decided matters, and Toḍar Mal only confirmed M. M. in his resolution.² Although a few days later the news arrived that Akbar had pardoned Khān Zamān, because he sent his mother and his uncle Ibrāhīm Khān (No. 64) to Court as guarantees of his loyalty, M. M. attacked Bahādūr near Khayrābād. Muḥammad Yār, son of Iskandar Khān's brother, who commanded the van of the rebels, fell in the first attack, and Iskandar who stood behind him, was carried along and fled from the field. The Imperialists, thinking that the battle was decided, commenced to plunder, when suddenly Bahādūr, who had been lying in wait, fell upon M. M.'s left wing and put it to flight. Not only was Budāgh Khān (No. 52) taken prisoner but many soldiers went over to Bahādūr. Flushed with victory, he attacked the

¹ Most MSS. have سردار. The Edit. Bibl. Indica of Badā'oni, p. 78, has سردار *Sardār*; but again سردار, on p. 83. There is no doubt that the district got its name from the *Sarwār* River (ساروار آبشار).

² Badā'oni says Toḍar Mal's arrival was "naphla on Muḥizzu'l-Mulk's fire". Throughout his work, Badā'oni shows himself an admirer of Khān Zamān and his brother Bahādūr. With Muḥizzu'l-Mulk a Shi'ah of the Shi'ahs, he has no patience. "Muḥizzu'l-Mulk's ideas," he says, were "I and nobody else"; he behaved as proudly as Fircaṣin and Shaddād; for pride is the inheritance of all Sayyids of Mashhad. Hence people say: "iz Imām-i shumā, Laḥqatī lāhī bar tamām-i shumā," "O people of your Imām (Mūsā Razā), may God's curse rest upon all of you who rejoice in its inhabitants; how fortunate from the surface of the earth."

tender is Shāhrukh's son or not. Shāhrukh left Badakhshān about twenty-five years ago, and since then the Badakhshis have set up several false Mirzās, in order to shake off the yoke of the Uzbaks. Thus pretender collected a large number of Uymāqs (p. 402, note 1) and Badakhshi Mountaineers, who go by the name of *Gharjas* (غرچا, whence *Gharjistan*), and took from the Uzbaks a part of the country. But the enemies pressed upon him, caught him, and cut off his head, which was carried on a spear all over Badakhshān. Several false Mirzās have since been killed; but I really think their race will as long as a trace of Badakhshis remain on earth." *Tuzuk-i Jahāngiri*, p. 57.

centre, where the grantees either fled or would not fight from malice (*vide* No. 60). Toḍar Mal's firmness was of no avail, and the day was lost.

After the conquest of Bihār, M. M. got the Pargana of Āra (Arrah) as *jāgīr*. In the 24th year, the nobles of Bihār under Ma'sūm-i Kābuli, *tuyūldār* of Patna, rebelled. They won over M. M., and his younger brother Mir 'Alī Akbar (No. 62); but both soon left the rebels, and M. M. went to Jaunpūr recruiting, evidently meditating revolt independently of the others. In the 25th year, Akbar ordered Asad Khān Turkmān, *jāgīrdār* of Mānīkpūr, to hasten to Jaunpūr and convey M. M. with all his suspicious adherents to Court. Asad Khān succeeded in catching M. M., and sent him by boat to the Emperor. Near Itāwah, however, the boat "foundered", and M. M. lost his life.

62. Mir 'Alī Akbar (younger), brother of the preceding.

He generally served with his brother, and held the same rank. In the 22nd year he presented Akbar, according to the *Ṭabaqāt* with a *Mawlūd-nāma*, or History of the birth of the Emperor. It was in the handwriting of Qāzī Ghīyās 'd-Dīn-i Jāmī, a man of learning, who had served under Humāyūn, and contained an account of the vision which Humāyūn had in the night Akbar was born. The Emperor saw in his dream the new born babe, and was told to call his name Jalāl 'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar. This *Mawlūd-nāma* Akbar prized very much, and rewarded Mir 'Alī Akbar with a pargana¹ as *in'ām*.

When his brother was sent to Bihār, M. 'A. A. was ordered to accompany him. He established himself at Zamāniya, which "lies 6 kos from Ghazīpūr (*vide* p. 336), and rebelled like his brother in Jaunpūr. After the death of his brother, Akbar ordered M. 'Azīz (No. 21), who had been appointed to Bihār, to send M. 'A. A. fettered to Court. Notwithstanding his protests that he was innocent, he was taken to the Emperor, who imprisoned him for life.

63. Sharīf Khān, brother of Atga Khān (No. 15).

He was born at Ghaznīn. After Bayrām's fall, he held a *tuyūl* in the Panjāb, and generally served with his elder brother Mir Muḥammad Khān (No. 16).

On the transfer of the *Atga Khayl* from the Panjāb, Sh. was appointed to the Sarkār of Qannawj. In the 21st year, when Akbar was at Mohini, he sent Sh., together with Qāzī Khān-i Bada'khshī (No. 144), Mujāhid Khān, Subhān Qulī Turk, against the Rānā. He afterwards distinguished

himself in the conquest of Kōbbalmīr. In the 25th year, he was made *atāiq* to Prince Murād, and was in the same year sent to Mālwah as Governor, Shujā'at Khān (No. 51) having been killed. His son Bār Bahādūr (No. 188) was ordered to join his father from Gujrat. In the 28th year, he served against Muzaḥfir, and distinguished himself in the siege of Bahrōch, which was held for Muzaḥfir by Chirkis-i Rūmī and Naṣīrā, brother of Muzaḥfir's wife. The former having been killed, Naṣīrā escaped in the 7th month of the siege, through the trench held by Sharīf, and the Fort was taken. In the 30th year, he was sent with Shihāb 'd-Dīn (No. 26) to the Dakḥin, to assist Mirzā 'Azīz (No. 21).

In the 35th year he went from Mālwah to Court, and was made in the 39th year Governor of Ghaznīn, an appointment which he had long desired. There he remained till the 47th year, when Shāh Beg (No. 57) was sent there.

"Nothing else is known of him." *Ma'āsīr*.

His son, Bār Bahādūr (No. 188), held a *jāgīr* in Gujrat, and was transferred to Mālwah as related above. He served in the siege of Āsir, and in the Aḥmadnagar war. In the 46th year, he was caught by the Talingals, but was released, when Abū 'l-Faḥl made peace, and the prisoners were exchanged.

IX.—Commanders of Two Thousand and Five Hundred.

64. Ibrāhīm Khān-i Shaybānī (uncle of Khān Zamān, No. 13).

He served under Humāyūn. After the conquest of Hindūstān, Humāyūn sent him with Shāh Abū 'l-Ma'sūlī to Lāhor, to oppose Sikandar Sūr, should he leave the Sawālīks. After the fall of Mānkoṭ, he received the Pargana of Sarharpur,¹ near Jaunpūr, as *jāgīr*, and remained with Khān Zamān. During Khān Zamān's first rebellion, Ibrāhīm Khān and Khān Zamān's mother repaired at Mun'īm Khān's request to Court as hostages of his loyalty. Ibrāhīm appearing, as was customary, with a shroud and a sword round his neck, which were only taken off when the Emperor's pardon had been obtained.

In the 12th year, however, Khān Zamān again rebelled, and Ibrāhīm went with Iskandar (No. 48) to Audh. When the latter had gone to Bengal, Ibrāhīm, at Mun'īm's request, was pardoned, and remained with the Khān Khūnān.

¹ Called in the *Ma'āsīr* (though it cannot be Nudda in Bengal); in my copy of the *Sarānīh* نودده; but Naddah in Sambhal appears to be meant.

¹ It is difficult to reconcile this statement with Badāoni II. 23, where Sarharpur, which "lies 18 kos from Jaunpūr", is mentioned as the *jāgīr* of Abū 'r-Rahmān, Sikandar Sūr's son, who got it after the surrender of Mānkoṭ.

In the *Tabaqāt*, Ibr. is called a Commander of Four Thousand.

His son, Ismāʿīl Khān, held from Khān Zamān the town of Sandelah in Audh. In the 3rd year, Akbar gave this town to Sultān Husayn Khān Jalāʾir. Ismāʿīl opposed him with troops which he had got from Khān Zamān; but he was defeated and killed.

65. Khawāja Jalāl 'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Buḥārī, of Khurāsān.

The MSS. of the *Ā'in* have *Muḥammad*, instead of *Maḥmūd*, which other histories have, and have besides a word after *Muḥammad* which reads like *بُجْنِي* and *بُجْنِي*. This should be no doubt *بُجْنِي* *buḥārī*, the *scriptio defectiva* of the Turkish *بُجْنِي* *buḥārī*, "having the nose cut," as given in the copy of the *Maʿāzī*.

Jalāl 'd-Dīn was in the service of M. Sarkarī. He had sent him from Qandahār to Garmāir, to collect taxes, when Humāyūn passed through the district on his way to Persia. The Emperor called him, and Jalāl presented him with whatever he had with him of cash and property, for which service Humāyūn conferred on him the title of *Mīr Sāmān*, which in the circumstances was an empty distinction. On Humāyūn's return from Persia, Jalāl joined the Emperor, and was ordered, in 959, to accompany the young Akbar to Ghaznīn, the *tuyūl* of the Prince. His devotion to his master rendered him so confident of the Emperor's protection that he treated the grandees rudely, and incessantly annoyed them by satirical remarks. In fact, he had not a single friend.

Akbar on his accession made him a Commander of Two Thousand Five Hundred, and appointed him to Ghaznīn. His enemies used the opportunity and stirred up Munṣim Khān, who owed Jalāl an old grudge. Jalāl soon found his post in Ghaznīn so disagreeable that he determined to look for employment elsewhere. He had scarcely left Ghaznīn, when Munṣim called him to account. Though he had promised to spare his life, Munṣim imprisoned him, and had a short time after his eyes pierced. Jalāl's sight, however, had not been entirely destroyed, and he meditated a flight to India. Before he reached the frontier, Munṣim's men caught him and his son, Jalāl 'd-Dīn Maḥmūd.¹ Both were imprisoned and shortly afterwards murdered by Munṣim.

This double murder is the foulest blot on Munṣim's character, and takes us the more by surprise, as on all other occasions he showed himself generous and forbearing towards his enemies.

66. Haydar Muhammad Khān, Akhta Begi.

He was an old servant of Humāyūn, and accompanied him to Persia. He gave the Emperor his horse, when, in the defeat near Balkh, Humāyūn's horse had been shot. On the march against Kāmran, who had left Kābul for Afghānistān, the imperialists came to the River Surkhāb, Haydar, with several other faithful Amirs, leading the van. They reached the river Siyāh-āb, which flows near the Surkhāb, before the army could come up. Kāmran suddenly attacked them by night; but Haydar bravely held his ground. He accompanied the Emperor to Qandahār and to India, and was appointed to Bayānah (*Bad. I.* 463), which was held by Ghāzi Khān Sūr, father of Ibrāhīm Khān. After the siege had lasted some time, Haydar allowed Ghāzi to capitulate; but soon after, he killed Ghāzi. Humāyūn was annoyed at this breach of faith, and said he would not let Haydar do so again.

After Akbar's accession, H. was with Tardī Beg (No. 12) in Dihlī, and fought under Khān Zamān (No. 13) against Hemū. After the victory, he went for some reason to Kābul. At Munṣim's request he assisted Ghāzi Khān (*vide p.* 333) in Kābul. But they could not agree, and H. was called to India. He accompanied Munṣim in the 8th year, on his expedition to Kābul and continued to serve under him in India.

In the 17th year, H. served with Khān-i Kalān (No. 16) in Gujrāt. In the 19th year, he was, together with his brother Mīrzā Qulī, attached to the Bengal Army, under Munṣim. Both died of fever, in 983, at Gaur (*vide p.* 407).

A son of H. is mentioned below (No. 326).

Mīrzā Qulī, or *Mīrzā Qulī Khān*, Haydar's brother, distinguished himself under Humāyūn during the expedition to Badakhshān. When Kāmran, under the mask of friendship, suddenly attacked Humāyūn, M. Q. was wounded and thrown off his horse. His son, *Dost Muhammad*, saved him in time.

According to the *Tabaqāt*, M. Q. belonged to the principal grandees (*umarā-i kibār*), a phrase which is never applied to grandees below the rank of Commanders of One Thousand. His name occurs also often in the *Akbar-nāma*. It is, therefore, difficult to say why his name and that of his son have been left out by Abū 'l-Faḥr in this list.

67. Istimād Khān, of Gujrāt.

He must not be confounded with No. 119.

Istimād Khān was originally a Hindū servant of Sultān Maḥmūd, king of Gujrāt. He was "trusted" (*istimād*) by his master, who had allowed him to enter the harem, and had put him in charge of the women.

¹ He must not be confounded with the Jalāl 'd-Dīn Maḥmūd mentioned in *Tazk.* p. 67, who "ate opium like cheese out of the hands of his mother".

It is said that, from gratitude, he used to eat camphor, and thus rendered himself impotent. He rose in the king's favour, and was at last made an Amīr. In 961, after a reign of 18 years, the king was foully murdered by a slave of the name of Burhān, who besides killed twelve nobles. Iʿtimād next morning collected a few faithful men, and killed Burhān. Sulṭān Maḥmūd having died without issue, Iʿt. raised Raḥīm ʿI-Mulk, under the title of Aḥmad Shāh, to the throne. Raḥīm was a son of Sulṭān Aḥmad, the founder of Aḥmadābād; but as he was very young, the affairs of the state were entirely in Iʿt.'s hands. Five years later, the young king left Aḥmadābād, and fled to Sayyid Mubārak of Bulḥārā¹ a principal courtier; but Iʿt. followed him up, defeated him, and drove him away. Sulṭān Aḥmad then thought it better to return to Iʿt., who now again reigned as before. On several occasions did the king try to get rid of his powerful minister; and Iʿt. at last felt so insecure that he resolved to kill the king, which he soon afterwards did. Iʿt. now raised a child of the name of Nathū (نثو) ² to the throne, "who did not belong to the line of kings"; but on introducing him to the grantees, Iʿt. swore upon the Qurʾān that Nathū was a son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd; his mother when pregnant had been handed over to him by Sulṭān Maḥmūd, to make her miscarry; but the child had been five months old, and he had not carried out the order. The Amīrs had to believe the story, and Nathū was raised to the throne under the title of Sulṭān Muzaḥfar.

This is the origin of Sulṭān Muzaḥfar, who subsequently caused Akbar's generals so much trouble (*vide* pp. 344, 354, 355).

Iʿt. was thus again at the head of the government; but the Amīrs parcelled out the country among themselves, so that each was almost independent. The consequence was that incessant feuds broke out among them. Iʿt. himself was involved in a war with Chingiz Khān, son of Iʿtimād ʿI-Mulk, a Turkish slave. Chingiz maintained that Sulṭān Muzaḥfar, if genuine, should be the head of the state; and as he was strengthened by the rebellious Mirzās, to whom he had afforded protection against Akbar, Iʿt. saw no chance of opposing him, left the Sulṭān, and went to Dūngarpūr. Two nobles, Alif Khān and Jhujhār Khān took Sulṭān Muzaḥfar to him, went to Chingiz in Aḥmadābād and killed him (Chingiz) soon after. The Mirzās, seeing how distracted the country was, took possession of Bahrōch and Sūrat. The general confusion only increased, when Sulṭān Muzaḥfar fled one day to Sher Khān Fūlādī and

his party, and Iʿt. retaliated by informing Sher Khān that Nathū was no prince at all. But Sher Khān's party attributed this to Iʿt.'s malice, and besieged him in Aḥmadābād. Iʿt. then fled to the Mirzās and soon after to Akbar, whose attention he drew to the wretched state of Gujrāt.

When Akbar, in the 17th year, marched to Patan, Sher Khān's party had broken up. The Mirzās still held Bahrōch; and Sulṭān Muzaḥfar, who had left Sher Khān, fell into the hands of Akbar's officers (*vide* No. 361). Iʿtimād and other Gujrātī nobles had in the meantime proclaimed Akbar's accession from the pulpits of the mosques and struck coins in his name. They now waited on the Emperor. Baroda, Chāmpānīr, and Sūrat were given to Iʿt. as *tuyūl*; the other Amīrs were confirmed, and all charged themselves with the duty of driving away the Mirzās. But they delayed and did nothing; some of them, as Iʿtimād ʿI-Mulk, even fled, and others who were attached to Akbar, took Iʿt. and several grantees to the Emperor, apparently charging them with treason. Iʿt. fell into disgrace, and was handed over to Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80) as prisoner.

In the 20th year, Iʿt. was released, and charged with the superintendence of the Imperial jewels and gold vessels. In the 22nd year, he was permitted to join the party who under Mir Abū Turāb (*vide* p. 207) went to Makkah. On his return he received Patan as *jāgīr*.

In the 28th year, on the removal of Shihāb ʿd-Dīn Aḥmad (No. 26), he was put in charge of Gūjrāt, and went there accompanied by several distinguished nobles, though Akbar had been warned; for people remembered Iʿt.'s former inability to allay the factions in Gujrāt. No sooner had Shihāb handed over duties than his servants rebelled. Iʿt. did nothing, alleging that Shihāb was responsible for his men; but as Sulṭān Muzaḥfar had been successful in Kāthiawār, Iʿt. left Aḥmadābād, and went to Shihāb, who on his way to Court had reached Kari, 20 *kos* from Aḥmadābād. Muzaḥfar used the opportunity and took Aḥmadābād, Shihāb's men joining his standard.

Shihāb and Iʿt. then shut themselves up in Patan, and had agreed to withdraw from Gujrāt, when they received some auxiliaries, chiefly a party of Gujrātīs who had left Muzaḥfar, to try their luck with the Imperialists. Iʿt. paid them well, and sent them under the command of his son Sher Khān, against Sher Khān Fūlādī, who was repulsed. In the meantime, M. ʿAbdū ʿr-Raḥīm (No. 29) arrived. Leaving Iʿt. at Patan, he marched with Shihāb against Muzaḥfar.

Iʿtimād died at Patan in 995. The *Tabaqāt* puts him among the Commanders of Four Thousand.

¹ Regarding this distinguished Gujrātī noble, *vide* the biography of his grandson, S. Ḥamid (No. 76).

² Some MSS. read *Nathū*.

In Abū 'l-Faẓl's opinion, Gujrātīs are made up of cowardice, deceit, several good qualities, and meanness; and Istimād was the very type of a Gujrātī.

68. Pāyanda Khān, Mughul, son of Hājī Muḥammad Khān Koki's brother.

Hājī Muḥammad and Shāh Muḥammad, his brother, had been killed by Humāyūn for treason on his return from Persia. Hājī Muḥammad was a man of great daring, and his value, when he was faithful, was often acknowledged by the Emperor.

Pāyanda, in the 5th year of Akbar's reign came with Munṣim from Kābul, and was ordered to accompany Adham Khān (No. 19) to Mālwa. In the 19th year, he accompanied Munṣim to Bengal. In the 22nd year, he served under Bhagwān Dās against Rānā Partāb. In the Gujrāt war, he commanded M. 'Abd' 'r-Raḥīm's (No. 29) *harācal*.

In the 32nd year, he received Ghorāghāt as jāgīr, whither he went.

This is all the *Ma'āṣir* says regarding Pāyanda.

His full name was Muḥammad Pāyanda. He had a son Walī Beg who is mentioned below (No. 359).

From the *Tuzuk*, p. 144, we see that Pāyanda died in 1021 A.H., Jahāngīr, in 1017, had pensioned him off, as he was too old. *Tuz.*, p. 68.

69. Jagannāth, son of Rāja Bihārī Mal (No. 23).

He was a hostage in the hands of Sharaf' d-Dīn Ḥusayn (No. 17; *vide* p. 339). After some time he regained his freedom and was well received by Akbar. He generally served with Mān Singh. In the 21st year, when Rānā Partāb of Maiwār opposed the Imperialists, Jagannāth during an engagement when other officers had given way, held his ground, and killed with his own hands the renowned champion Rām Dās, son of Jay Mal. In the 23rd year, he received a jāgīr in the Panjāb, and was, in the 25th year, attached to the van of the army which was to prevent Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm from invading the Panjāb. In the 29th year, he again served against the Rānā. Later he accompanied Mirzā Yūsuf Khān (No. 35) to Kashmīr. In the 34th year, he served under Prince Murād in Kābul, and accompanied him, in the 36th year, to Mālwa, of which the Prince had been appointed Governor. In the 43rd year, after several years' service in the Dakkhin, he left Murād without orders, and was for some time excluded from Court. On Akbar's return from the Dakkhin, J. met the emperor at Rantanbhūr, his jāgīr, and was then again sent to the Dakkhin.

In the 1st year of Jahāngīr, he served under Prince Parwīz against

the Rānā, and was in charge of the whole army when the emperor, about the time Khushraw had been captured, called Parwīz to Court (*Tuzuk*, p. 33). In the same year, J. suppressed disturbances which Dalpat (p. 386) had raised at Nāgor.

In the 4th year, he was made a Commander of Five Thousand, with 3,000 horse.

Rām Chand,¹ his son. He was under Jahāngīr a Commander of Two Thousand, 1,500 horse.

Rāja Manrūp, a son of Rām Chand. He accompanied Prince Shāhjahān on his rebellion, and got on his accession a Command of Three Thousand, with 2,000 horse. He died in the 4th year of Shāhjahān. He had a son *Gopāl Singh*.

70. Makhsūs Khān (younger), brother of Sa'īd Khān (No. 25).

He served under his brother in Multān. In the 23rd year, he served under Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80) against Gajpatī, and three years later he accompanied Prince Murād to Kābul, where he also served under Akbar, who had gone thither and pardoned his brother, M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm.

Subsequently, Makhsūs served under Prince Salīm. In the 49th year, he was a Commander of Three Thousand.

He was alive in the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign. The author of the *Ma'āṣir* has not recorded the date of his death.

He had a son Maqṣūd who did not get on well with his father, for which reason Jahāngīr would not give him a *manṣab*.

71. The author of the *Ā'in*, Abū 'l-Faẓl, son of Shaykh Mubārak of Nāgor.

Abū 'l-Faẓl's biography will be found elsewhere.

X. Commanders of Two Thousand.

72. Ismā'īl Khān Duldāy.

Duldāy, or Dūldāy, is the name of a subdivision of the Barlās clan (*vide* p. 364, note).

The *Ma'āṣir* calls him Ismā'īl Qulī Beg Dūldāy. A similar difference was observed in the name of Ḥusayn Qulī Khān (No. 24), and we may conclude that *Beg*, at least in India, was considered a lower title than *Khān*, just as *Beglar Begī* was considered inferior to *Khān Khānān*.

Ismā'īl Qulī was a grandee of Bābar and Humāyūn, distinguished in the field and in council. When Humāyūn besieged Qandahār, and the grandees one after the other left M. 'Askari, Ism. also joined the Emperor, and was appointed, after the conquest of Qandahār, Governor of Dāwar.

¹ The *Tuzuk*, p. 74, calls him Karm Chand. *Vide* also *Pādīshāhnāma*, I, 6. 318.

When Kāshgharī and Ibrāhīm and Khwāh Khān (p. 394, note) attacked Sher Shāh, an officer of Mirā Kāshgharī, who had followed up and plundered the Panipat town (p. 394, note) on its way to Ghazni, but as the place was occupied by the Imperialists, Sher Shāh's officer, Kāshgharī, attacked and killed Ghazni, when he was overthrown and killed. Ibrāhīm and Khwāh Khān followed the plunderer, and went on to Herāt. At that time after, Ibrāhīm and several other generals of the emperor, Ibrāhīm, they recited the elevation of Qasbi Khān, and followed Mirā Kāshgharī to Bāghdād. Humāyūn followed them up and caught them together with Kāshgharī, Ibrāhīm, and others. Ibrāhīm was executed, and Kāshgharī was sent.

Ibrāhīm accompanied the emperor on his march to Delhi, and was sent, after the capture of Dillī, together with Shāh Alī and Maṣṣūr to Lāhor.

"Neilang el-e-kāshgharī" of Ibrāhīm. Maṣṣūr.

73. Mir Babar (?) the Igur (Iguri)

The Iguri are a well-known Ghazni tribe. The correct name of this granlee is a matter of doubt, as every MS. has a different form, vide my Text edition, p. 244, note C. The Maṣṣūr has left out the name of this granlee, and does not put it in the list of the Taluqā.

74. Ashraf Khān Mir Munshi, Muhammad Agha, of Sabar (S)

He was a Humayuni Sayyid of Mathlā (Maṣṣūr, Mirā Khān). The author of the *Tahzīb* says, he belonged to the Sayyids; "but people rarely make such fine distinctions." Abū 'l-Faḍl says, he was of Sabar, but in the opinion of the Maṣṣūr, this is an error of the copyists.

Ashraf Khān was a clever writer, exact in his style, and a renowned calligrapher, perhaps the first of his age in writing the *Tahzīb* and *Nasāṭiq* character (pp. 107-8). He also understood Jyfir, or witchcraft.

Ashraf was in Humāyūn's service, and had received from him the post and title of Mir Munshi. After the conquest of Hindūstān, he was made Mir Sāz and Mir Māl. At Akbar's accession, he was in Dillī, and took part in the battle with Hemū (p. 394, No. 15). He was imprisoned by Bayrām, but escaped and went to Makkah. He returned in 968, when Akbar was at Māchhiwāra on his way to the Simālik where Bayrām

was. He was well received and got a *manṣab*. In the 6th year, when the emperor returned from Malwa, he bestowed upon him the title of *Ashraf Khān*.

In the 10th year, he went with Munṣim to Bengal, was present in the battle of Takaroi, and died in the twentieth year (983)¹ at Gaur (vide p. 407).

Ashraf was a poet of no mean pretensions.

His son, Mir Abū 'l-Muzaḥḥar (No. 240) held a Command of 500. In the 35th year, he was Governor of Awadh.

Ashraf's grandsons, Husayn and Burhān held inferior commands under Shāhjahān.

75. Sayyid Mahmūd of Bārha (Kāndhāwāl).

"Sayyid Mahmūd was the first of the Bārha Sayyids that held office under the Timūrids." He was with Sikandar Sūr (*Baddā'at* II, 18) in Mānkot, but seeing that the cause of the Afghāns was hopeless, he left Sikandar and went over to Albar. He was a friend of Bayrām, and served in the first year under Shāh Quli Khān Zamān (No. 13) against Hemū. In the second year, he took part in the expedition against Hājī Khān in Ajmir (vide Nos. 40, 45). In the 3rd year, he conquered with Shāh Quli Khān (No. 25) Fort Jaitān, and served in the same year under Adham Koka against the Bhadauriyahs of Hatkānāth (vide p. 311, l. 8).

After Bayrām's fall, Sayyid Mahmūd got a jāgir near Dillī. In the 7th year, he brought Munṣim Khān to Court (vide p. 333). In the 17th year, he served under the Khān Kalān (No. 16) and the emperor in Gujrat, was present in the battle of Samāl, and followed up Mirā Ibrāhīm Husayn. On every occasion he fought with much bravery. Towards the end of the 18th year, he was sent with other Sayyids of Bārha, and Sayyid Muhammad of Amroha (No. 140) against Rājā Madhukar, who had invaded the territory between Sironj and Gwāliyar. S. Mahmūd drove him away, and died soon after, in the very end of 981.

Sayyid Mahmūd was a man of rustic habits, and great personal courage and generosity. Akbar's court admired his valour and chuckled at his boorishness and unadorned language; but he stood in high favour with the emperor. Once on his return from the war with Madhukar he gave in the State hall a verbal account of his expedition, in which his

¹ So the Maṣṣūr. Our maps have Chander (lat. 35°, long. 69°), which lies north of Kābul, and has always been the centre of a large caravan trade. Istāhīl (استاهیل), or Istāhīl (استاهیل) lies half-way between Kābul and Chander. (Dowson, v., 225, has Chānkīrān.—B.)

The Mirādī says in the tenth year (973), as stated on p. 101, note 6. This is clearly a mistake of the author of the Mirādī.

² The best MSS. have حطاب. The name is doubtful. Akbar passed it on one of his marches from Ajmir over Fāli to Jālor.

"I" occurred oftener than was deemed proper by the assembled Amirs. "You have gained the victory," interrupted Āṣaf Khān, in order to give him a gentle hint, "because His Majesty's good fortune (*iqbāl-i pādīshāhī*?) accompanied you." Mistaking the word "Iqbāl" for the name of a courtier, "Why do you tell an untruth?" replied Maḥmūd, "Iqbāl-i Pādīshāhī did not accompany me: I was there, and my brothers; we licked them with our sabres." The emperor smiled, and bestowed upon him praise and more substantial favours.

But more malicious were the remarks of the Amirs regarding his claim to be a Sayyid of pure blood. Jahāngir (*Tuzuk*, p. 366) also says that people doubt the claim of the Bārha family to be Sayyids. Once Maḥmūd was asked how many generations backwards the Sayyids of Bārha traced their descent. Accidentally, a fire was burning on the ground near the spot where Maḥmūd stood. Jumping into it, he exclaimed, "If I am a Sayyid, the fire will not hurt me; if I am no Sayyid, I shall get burnt." He stood for nearly an hour in the fire, and only left it at the earnest request of the bystanders. "His velvet-slippers showed, indeed, no trace of being singed."

For Sayyid Maḥmūd's brother and sons; *vide* Nos. 91, 105, and 143.

Note on the Sayyids of Bārha (*Sādāt-i Bārha*).

In MSS. we find the spelling باره *bārha*, and بار *barāh*. The lexicographer Bahār-i Ājam (Tek Chand) in his grammatical treatise, entitled *Jawāhir* 'l-*Ḥurūf*, says that the names of Indian towns ending in *s* form adjectives in *ی*, تاه *Tāha* or تبه *Thatha*, forms an adjective توی *tawī* *tatawī*: but of باره *barāh* no adjective is formed, and you say *sādāt-i bārha* instead of *sādāt-i bārhawī*.

The name *Bārha* has been differently explained. Whether the derivation from the Hindi numeral *bārāh*, 12, be correct or not, there is no doubt that the etymology was believed to be correct in the times of Akbar and Jahāngir; for both the *Ṭabaqāt* and the *Tuzuk* derive the name from 12 villages in the Du'āb (Muzaḥfarnagar District), which the Sayyids held.

Like the Sayyids of Bilgrām, the Bārha family trace their origin to one Sayyid Abū 'l-Farah of Wāsīt¹; but their *nasabnāma*, or genealogical tree, was sneered at, and even Jahāngir, in the above-quoted passage from the *Tuzuk*, says that the personal courage of the Sayyids of Bārha—but

nothing else—was the best-proof that they were Sayyids. But they clung so firmly to this distinction, that some of them even placed the title of Sayyid before the titles which they received from the Mughul emperors, as Sayyid Khān Jahān (Sayyid Abū 'l-Muzaḥfiar) and several others.

But if their claim to be Sayyids was not firmly established, their bravery and valour had become a by-word. Their place in battle was the van (*ḥarāwal*); they claimed to be the leaders of the onset, and every emperor from the times of Akbar gladly availed himself of the prestige of their name. They delighted in looking upon themselves as Hindūstānīs (*vide* p. 336). Their military fame completely threw to the background the renown of the Sayyids of Amrohah, of Mānikpūr, the Khānzādas of Mewāt, and even families of royal blood as the Ṣafawīs.

The Sayyids of Bārha are divided into four branches, whose names are 1. *Tihanpūrī*; 2. *Chalbanūrī* or *Chātraurī*²; 3. *Kūndīwāl*; 4. *Jagnērī*. The chief town of the first branch was Jānsāth; of the second, Sambalharā; of the third, Majharā; of the fourth Bīḍauli on the Jamna. Of these four lines Muhammadan Historians, perhaps accidentally, only mention two, viz., the *Kūndīwāl* (کوندلی وال) to which Sayyid Maḥmūd (No. 75) belonged; and the *Tihanpūrī* (تہنپوری), of which Sayyid Khān Jahān was a member.

The Histories of India do not appear to make mention of the Sayyids of Bārha before the times of Akbar; but they must have held posts of some importance under the Sūrs, because the arrival of Sayyid Maḥmūd in Akbar's camp (p. 424) is recorded by all historians as an event of importance. He and other Sayyids, were moreover, at once appointed to high *manṣabs*. The family boasts also traditionally of services rendered to Humāyūn; but this is at variance with Abū 'l-Faḥl's statement that Sayyid Maḥmūd was the first that served under a Timuride.

The political importance of the Sayyids declined from the reign of Muḥammad, Shāh (1131 to 1161) who deposed the brothers Sayyid 'Abd' 'llah Khān and Sayyid Ḥusayn 'Alī Khān, in whom the family reached the greatest height of their power. What a difference between the rustic and loyal Sayyid Maḥmūd and Akbar, and the above two

¹ "From him are descended the most renowned Musalmān families in Northern India, the Bārha and Belgrām Sayyids, and in Khyrābād, Futtēhpore Huiwā, and many other places, branches of the same stem are found." C. A. Elliot, *The Chronicles of Oudh*, Allahabad, 1862, p. 93.

² *Vide* Sir H. Elliot's Glossary (Beames' Edition) I, p. 11 and p. 297. On p. 12 of the Glossary read Sayyid Maḥmūd twice for Sayyid Muḥammad; Sayyid 'Alī Aghar for Sayyid 'Alī Araf Dilir Khān for Debi Khān. Instead of Chalbanūrī (or Chātraurī), which Mr. R. J. Leeds, C.S., gives in his valuable Report on the Castes and Races of the Muzaḥfarnagar District (Glossary, p. 297 B.), Sir H. Elliot has Chantraudi.

3. Sayyid Abū 'l-Faẓā'il, who settled in the *mawṣa'* of *Kūndī*.

4. Sayyid Najm 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn, who settled in the *mawṣa'* of *Jhujar*.

These four places are said to lie near Patiyālā in the Panjāb, and have given rise to the names of the four branches. Instead of *Chhatbanūrī*, the name of the second branch, the MSS. have also *Chhātraurī*, چھاتروڑی, and *Jagnerī* (جگنیری) instead of *Jhujarī* (جنجیری), although no explanation is given of these alterations.

From Patiyālā the four brothers went to the Du'āb between the Ganges and Jamna, from where a branch was established at Bilgrām in Audh.

The etymology of *bārīa* is stated to be uncertain. Some derive it from *bāhir*, outside, because the Sayyids encamped *outside* the imperial camp; some from *bārāh imām*, the twelve Imāms of the Shī'ahs, as the Sayyids were Shī'ahs; some derive it from twelve (*bārāh*) villages which the family held, just as the district of Balandshahr, Taḥṣil Anūpshahr, is said to contain a *bārīa* of Paṭhāns, i.e. 12 villages belonging to a Paṭhān family; and others, lastly, make it to be a corruption of the Arabic *abrār*, pious.

The descendants of S. Dā'ūd settled at *Dhāsri*; and form the *Tihan-pūrī* branch, those of S. Abū 'l-Faẓl at Sambhalā, and form the *Chhatbanūrī* or *Chhātraurī* branch; those of S. Abū 'l-Faẓā'il went to Majhā, and are the *Kūndīwāls*; and those of S. Najm 'd-Dīn occupied Bīḍaulī, and form the *Jhujarī*, or *Jagnerī* branch.

A. The *Tihanpūrīs*.

The eighth descendant of S. Dā'ūd was S. *Khān Qir* (?) (خان قیر)*. He had four sons:—

1. *Sayyid 'Umar Shakhīd*, who settled in Jānsāth, a village then inhabited by Jāts and Brahmins. To his descendants belong the renowned brothers mentioned on p. 428 (g).

The occurrence of the name *'Umar* shows that he, at any rate, was no Shī'ah.

2. *Sayyid Chaman*, who settled at Chatora (چٹوروڑ), in the Pargana of Joli-Jānsāth. To his descendants belongs S. Jalāl, who during the reign

of Shāhjahān¹ is said to have founded Kharwa Jalālpūr in the 'Ilāqā of Sirdhana, district Mirāth. His son S. Shams left the imperial service; hence the family declined. He had two sons, Asad 'Alī and 'Alī Agghar, whose descendants still exist in Chatora and Jalālpūr respectively. They are very poor, and sold in 1843-44 the bricks of the ruined family dwelling, in Chatora for Rs. 10,000 to the Government for the construction of works of irrigation. The buildings in Chatora are ascribed to S. Muḥammad Ṣalāh *Khān*, who served in Audh, and died childless.

3. *Sayyid Hunā* (حنہ). He settled at Bihārī, Muẓaffarnagar. He had six sons:—

I. *Sayyid Quṭb*, whose descendants occupy the village of Bilāspūr in the Muẓaffarnagar District. From this branch come the Ratheri Sayyids.

II. *S. Sulṭān*, whose descendants hold Sirdhāoli.

III. *S. Yūsuf*, whose posterity is to be found in Bihārī and Vhalna (one MS. reads *Dubalna*).

IV and V. *S. Jān* and *S. Mān*, had no offspring.

VI. *S. Naṣīr 'd-Dīn*. To his descendants belongs S. *Khān Jahān-i Shāhjahānī*, p. 428 (d). On him the Sayyids appear to look as the second founder of their family. His first son, *S. Maṣṣūr*, built Maṣṣūrpūr and his descendants hold nowadays Maṣṣūrpūr and Khatauli; his second son *Muẓaffar 'Khān* [Sher Zamān] built Muẓaffarnagar, where his descendants still exist, though poor or involved.

4. *Sayyid Aḥmad*. He settled at *Kāl* in Joli-Jānsāth, where his descendants still are. The MSS. mention Tātār *Khān*, and Diwān Yār, Muḥammad *Khān* as having distinguished themselves in the reign of Awrangzib.

B. The *Chhatbanūrī*, or *Chhātraurī*, Clan.

One of the descendants of S. Abū 'l-Faẓl is called S. Ḥasan Fakhr 'd-Dīn who is said to have lived in the reign of Akbar at Sambhalā, the rājās of which place were on friendly terms with the family. His son, S. Nadnah, is said to have had four sons:—

I. *Sayyid 'Alī*.

II. *Sayyid Aḥmad*, a descendant of whom, S. Rawshan 'Alī *Khān*, served under Muḥammad Shāh.

* The word *qir* occurs also in the lists of Paṭhān nobles in the *Tārīkh-i Firūzshāhī*. The title of *qir*, which is mentioned in the same work, appears to be the same as the later *qurbegī*, the officer in charge of the *gūr* (p. 116). But the name *Khān Qir* is perhaps wrong; the MS. calls him *quran*, or *quran Fir* or *Khān qir* (?).

¹ The *Pādīshāhnāma*, though very minute, does not mention S. Jalāl and S. Shams. A S. Jalāl is mentioned *Tuz.*, p. 30. He died of his wounds received in the fight at Bhalronwāl (vide No. 99).

three Mirzās remained in Patan and entered into a league with the Fūlādī party (*vide* No. 67). Mirzā ‘Aziz had been reinforced by the Mālwa contingent under Qutb’ d-Dīn (No. 23), Shāh Budāgh (No. 52), and Maṭlab Khān (No. 83). His army was further increased by the contingent of Shaykh M., whom Akbar had ordered to move from Dholqa to Sūrāt. Mirzā ‘Aziz Koka left Sayyid Hāmid (No. 78) in Aḥmadābād, and moved against the Mirzās in Patan. The Mirzās and Sher Khān Fūlādī, however, wished to delay the fight, as their reinforcements had not arrived, and Sher Khān sent proposals of peace through Shaykh M. to M. ‘Aziz. Shāh Budāgh advised M. ‘Aziz not to listen to them, as the enemies only wished to gain time, and ‘Aziz drew up his army. He himself, Shāh Budāgh, Mu‘īnu’ d-Dīn-i Farānkhūdī (No. 128), Ma‘ṣūm Khān and his son, and Maṭlab Khān (No. 83) stood in the centre (*gol*); Qutb’ d-Dīn (No. 23), and Jamāl’ d-Dīn Injū (No. 164), on the right wing; Shaykh Muhammad, Murād Khān (No. 54), Shāh Muhammad (No. 95), Shāh Fakhr’ d-Dīn (No. 88), Muzaṣṣar Nughul, Pāyanda (No. 68), Hājī Khān Afghān, and the son of Khawā Khān, on the left wing; Dastam Khān (No. 79), Nawrang Khān (*vide* p. 354), Muhammad Qulī Toḡbāi (No. 129), and Mihr ‘Alī Sildo (No. 130), led the van (*harāwal*); Bāz Bahādūr (No. 188) occupied the *Altimash* (between the van and the commander); and Mirzā Muqīm and Chirgis Khān formed the reserve behind the centre. The centre of the enemies was held by Sher Khān Fūlādī and Junayd-i Kararānī; the right wing by the three Mirzās; the left wing by Muhammad Khān (Sher Khān’s eldest son) and Sādāt Khān; and their van was led by Badr Khān, younger son of Sher Khān. The battle then commenced in the neighbourhood of Patan, 18th Ramazān, 980 (22nd January, 1573). The left wing of the Imperialists was defeated by the Mirzās. Murād Khān (No. 54) preferred to look on. Shāh Muhammad (No. 95) was wounded; and carried off by his men to Aḥmadābād. Shaykh Muhammad himself was killed with several of his relations, as the son of Sayyid Bahā’u’ d-Dīn, and Sayyid Jaṣṣar, brother of Shaykh Farid (No. 99). The Mirzās also fell upon Shāh Fakhr’ d-Dīn and repulsed him. Qutb’ d-Dīn even was hard pressed, when M. ‘Aziz by a timely attack with his centre put the enemies to flight. As usual, the soldiers of the enemies had too early commenced to plunder.

Sher Khān fled to Jūnāgaḍh, and the Mirzās to the Dakhin.

78. Sayyid Hāmid-i Bulkhārī.

Sayyid Hāmid was the son of S. Mirān, son of S. Mubārīk. Sayyid Mubārīk was a Gujrātī Courtier (*vide* p. 419, note) who, it is said, arrived

from Bukharā with but a horse. One day he was attacked by a *mast* elephant, when he discharged an arrow that entered the forehead of the animal so deep, that only the notch of the arrow was visible. From this event, the people of Gujrāt swore by S. Mubārīk’s arrow. He gradually rose to higher dignities. When Iṣṭimād Khān (No. 67) raised Nathū to the throne, under the title of Muzaṣṣar Shāh, S. Mubārīk got several Mahālls of the Patan, Dholqa, and Dandoqa (W. of the Peninsula) Districts. After his death, Dholqa and Dandoqa were given to his son Sayyid Mirān, and after him to his grandson Sayyid Hāmid.

When Akbar, on his invasion of Gujrāt, arrived on 1st Rajab, 980, at Patan, Sayyid Hāmid went over to him, and was favourably received. During the war of Mirzā ‘Aziz Koka with the Mirzās (*vide* No. 77), S. H. was put in charge of Aḥmadābād. In the 18th year, Dholqa and Dandoqa were again given him as *tuyūl*. Subsequently, he served under Qutb’ d-Dīn in Kambhāt.

In the 22nd year he was appointed to Multān, and served in the end of the same year with M. Yūsuf Khān-i Raṣawī (No. 35), against the Balūchīs. In the 25th year, when M. Muhammad Ḥakīm invaded Lāhor, S. H. with the other *tuyūldārs* of the Panjāb assembled and joined the army of Prince Murād, S. H. commanding the left wing. He also served under Akbar in Kābul. On the Emperor’s return he was permitted to go from Sirhind to his *jāgīr*.

In the 30th year he served under Mān Singh in Kābul. On his arrival at Peshāwar, his *jāgīr*, S. H. sent most of his men to Hindūstān, and lived securely in Bigrām (on our Maps, *Beghrām*), leaving his affairs in the hands of a man of the name of Mūṣā. This man oppressed the Maḥmand and Gharbah (?) Khayl tribes, “who have ten thousand homes near Peshāwar.” The oppressed Afghāns, instead of complaining to Akbar, chose Jalāla-yi Tarikī as leader, and attacked S. H. He first resolved to shut himself up in Bigrām; but having received an erroneous report regarding the strength of the enemies, he left the town, and was defeated and killed (31st year). The *Ma‘āṣir* says he was killed in 993. In this fight forty of his relations and clients also perished. The Afghāns then besieged the Fort, which was held by Kamāl, son of S. H. He held it till he was relieved.

S. Kamāl, during Akbar’s reign, was promoted to a command of Seven Hundred, and, on the accession of Jahāngīr, to a Hazārīship. He was made Governor of Dīlī, *vice* Shaykh ‘Abd’ l-Wahhāb, also a Bulkhārī Sayyid (*Tuz.* p. 35, l. 8 from below). Kamāl served under Farid-i Bulkhārī (No. 99) in the expedition against Prince Khusrāw, and commanded

the left wing in the fight near Bhairōwāl, rendering timely assistance to the Sayyids of Bārha who, as was customary, led the van.

Sayyid Ya'qūb, son of S. Kamāl, was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 1,000 horse, and died in the third year of Shāhjahān's reign. The *Ma'āzīr* says, in the 2nd year.

The two lists of Shāhjahān's grantees given in the *Pādīshūhnāma* (I, b., 322; II, 740) mention another son of Sayyid Hāmid, of the name of Sayyid Bāqir, who held a Command of Five Hundred, 400 horse.

79. Dastam Khān, son of Rustam-i Turkistānī.

The correct name of this grantee is *Dastam* دستم, a very unusual name though most MSS. of the *Ā'in* and many of the *Akbarnāma* give دستم, *Rustam*. The *Ma'āzīr* correctly places his name under the letter *D*.

His father's name was Rustam. His mother—her name is not clearly written in the MSS. of the *Ma'āzīr* and *Akbarnāma*, which I have seen, either *Najība* or *Bakhya*—was a friend of Māhum Anaga (*vide* No. 19) and had free access to the Harem. Dastam appears to have been a play-fellow of Prince Akbar.

Dastam Khān in the 9th year, served under Mu'izzu 'l-Mulk (No. 61) against 'Abdu 'llāh Khān Uzbek (No. 14). In the 17th year he served under Mirzā 'Azīz Koka in the battle of Patan (*vide* No. 77), distinguished himself in the war with Muhammad Husayn Mirzā, and got a flag. In the 22nd year he was appointed to the *Sūba* of Ajmir, and got Rantanbhūr as *tuyūl*. His administration was praiseworthy; he kept down the rebellious, and protected the oppressed.

In the 25th year Uchlā, son of Balbhadra, and Mohan, Sūr Dās, Tilūksī, sons of Rāja Bihārī Mal's brother, came without permission from the Panjāb to Lūnī (?), their native town, and caused disturbances. Dastam, from a wish not to be too hard on Kachhwāhas, advised them to return to obedience; but his leniency only rendered the rebels more audacious. Akbar then ordered *D*. to have recourse to threats, and if this was not sufficient, to proceed against them. *D*. had at last to do so; but he did it hastily, without collecting a sufficient number of troops. In the fight,¹ the three nephews of the Rāja were killed. Dastam received a

wound from Uchlā, who had attacked him from an ambush. Wounded, as he was, he attacked Uchlā, and killed him. Immediately afterwards he fainted and fell from his horse. His men put him again on horseback—a usual expedient, in order not to dishearten the soldiers. The rebels were totally defeated and their estates plundered (938).

Dastam died of his wounds, two days later, at Sherpūr. Akbar said that even *D*'s mother could not feel the loss of her son as much as he did, because *D*., with the exception of three years, had never been away from him.

The *Ma'āzīr* says he was a Commander of Three Thousand. Rantanbhūr was then given to Mirzā 'Abdurrahīm (No. 29) as jāgīr.

A son of Dastam is mentioned below (No. 362).

80. Shāhbāz Khān-i Kambū.

Regarding the tribe called *Kambū*, *vide* Beames' Edition of Sir H. Elliot's Glossary, I, 304. The Persian hemistich quoted (*Metre Hazaj*):—

[اگر قحط الرجال نند به کس کم انس گیری]

بکے افغان ددم کنو سیوم بد ذات کشمیری

"The Afghāns are the first, the Kambūs the second, and the Kashmīrīs the third, set of scoundrels"

must be very modern; for during the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr, it was certainly a distinction to belong to this tribe, as will be seen just now.

The sixth ancestor of Shāhbāz was Hājī Ismā'il, a disciple of the renowned saint Bahā'u d-Dīn Zakariyā of Multān. Once a beggar asked the saint to give him an *ashrafī*, or gold muhr, for the name of every prophet he would mention; but as Bahā'u d-Dīn could not pay the money, Hājī Ismā'il took the beggar to his house, and gave him an *Ashrafī* for each of the ten or twenty names he mentioned. Another time, Hājī Ismā'il acknowledged to the saint that his power of understanding was defective, whereupon the saint prayed for him, and from that time the Kambūs are proverbial in Hindūstān for sagacity and quickness of apprehension.

Shāhbāz at first devoted himself to a life of abstinence and austerity, as his ancestors had done; but the excellent way in which he performed

by the Banas River. Rantanbhūr lies in the angle formed by the confluence of the Clumber and the Banas, and Bounlee lies about 30 miles N.W. of it. There are two villages of the names of *Tokra*, one about 3 miles S.W. of Bounlee, and the other S. of it, on the right bank of the Banas. *Bounlee*, or *Beūli*, would be *بونی*, or *بوی*, which will be found below as the head of a Fargana in Sarkār Rantanbhūr, and the change of *بوی* to *بونی* is very simple. The greatest differences lie in Sherpūr and Shergharh.

The *Akbarnāma* says the fight took place on the 10th Abān of the 25th year

¹ The geographical details given in the *Akbarnāma* are unsatisfactory.

Abū 'l-Fazl mentions the *Qasba* (small town) of Lūnī (لونی) as the birth-place of the Kachhwāha rebels: the fight, he says, took place in a village (*marzā*) of the name of *Thori*, and Dastam died at Sherpūr, which is also called a *Qasba*. But the *Akbarnāma* leaves the reader to find out where these three places are. The *Tatagāzī*, in its list of grantees, fortunately says that Dastam Khān was killed in the neighbourhood of Rantanbhūr. The only places near Rantanbhūr which resemble the above three are Bounlee, Tokra, and Shergharh, as given on the Trig. Map of the Jodhpūr Territory for 1850. The road from Shergharh (about 4 miles S.E. of Rantanbhūr) to Bounlee is bisected

due duties of *loṭicāl*, drew Akbar's attention to him, and he was made an Amir and appointed *Mīr Tozak* (quarter master).

In the 16th year, when Lashkar *Khān* (No. 90) fell into disgrace, Sh. was appointed *Mīr Bakhs̄hī*. In the 21st year he was sent against the rebels in Jodhpūr, especially against Kallah, son of Rāy Rām, and grandson of Rāy Māldeo, and was ordered to take Fort Siwāna. Shāhbāz first took Fort Daigūr (?),¹ where a large number of Rāthor rebels were killed; after this he took Dūnāra, from where he passed on to Siwānah, which on his arrival capitulated (984).

In the same year, Shāhbāz was sent against Rāja Gajpatī². This Rāja was the greatest Zamindār in Bihār, and had rendered good services during Mun'im's expedition to Bengal. But when Dā'ūd, king of Orisā, invaded Bengal after Mun'im's death at Gaur in 983, Gajpatī rebelled and plundered several towns in Bihār. Farhat *Khān* (No. 145) *tuyūldār* of Ara, his son Farhang *Khān*, and Qarātāq *Khān*, opposed the Rāja, but perished in the fight. When Shāhbāz approached, Gajpatī fled; but Sh. followed him up, and gave him no rest, and conquered at last Jagdespūr, where the whole family of the Rāja was captured. Sh. then conquered Shergadh, which was held by Sri Rām, Gajpatī's son. About the same time, Sh. took possession of Rahtās. Its Afghān commander, Sayyid Muhammad, who commanded the Fort on the part of Junayd-i Kararānī, had been hard pressed by Muzaffar (No. 37); he therefore fled to Shāhbāz, asked for protection, and handed over the Fort. Sh. then repaired to court, where he received every distinction due to his eminent services.

In the 23rd year (986) Sh. marched against the proud Rānā Partāb, and besieged the renowned Fort of Kōbhalmīr (called on our maps Komalnair, on the frontier between Udaipūr and Jodhpūr, lat 25° 10') The Rānā, unable to defend it, escaped in the disguise of a *Sannāsī* when the fort was taken. Goganda and Udaipūr submitted likewise. Sh. erected no less than 50 thānas in the hills and 35 in the plains, from Udaipūr to Pūr Mandāl. He also prevailed upon the rebellious Daudā, son of Rāy Surjan Hādā (No. 96), to submit, and took him to Court. After this, Sh. was sent to Ajmīr, where disturbances frequently occurred

When the military revolt of Bengal broke out, Sh. was ordered to go to Bihār; but he did not agree with M. 'Aziz Koka—for Sh. could not bear to be second or third—and carried on the war independently of him, defeated 'Arab Bahādūr, and marched to Jagdespūr. At that time the report reached him that Ma'sūm *Khān* Farankhūdi (No. 157) had rebelled. and 'Arab Bahādūr and Niyābat *Khān* had joined him. Sh. therefore marched to Audh, and met the enemies near Sultānpūr Bilkari, 25 *kos* from Awadh (Fayzābād). Ma'sūm, by a timely centre-attack, put Sh. to flight, and followed him up, Sh. fighting all the way to Jaunpūr, a distance of 30 *los*. Accidentally a rumour spread in the army of the enemy that Ma'sūm had been killed, which caused some disorder. At this moment, Sh.'s right wing attacked the enemy, Ma'sūm got wounded, and withdrew to Awadh (Fayzābād). Sh. now pursued him, and seven miles from that town, after a hard fight, totally routed him. Ma'sūm could not hold himself in Awadh, and his army dispersed.

After this, Sh. again went to court, where he was received by the emperor on his return from Kābul. At court, Sh. generally gave offence by his pride; and when once, at a parade, the *Bakhs̄hīs* had placed the young Mirzā *Khān* (No. 29) above him, he gave vent openly to his anger, was arrested, and put under the charge of Rāy Sāl Darbārī (No. 106).

But an officer of Sh.'s usefulness could ill be spared, and when M. 'Aziz in the 28th year applied for transfer from Bihār, Sh. with other Amīrs was sent there. He followed up Ma'sūm *Khān* Kābuli to Ghorāghat, and defeated him. He then followed him to Bhātī (p. 365), plundered Baktarāpūr, the residence of 'Isa, took Sunnārgāw and encamped on the Brahmaputra. 'Isa afforded Ma'sūm means and shelter, but being hard pressed by the imperialists, he made proposals of peace. An Imperial officer was to reside as Sunnārgāw, Ma'sūm was to go to Mukkah, and Sh. was to withdraw. This was accepted, and Sh. crossed the river expecting the terms would be carried out. But the enemy did nothing, and when Sh. prepared to return, his officers showed the greatest insubordination, so that he had to retreat to Tānda, all advantage being thus lost. He reported matters to Court, and the *tuyūldārs* of Bihār were ordered to join him. Sh. then took the field and followed up Ma'sūm. In the 30th year, he and Sādīq *Khān* (vide No. 43) quarrelled. Subsequently, Sh. marched again to Bhātī, and even sent a detachment "to Kokra (کوکرا), which lies between Orisā and the Dakḥin." Mādḥū Singh, the Zamindār of the district, was plundered, and had to pay tribute. In the 32nd year, when Sā'id (No. 25) was made Governor of Bengal, and the disturbances had mostly been suppressed, Sh. returned

¹ The MSS. have *دوگر*, which I cannot find on the map. There are many places of a similar name, S.W. of Jodhpūr, near which it must lie. *Dunara* (most MSS. have *دوبر*) lies on the right bank of the Lūnī, S.W. of Jodhpūr. Here Shāhbāz crossed (*Sabar*) and went to Siwānah which lies N.W. of Dūnāra about 10 miles from the left bank of the Lūnī.

² So according to the best MSS. Stewart calls him *Qajpati* the Lakhnau Akbarnāma (II 140) *Kaji*, and the Edit. Bibl. Indica of Badaon *Kachuli* (p. 179 284 285) and *Kanti* (p. 237) which forms are also found in the Lakhnau edition of the Akbarnama.

en appointed to Mālwa, and was on his way to Prince Murād khin. During the siege of Aḥmadnagar, the inhabitants of w, " which is called *Burhānābād*," asked the Imperialists for , but as they were mostly Shi'as, Sh., in his bigotry, fell , plundered their houses, especially the quarter called *Langar-i-ḥmām*, the very name of which must have stunk in Sh.'s The inhabitants " seeing that they could not rely on the word ghuls " emigrated. The Prince was irritated; and when ān (No. 43) was appointed his *atāliq*, Sh. left without per- Mālwa. Akbar gave his jāgīr to Shāhrukh, and transferred

43rd year Sh. was sent to Ajmīr as Commander of the *maṅgalā* alīm (Jahāngīr), whom Akbar had asked to go from Ilāhābād ā Rānā. But Sh. was now about seventy years old, and as he n the habit of eating quicksilver, he commenced to suffer from hands and wrists. He got well again, but had in Ajmīr another e rallied again, but died suddenly in the 44th year (1008). : quickly possession of Sh.'s treasures, went back to Ilāhābād iving done anything, and continued in his rebellious attitude s father.

z had expressed a dying wish to be buried in Ajmīr within the nclosure of Muḥin-i Chishtī. But the custodians of the sacred sed to comply, and Sh. was buried outside. At night, however, ppeared in the dreams of the custodians, and told them that as his favourite, whereupon the hero was buried inside, north e.

z was proverbial for his rigid piety and his enormous wealth. tion to Akbar's " Divine Faith " had been mentioned above He would neither remove his beard to please the emperor, nor ord *murīd* (disciple) on his signet. His Sunnī zeal, no doubt, is promotion as much as his arrogance; for other less deserving d higher commands. He observed with great strictness the prayers, and was never seen without a rosary in his hand. he emperor took a walk along the tank at Fathpūr and seized hand to accompany him. It was near the time of the ʿaṣr, on prayer, and Sh. was restless and often looked up to the sun,

at Court). When the time of prayer had come, Sh. mentioned it to the emperor. " Oh," replied Akbar, " you can pray another tyme, and make amends for this omission." But Sh. drew away his hand from the grasp of the emperor, spread his *dupaṭṭa* shawl on the ground, and said not only his prayer but also his *ʿird* (voluntary daily religious exercise), Akbar his head slapping all the while, and saying, " Get up!" Abū 'l-Faḍl stepped up and interceded for Shāhbāz, whose persistency he admired.

Abū 'l-Faḍl says that Shāhbāz was an excellent and faithful servant: but he blames him for his bigotry. In liberality, he says, he had no equal, and people whispered that he found the *Pāras* stone (*vide* Book III. Ṣūba of Mālwa). His military contingent was always complete and in good order; during his fights near the Brahmaputr he had 9,000 horse. Every Thursday evening he distributed 100 *Ashrafīs* to the memory of the renowned *Ḡhawṣ* " ʿs-siqayn (?) (ʿAbdū 'l-Qādu-i Jilānī). To the Kambūs he gave so much, that no Kambū in India was in bad circumstances.

During the time he was Mīr Bakhshī he introduced the *Dāgh* law, the most important military reform of Akbar's reign (*vide* pp. 252, 265, 266).

Shāhbāz's brother, Karamū 'llāh, was likewise pious. He died in 1002 at Saronj (*Ma'āṣir*). The *Ma'āṣir* mentions a son of Shāhbāz, Ilhāmū 'llāh. He was *Wāḡīṣa-naṣīs* (p. 268) of the Sarkār of Baglāna, where he died.

The *Tuzuk* (p. 248) mentions another son of his, Ranbāz *Khān*, who during the reign of Shāhjahān was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse. He was, in the 13th year, *Bakhshī* and *Wāḡīṣa-naṣīs* of the corps which was sent to Bangash. He held the same rank in the 20th year of Shāhjahān's reign.¹

81. Darwīsh Muhammad Uzbek.

The *Ma'āṣir* says nothing about this grandee; the MSS. of the *Ṭabaqāt* merely say that he was dead in 1001.

¹ Ranbāz Khān is wrongly called *Niyāz Khān* in the Ed. Bibl. Indica of the Pādishāh I. b., p. 314; but in II, p. 740, of the same work, *Ranbāz Khān* as in the *Tuzuk*.

Sayyid Ahmed's edition of the *Tuzuk*, p. 169, says that Ranbāz's name was *Khāḍa* " *llāh* .. but this is a most extraordinary name, and therefore likely to be wrong. It should perhaps be *Ḥabīb* " *llāh*.

In the list of Akbar's grantees in the *Ṭabaqāt*, Nirām says, " At present (in 1001) Shāhbāz is Mīr Bakhshī of Mālwa."

From the *Akbarnāma* (Lucknow edition, II, p. 137) we see that he was a friend of Bayrām. He was sent by Bayrām together with Muzaṣṣar 'Ali (No. 37, and p. 332, l. 6) to Sher Muḥammad Diwāna, who dispatched both fettered to Court.

His name occurs again in the *Akbarnāma* (Lucknow edition, II, p. 250—where for *Darwīsh Uzbek Khwāja*, read *Darwīsh Uzbek o Muzaṣṣar Khwāja*). From the fact that Abū 'l-Faḥl has given his name in this list, it is evident that Akbar pardoned him on Bayrām's submission.

82 Shaykh Ibrāhīm, son of Shaykh Mūsa, elder brother of Shaykh Salīm of Faṭhpūr Sikrī.

His father, Shaykh Mūsa, lived a retired life in Sikrī. As Akbar had at first no children, he asked the Sikrī Shaykhs to pray for him, which they did, and as at that time one of Akbar's wives became pregnant (with Salīm), Akbar looked upon the Shaykhs with particular favour. To this lucky circumstance, the Sikrī family owes its elevation.

Shaykh Ibrāhīm lived at first at Court, chiefly in the service of the princes. In the 22nd year he was made Thānahdār of Lāqlāi, and suppressed the disturbances. In the 23rd year he was made Governor of Faṭhpūr Sikrī. In the 28th year he served with distinction under M. 'Aziz Koka (No. 21) in Bihār and Bengal, and was with Vazīr Khān (No. 41) in his expedition against Qutlū of Orisā. When Akbar, in the 30th year, went to Kābul, he was made Governor of Āgra, which post he seems to have held till his death in 999 (36th year).

According to the *Tabaqāt*, he was not only the brother but also the son-in-law of Shaykh Salīm-i Sikrīwāl.

83. 'Abd' l-Maṭlab Khān, son of Shāh Budāgh Khān (No. 52). The *Ma'āṣir* makes him a Commander of Two Thousand Five Hundred

'Abd' l-Maṭlab accompanied Sharaf' d-Din Ḥusayn (No. 17) on his expedition to Mīrtha. In the 10th year he served together with his father under Mu'izz' l-Mulk (No. 61) against Iskandar and Bahādur Khān, and fled from the battlefield of Khayrābād. In the 12th year he served under Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās (No. 31) against Iskandar Khān in Audh. He then retired to his *tuyūl* in Mālwa.

In the 17th year he belonged to the auxiliaries of M. 'Aziz Koka and was present in the battle of Patan (p. 433). In the 23rd year, when Qutb' d-Din's men (No. 28) brought Muzaṣṣar Ḥusayn Mirzā from the Dakhin to Court, 'Abd' l-Maṭlab attached himself as convoy and saw the Mirzā safely to Court. In the 25th year he accompanied Ismā'il Qulī Khān (No. 46) on his expedition against Niyābat Khān 'Arab. In the

following year he received a reprimand for having murdered Faṭh Dawlat, son of 'Ali Dost. He was, however, subsequently pardoned, and was put in command of the left wing of the army which was sent to Kābul. In the 27th year, Akbar honoured him by being his guest in Kālpī, his jāgr.

In the 30th year he accompanied M. 'Aziz Koka to the Dakhin, and was sent, two years later, against Jalāla Tārikī, the Afghān rebel. One day, Jalāla fell upon the van of the Imperialists, which was commanded by Beg Nūrīn Khān (No. 212), Salīm Khān (No. 132), and Sheroya Khān (No. 168). They were in time, and, assisted by Muḥammad Qulī Beg, routed Jalāla, who escaped to the mountains. 'Abd' l-Maṭlab "had not the good fortune of even mounting his horse to take part in the fight". He seems to have taken this to heart; for when the victorious army returned to Bangash, he had an attack of madness and was sent to Court. He died soon after.

His son, Sherzād, was under Jahāngir, a Commander of Three Hundred, 200 horse.

84. Iṣṭibār Khān, the Eunuch.

His name, like that of many other Eunuchs, was 'Ambar. He was one of Bābar's Eunuchs. When Humāyūn left Qandahār for 'Irāq, he despatched Iṣṭibār and others to conduct Maryam Makānī (Akbar's mother) to his camp. In 952 he left Kābul and joined the emperor, who attached him to Prince Akbar's suite.

In the 2nd year of Akbar's reign he accompanied Akbar's mother and the other Begams from Kābul to India. Akbar appointed him Governor of Dihli, where he died.

He must not be confounded with No. 86.

85. Rāja Bir Bal [Bir Baṛ], the Brahman.

He was a Brahman of the name of Mahesh Dās (*Ma'āṣir*; the *Ed. Bibl. Indica of Badā'onī*, II, p. 161, calls him *Brahman Dās*) and was a *Bhāt*, or minstrel, a class of men whom the Persians call *bādjarosh*, "dealers in encomiums." He was very poor, but clear-headed, and remarkable for his power of apprehension. According to Badā'onī, he came soon after Akbar's accession from Kālpī to Court, where his *bonmots* in a short time made him a general favourite. His Hindī verses also were much liked, and Akbar conferred on him the title of *Kab Rāy*, or (Hindu) Poet Laureate, and had him constantly near himself.

¹ Just as *Jotik Rāy* the (Hindū) Court Astrologer. The (Persian) Poet Laureate [Fayrī] had the title of *Malik' sh-Shu'arā*, or "King of Poets".

In the 18th year Rāja Jai Chand of Nagarkoṭ, who was at Court happened to displease the emperor, and was imprisoned. Nargakoṭ was given to Kab Rāy as jāgīr. He also received the title of Rāja Bir Bar. But Jai Chand's son, Budh Chand (or Budhī Ch., or Badī Ch.—the MSS. differ) shut himself up in Nagarkoṭ, and Ḥusayn Qulī Khān (No. 24) was ordered to conquer it. The invasion of Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mirzā, as related above, forced Ḥusayn Qulī to raise the siege, and Bir Bar, in all probability, did not get his jāgīr. He accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan and Aḥmadābād, 24th Rabiʿ II, 981. (*Vide* note to No. 101.)

He was often employed in missions. Thus in the 21st year he was sent with Rāy Lon Karan to Dūngarpūr, the Rāy of which town was anxious to send his daughter to Akbar's Harem. In the 28th year, again, B. B. and Zayn Koka (No. 34) conducted Rāja Rām Chand (No. 89) to Court.

Bir Bar spent his time chiefly at Court. In the 34th year Zayn Khān Koka marched against the Yūsufzā, is in Bijūr and Savād; and as he had to ask for reinforcements, Bir Bar was sent there together with Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Faṭḥ (No. 112). It is said that Akbar determined by lot whether Abū 'l-Faṭḥ or Bir Bar should go, and the lot fell on the latter, much against Akbar's wish.

The result of this campaign has been related above (pp. 214, 367). Bir Bar and nearly 8,000 Imperialists were killed during the retreat—the severest defeat which Akbar's army ever suffered.¹

How Akbar felt Bir Bar's loss has been mentioned on p. 214. There is also a letter on this subject in Abū 'l-Faṭḥ's *Maktūbāt*.

The following passages from Badā'onī (*Ed. Bibl. Ind.*, pp. 357, 358) are of interest—"Among the silly lies—they border on absurdities—which during this year (995) were spread over the country, was the rumour that Bir Bar, the accursed, was still alive, though in reality he had then for some time been burning in the seventh hell. The Hindūs by whom His Majesty is surrounded, saw how sad and sorry he was for Bir Bar's loss, and invented the story that Bir Bar had been seen in the hills of Nagarkoṭ, walking about with Jogis and Sannāsīs. His Majesty believed the rumour, thinking that Bir Bar was ashamed to come to Court on account of the defeat which he had suffered at the hands of the Yūsufzā, is; and it was, besides, quite probable that he should have been seen with Jogis,

inasmuch as he had never cared for the world. An Aḥādī was therefore sent to Nagarkoṭ to inquire into the truth of the rumour, when it was proved that the whole story was an absurdity."

"Soon after, His Majesty received a report that Bir Bar had been seen at Kālinjar (which was the jāgīr of this dog), and the collector of the district stated that a barber had recognized him by certain marks on his body, which the man had distinctly seen, when one day Bir Bar had engaged him to rub his body with oil; from that time, however, Bir Bar had concealed himself. His Majesty then ordered the barber to come to Court; and the Hindū Krorī (collector) got hold of some poor innocent traveller, charged him with murder, and kept him in concealment, giving out that he was Bir Bar. The Krorī could, of course, send no barber to Court; he therefore killed the poor traveller, to avoid detection, and reported that it was Bir Bar in reality, but he had since died. His Majesty actually went through a second mourning; but he ordered the Krorī and several others to come to Court. They were for some time tortured as a punishment for not having informed His Majesty before, and the Krorī had, moreover, to pay a heavy fine."

Bir Bar was as much renowned for his liberality, as for his musical skill and poetical talent. His short verses, bon-mots, and jokes, are still in the mouths of the people of Hindūstān.

The hatred which Badā'onī Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80) and other pious Muslims showed towards Bir Bar (*vide* pp. 192, 198, 202, 209, 214) arose from the belief that Bir Bar had influenced Akbar to abjure Islām.

Bir Bar's eldest son, *Lāla*, is mentioned below among the commanders of Two Hundred (No. 387). He was a spendthrift; and as he got no promotion, and his property was squandered away, he resigned court life, and turned *faqīr*, in order to live free and independent (end of 46th year).

86. *Ikhlas* Khān Istibār, the Eunuch.

The Ma'āsīr does not give his name. The list of Akbar's grantees in the *Tabaqāt* has the short remark that *Ikhlas* Khān was a Eunuch, and held the rank of a Commander of One Thousand.

87. Bahār Khān (Muḥammad) Aṣghar, a servant of Humāyūn.

The name of this grandee is somewhat doubtful, as some MSS. read *Bahādur* Khān. The Ma'āsīr does not give his name. The list of the *Tabaqāt* mentions a "Bahār Khān, a Khāṣa Khayl Afghān, who held a command of Two Thousand." Bahār Khān Khāṣa Khayl is also mentioned in several places in the *Akbarnāma*. He is therefore most probably the same as given by Abū 'l-Faṭḥ in this list. Perhaps we have

¹ A similar commanded by, or 21st April, p. 261.

the army am. 1083, for 1662.

to read *Pahār Khān*, instead of *Bahār Khān*; vide No. 407. The notice in the *Ṭabaqāt* implies that he was dead in 1001.

88. *Shāh Fakhr*^a 'd-Dīn, son of Mir Qāsim, a Mūsawī Sayyid of Mashhad.

Shāh Fakhr^a 'd-Dīn came, in 961, with Humāyūn to India. In the 9th year of Akbar's reign he served in the army which was sent against 'Abdū 'Ilāh Khān Uzbek (No. 14). In the 16th year he was in the *mangalā*, or advance corps, commanded by Khān-i Kalān (No. 16). When Akbar arrived at Patan, he sent Sh. F. and Ḥakīm 'Aynū 'l-Mulk to Mir Abū Turāb and Istimād Khān (No. 67). On the road he fell in with the former, and went to Istimād whom he likewise induced to pay his respects to Akbar. He was among the auxiliaries of M. 'Aziz Koka (No. 21) and was present in the battle of Patan (p. 433). He was also among the grantees who accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Gujrāt (p. 343, note, where according to the *Akbarnāma* we have to read 24th *Rabī'* II, for 4th *Rabī'* I). After this, he was made Governor of Ujjain, and received the title of *Nagūbat Khān*.¹ In the end of the 21th year, he was made Governor of Patan (Gujrāt), vice Tarsū Muhammad Khān (No. 32), where he soon after, probably in the beginning of 987, died (986, *Ṭabaqāt*).

89. Rāja Rām Chand Baghela.

A few MSS read *Bhagela*, which form Tod says is the correct one. *Baghela*, however, is the usual spelling.

Rām Chand was Rāja of Bhath (or *Bhattah*, as the *Ma'āzīr* spells it). Among the three great Rājas of Hindūstān whom Bābar mentions in his *Memoirs*, the Rājas of Bhath are the third.

Rām Chand was the patron of the renowned musician and singer Tānsin, regarding whom vide the List of Musicians at the end of this book. His fame had reached Akbar; and in the 7th year, the Emperor sent Jalāl 'd-Dīn Qūrchī (No. 213) to Bhath, to induce Tānsin to come to Āgra. Rām Chand feeling himself powerless to refuse Akbar's request, sent his favourite, with his musical instruments and many presents to Āgra, and the first time that Tānsin performed at Court, the Emperor made him a present of two lakhs of rupees. Tānsin remained with Akbar. Most of his compositions are written in Akbar's name, and his melodies are even nowadays everywhere repeated by the people of Hindūstān.

When Ḥafīz Khān (I) led his expedition to Gaḡha (p. 396)² he came in

contact with Rām Chand; but by timely submission the Rāja became "a servant" of Akbar. In the 14th year Yām Chand lost Fort Kālinjar, as related on p. 399. He sent his son, Bir Bhadr, to Court, but from distrust would not pay his respects personally. In the 28th year, therefore, when Akbar was at Shāhābād, he ordered a corps to march to Bhath; but Bir Bhadr, through the influence of several courtiers, prevailed upon the Emperor to send a grandee to his father and convey him to Court. Rāja Bir Bar and Zayn Koka were selected for this office, and Rām Chand came at last to Court, where he was well received.

R. Ch. died in the 37th year, and Bir Bhadr succeeded to the title of Rāja. But on his way from Court to Bhath he fell from his palanquin, and died soon after, in the 38th year (1001; vide p. 385). His sudden death led to disturbances in Bāndhū, of which Bikramājīt, a young relation of Rām Chand, had taken possession. Akbar therefore sent Rāja Patrdās (No. 196) with troops to Bāndhū, and the Mughuls, according to custom, erected throughout the district military stations (*thānas*). At the request of the inhabitants, Akbar sent Ismā'īl Qulī Khān (No. 46) to Bāndhū, to convey Bikramājīt to Court (41st year), their intention being to prevent Bāndhū from being conquered. But Akbar would not yield; he dismissed Bikramājīt, and after a siege of eight months and several days, Bāndhū was conquered (42nd year).

In the 47th year Durjodhan, a grandson of Rām Chand, was made Rāja of Bāndhū. In the 21st year of Jahāngīr's reign Amr Singh, another grandson of Rām Chand, acknowledged himself a vassal of Dihlī. In the 8th year of Shāhjahān when 'Abdū 'Ilāh Khān Bahādur marched against the refractory zamīndār of Ratanpūr, Amr Singh brought about a peaceful submission. Amr Singh was succeeded by his son Anūp Singh. In the 24th year, when Rāja Pahār Singh Bundela, Jāgīrdār of Chaurāgadh, attacked Anūp, because he had afforded shelter to Dairām, a zamīndār of Chaurāgadh, Anūp Singh, with his whole family, withdrew from Rewā (which after the destruction of Bāndhū had been the family seat) to the hills. In the 30th year, however, Sayyid Ṣalābat Khān, Governor of Ilāhābād (vide p. 427), conducted him to Court, where Anūp turned Muhammadan. He was made a Commander of Three Thousand, 2,000 horse, and was appointed to Bāndhū and the surrounding districts.

90. Lashkar Khān, Muhammad Ḥusayn of Khurāsān.

He was Mir *Bakhshī* and Mir 'Arz. In the 11th year Muzaḥfir Khān (No. 37) had him deposed. In the 16th year he came one day drunk to the Darbār, and challenged the courtiers to fight him. Akbar punished him by tying him to the tail of a horse, and then put him into prison.

¹ The Lucknow Edition of the *Akbarnāma* (III, p. 222) calls him *Nagīb-Khān* (^a).

² On p. 396, Rām Chand is by mistake called Rām Chandr.

He was subsequently released, and attached to Munṣim's Bengal corps. In the battle of Takarōi (p. 406) he was severely wounded. Though his wounds commenced to heal, he did not take sufficient care of his health, and died, a few days after the battle, in Orīṣā.

He is mentioned as having had a contingent of 2,000 troopers (*Maʿāṣir*, i. 000).

The *Maʿāṣir* has a long note in justification of the extraordinary punishment which Akbar inflicted on him.

The title of *Lashkar Khān* was conferred by Jahāngīr on Abū 'l-Ḥasan Mashhadī, and by Shāhjahān on Jān Niṣār Khān Yādgar Beg.

91. Sayyid Ahmad of Bārha.

He is the younger brother of Sayyid Maḥmūd (p. 427). In the 17th year he served in the *manqāla*, which, under the command of Khān-i Kalān (No. 16), was sent to Gujrāt. After the conquest of Aḥmadābād, he was ordered with other Amīrs to pursue the sons of Sher Khān Fulādī (p. 432), who had removed their families and property from Patantō Idar. A portion of their property fell into the hands of Imperialists. When Akbar afterwards encamped at Patan, he gave the town to Mirzā Abdū 'l-Rahīm (No. 29), but appointed S. A. as Governor. In the same year, Muhammad Ḥusayn Mirzā, Shāh Mirzā, and Sher Khān Fulādī, besieged Patan; but they dispersed on the approach of M. ʿAzīz.

In the 20th year S. A. and his nephews S. Qāsim and S. Ḥashim quelled the disturbances in which Jalālū 'd-Dīn Qūrchi (No. 213) had lost his life. In 984 he served under Shahbāz Khān (No. 80) in the expedition to Sīwānah. According to the *Tabaqāt*, which calls him a Commander of Three Thousand, he died in 985.

Abū 'l-Faṭl mentioned Sayyid Ahmad above on p. 300, l. 11 from below.

Sayyid Ahmad's son, S. Jamālū 'd-Dīn was killed by the untimely explosion of a mine during the siege of Chītor (p. 398).

This S. Jamālū 'd-Dīn must not be confounded with the notorious S. Jamālū 'd-Dīn who was executed in 993 (*Badāʾunī* II, 345). He was a grandson of S. Maḥmūd (No. 75) S. Qāsim being called his uncle.

92. Kākar ʿAlī Khān-i Chishtī.

He came with Humāyūn to Hindūstān. In the 11th year (973) he was sent together with Shāh Qulī Nāranjī (No. 231) to Gadha-Katanga, because Maḥdī Qāsim Khān (No. 36) had gone without leave to Makkah. Kākar served also under Muʿizzū 'l-Mulk (No. 61) and was present in the battle of Khayrābād. He took part in the bloody fight at Sarnāl (middle of Shaʿbān, 980; *vide* p. 353). He was then attached to Munṣim's

corps, and served in the siege of Patna, during which he and his son were killed (end of 981; *Maʿāṣir*, 980).

93. Rāy Kalyān Māl, Zamīndār of Bīkānīr.

He is the father of Rāy Singh (No. 44), and has been mentioned above, p. 384.

94. Tāhīr Khān, Mīr Farāghat, son of Mīr Khurd, who was *atālg* to Prince Hindāl.

His name is not given in the *Maʿāṣir*. The *Tabaqāt* merely says that he was a grandee of Humāyūn, and reached, during the reign of Akbar, the rank of a Commander of Two Thousand. According to the same work, he had a son Bāqī Khān, who likewise served under Akbar.

From the *Akbarnāma* (Lucknow Edition, II, p. 274) we see that he was one of Akbar's companions. Together with Dastam Khān (No. 79) Qutluq Qadam Khān (No. 123), Peshraw Khān (No. 280), Ḥakīm 'l-Mulk, Muqbil Khān, and Shīmāl Khān (No. 154), he assisted in the capture of the wild and mad Khwāja Muʿazzam, brother of Akbar's mother.

95. Shāh Muḥammad Khān of Qalāt.

As Qalāt belongs to Qandahār, he is often called Shāh Muḥammad Khān-i Qandahārī. The *Maʿāṣir* says that the name of the town of Qalāt is generally spelt with a ج, Q; but that the Hazāras pronounce *Kalāt*, with a K.

Shāh Muḥammad Khān was a friend of Bayrām, and was with him in Qandahār, which Humāyūn had given Bayrām as *jāgīr*. Bayrām, however, left it entirely in S. M.'s hands. Bahādūr Khān (No. 22) was then governor of Dāwar, and had bribed several grantees to hand over Qandahār to him; but S. M. discovered the plot and killed the conspirators. Bahādūr then marched against Qandahār. S. M. knew that he could expect no assistance from Humāyūn, and wrote to Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia that it was Humāyūn's intention to cede Qandahār; he should therefore send troops, defeat Bahādūr, and take possession of the town. Tahmāsp sent 3,000 Turkman troopers furnished by the *jāgīrdārs* of Sistān, Farāh, and Garmsīr. Their leader, ʿAlī Yār, surprised Bahādūr and defeated him so completely, that Bahādūr could not even keep Dāwar. He therefore fled to India. S. M. had thus got rid of one danger; he treated the Persian Commander with all submissiveness, but would not hand over the town. Shāh Tahmāsp then ordered his nephew, Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā, son of Bahrām Mirzā (*vide* No. 8), Wali Khālifa Shāmlū, and others, to besiege Qandahār. The siege had lasted for some time, when Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā felt disgusted and withdrew.

Talimāsp felt annoyed, and sent again Sultān Husayn Mirzā with ʿAlī Sultān, Governor of Shirāz, to Qandahār, with positive orders to take the town. ʿAlī Sultān was shot during the siege, and Sultān Husayn Mirzā remained encamped before the town without doing anything. At this juncture, Akbar, who in the meantime had succeeded to the throne, ordered S. M. to hand over Qandahār to the Persians, according to Humāyūn's promise, and come to India.

This account of the cession of Qandahār, observes the author of the *Maʿāṣir*, differs from Munshi Sikandar's version of his great work entitled *ʿĀlamnā-ʿi Sikandari*. According to that history, Tahmāsp, at the very first request of Shāh Muḥammad sent Sultān Husayn Mirzā with Walī Khalifa and other nobles to Qandahār. They defeated Bahādūr; but as S. M. would not hand over Qandahār, Tahmāsp sent ʿAlī Sultān with a stronger army, and appointed Sultān Husayn Mirzā governor of Dāwar and Qandahār. Shāh Muḥammad held out for six months; but as he got no assistance from India, he capitulated, and withdrew to Hindūstān.

Be this as it may, S. M. arrived in the end of the third year of Akbar's reign in India, was made a Khān, and gradually rose to the rank of a Commander of Two Thousand. In the beginning of the 6th year (968) he led the van in the battle near Sārangpūr, in which Bāz Bahādūr lost Mālwa, and served, in the 9th year, in the war against ʿAbdū ʿIlāh Khān Uzbek (No. 14). In the 12th year he was made governor of Kotha. In the 17th year he was among the auxiliaries of Mirzā ʿAziz Koka, and was wounded in the battle of Patan (p. 432).

Regarding ʿAdil Khān, S. M.'s son, vide below, No. 125.

96. Rāy Surjan Hādā.

He is often merely called Rāy Hādā. The Hādās are a branch of the Chauhāns. The Sarkār of Rantanbhūr is called after them *Hādāwā*.

Rāy Surjan was at first in the service of the Rānā, and defied the Mughuls, because he thought himself safe in Rantanbhūr. Akbar, after the conquest of Chitor (p. 398), besieged in the end of the 13th year, Rantanbhūr, and R. S., despairing of holding out longer—the siege having lasted about a month—sent his sons Daudā and Bhoj (No. 175) to Akbar's camp to sue for peace. The Emperor received them well, and gave each a dress of honour. When they were taken behind the tent enclosure to put on the garments, one of their men, suspecting foul play, rushed sword in hand towards the audience tent, and killed several people, among them Shaykh Bahāʿud-Dīn Majzūb of Badāon. but was cut down by one of Muzaffar Khān's men. As R. S.'s sons were entirely innocent, the accident did not change Akbar's goodwill towards them;

and he sent them back to their father. At R. S.'s request, Husayn Qulī Khān (No. 24) was then sent to the Fort and escorted R. S. to the Emperor. Rantanbhūr was annexed (Shawwāl, 976, or beginning of the 14th year).

R. S. was made Governor of Gaḍha-Katanga, from where, in the 20th year, he was transferred to Fort Chanaḍh (Chunār).

Soon after, Daudā fled and created disturbances in Būndī. Zayn Khān Koka (No. 34), R. S. and his second son Bhoj were therefore sent to Būndī, which was conquered in the beginning of 985. After the conquest, R. S. was made a commander of Two Thousand. Daudā who had escaped, submitted, in the 23rd year, to Shāhbāz Khān (p. 436). Not long after, Daudā fled again. He died in the 30th year.

R. S. served in the 25th year, after Muzaffar's (No. 37) death in Bihār. The *Maʿāṣir* does not mention the year of his death. From the *Ṭabaqāt*, it is clear, that he had been dead for some time in 1001.

For R. S.'s son, Rāy Bhoj, vide below, No. 175.

97. Shāham Khān Jalāʾir.

Jalāʾir is the name of a Chaghtāʾi tribe.

Shāham's father was Bābā Beg, who had been under Humāyūn, governor of Jaunpūr. Bābā Beg also took part in the battle of Chausā, in which Humāyūn was defeated by Sher Shāh. The Emperor fled to Agra, and ordered Bābā Beg and other grantees to bring up the camp and the Begams. In attempting to rescue the ladies of the Harem, Bābā Beg was killed by an Afghān near the imperial tent.

Shāham Khān was made an Amīr by Akbar.

In the beginning of the 4th year (966) he served together with the two Jalāʾirs, mentioned below, Hāji Muḥammad Khān-i Sistāni (No. 55), Chālma Beg (58), Kamāl Khān, Ghakkar, and Qiyā Khān Gung (No. 33), under Khān Zamān (No. 13) in the Jaunpūr District against the Afghāns. The war continued till the sixth year, in which Sher Shāh, son of ʿAdli, Mubārīz Khān, after Bayrām's death, made a final attempt to overthrow the Mughuls. In the 10th year Sh. Kh. served against Khān Zamān.

In the 19th year he served under Munʿim in the Bengal and Orisā wars, was present in the battle of Takaroi and pursued with Toḍar Mal the Afghāns to Bhadrak (p. 406). After Munʿim's death at Gaur (p. 407), the grantees put Sh. Kh. in command of the army till the Emperor should send a new commander. In the 21st year he took part in the battle near Āg Mahall (p. 350). In the 24th year he was *jāgīrdār* of Hājipur (opposite Patna). After Muzaffar's death (No. 37) in 988, before Toḍar Mal had arrived, he defeated and killed Saʿid-i Badakhshī, one of the Bengal rebels. Subsequently, he pursued ʿArab Bahādūr, whom Shāhbāz Khān

(p. 438) had defeated. In the 26th year Sh. Kh. was stationed at Narhan. In this year, Ma'sūm Khān-i Faran (No. 157) had been driven by the imperialists from Bahrāich over Kalyānpūr to Muḥammadābād, which he plundered, and prepared to attack Jaunpūr. Sh. Kh. from Narhan, Pahār Khān (No. 407) from Ghāzīpūr and Qāsim from Jaldpūr, united their contingents, and pursued Ma'sūm so effectually that he applied to M. 'Aziz Koka to intercede for him with the Emperor. In the 32nd year he was made Governor of Gaḡha, and soon after, of Dihli. In the end of the same year he accompanied Sulṭān Murād, who conducted M. Sulaymān (No. 5) to Court. In the beginning of the 33rd year he assisted Šādiq Khān (No. 43) in his expedition against Jalāla Tārīki in Terāh.

In the 43rd year, after a stay of fourteen years in the Panjāb, Akbar made Dihli his residence. It was proved that Sh. had been oppressive, and he was therefore reprimanded. Two years later, he served in the Āsir war, and died during the siege of that fort, Zi Hījāh, 1009.

The *Tabaqāt* says that Shāham Khān was in 1001 a Commander of Two Thousand.

The *Akbarnāma* mentions two other Jalā'ir Grandees:—

1. *Sulṭān Husayn Khān Jalā'ir*. He was mentioned above, p. 417, l. 3.
2. *Muḥammad Khān Jalā'ir*. The *Tabaqāt* says of him, "he is an old Amir, and is at present (1001) mad." He served under Khān Zamān in the war with Hemū. In the beginning of the 4th year all three Jalā'irs served under Khān Zamān against the Afghāns in the Jaunpūr District.

98. Āsaf Khān (III), [Mirzā Qiwām^u d'-Din] Ja'far Beg. son of Badī^u 'z-Zamān of Qazwīn.

His father Mirzā Badī^u 'z-Zamān was the son of Aghā Mullā Dawātdār of Qazwīn (*vide* p. 398). M. Badī, during the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, had been *vazīr* of Kāshān, and Ja'far had also been introduced at the Persian Court.

In the 22nd year of Akbar's reign (985), Ja'far Beg came to India, and was presented to Akbar by his uncle M. Ghīyāṣ^u 'd-Dīn 'Alī Āsaf Khān II (No. 126), on his return from the Īdar expedition. The new *Dāgh* law having then been introduced, Akbar made Ja'far a Commander of Twenty (*Bistī*) and attached him to the *Dākhilīs* (p. 252) of his uncle. According to *Badā'ūnī* (III, 216) people attributed this *minimum* of royal favour to the malice of Ja'far's uncle. The post was so low that Ja'far threw it up in disgust and went to Bengal, to which province Muzaḥfir Khān (No. 37) had just been appointed governor. He was with

him when the Bengal military revolt broke out, and fell together with Shams^u 'd-Dīn-i Khāfi (No. 159) into the hands of the rebels. Ja'far and Shams found means to escape, the former chiefly through his winning manners. On arriving at Fathpūr, Ja'far met with a better reception than before, was in a short time made a Commander of Two Thousand, and got the title of Āsaf Khān. He was also appointed Mir Bakshī, *vice* Qāzī 'Alī. In his first expedition, against the Rānā of Udaipūr, Āsaf was successful.

In the 32nd year he was appointed Thānadār of Sawād (Swat), *vice* Ismā'il Qulī Khān, who had been reprimanded (p. 383, where for *Wajūr* read *Bijūr*). In the 37th year Jalāla Rawshānī fled to 'Abd^u 'Ilāh Khān Uzbek, king of Tūrān; but finding no support, he returned to Terāh, and stirred up the Āfrīdī and Ūrakzā'ī Afghāns. Āsaf was sent against him, and with the assistance of Zayn Khān Koka, defeated Jalāla. The family of the rebel fell into the hands of the imperialists; his women were given to Waḥdat 'Alī, who was said to be Jalāla's brother, while the other members of his family were taken to Court.

In the 39th year Āsaf was sent to Kashmīr, M. Yūsuf Khān (No. 35) having been recalled. He re-distributed the lands of the Jāgīr holders, of whom Aḥmad Beg Kābulī (No. 191), Muḥammad Qulī Aīsbār, and Ḥasan 'Arab were the most important. The cultivation of *Za'farān* (saffron, *vide* p. 89) and hunting were declared monopolies, and the revenue was fixed according to the assessment of Qāzī 'Alī, i.e. at one lākh of *khārvars*, at 24 *dāms* each (*vide* p. 370). Āsaf stayed only three days in Kashmīr, and returned to Lāhor. In the 42nd year, when Kashmīr had become all but desolated through the oppressions of the Jāgīr holders, Āsaf was made Governor of the province. In the 44th year (beginning of 1008) he was appointed *Dīwān-i kull* *vice* Patr Dās (No. 196).

In 1013 Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) rebelled against Akbar; but a reconciliation was effected by Akbar's mother, and Salīm was placed for twelve days under surveillance. After this, he received Gujrāt as *tuyūl*, and gave up the Šūbas of Ilāhābād and Bihār, of which during his rebellion he had taken possession. Bihār was given to Āsaf, who, moreover, was appointed to a Command of Three Thousand.

On Jahāngīr's accession, Āsaf was called to Court, and appointed *atāliq* to Prince Parwīz, who had taken the command against the Rānā. The expedition was, however, interrupted by the rebellion of Prince Khusrāw. In the 2nd year, 1015, Jahāngīr, after suppressing Khusrāw's revolt, left Lāhor for Kābul, and as Sharīf Khān Amir^u 'l-Umarā' remained

dangerously ill in India, Āṣaf was made Vakil and Commander of Five Thousand. He also received a pen-box studded with jewels.¹ But he never trusted Jahāngir, as the Emperor himself found out after Āṣaf's death (*Tuzuk*; p. 109).

From the time of Akbar's death, the kings² of the Dakhin had been restless, and Malik Āmar had seized upon several places in the Bālāghāt District. The *Khān Khānān* (No. 29), with his usual duplicity, had done nothing to recover the loss, and Jahāngir sent Prince Parwiz to the Dakhin, with Āṣaf *Khān* as *atāiq*, and the most renowned grandees of the Court, as Rāja Mān Singh (No. 30), *Khān* Jahān Lodi, *Khān-i Aṣṣam* (No. 21), Ābd' 'llah *Khān*, "each in himself sufficient for the conquest of a country." But incessant drinking on the part of the Prince, and the jealousy and consequent insubordination of the Amīrs, spoiled everything, and the Mughuls suffered a check and lost their prestige. Not long after, in 1021, Āṣaf died at Burhāmpūr. The *Tārīkh* of his death is:—

مدحبت ر آصف خان. A hundred times alas! for Āṣaf *Khān*.

The *Tuzuk* (p. 108) says that he died at the age of sixty-three.

Āṣaf *Khān* is represented as a man of the greatest genius. He was an able financier, and a good accountant. A glance is said to have been sufficient for him to know the contents of a page. He was a great horticulturist, planting and lopping off branches with his own hands in his gardens and he often transacted business with a garden spade in his hand. In religious matters, he was a free-thinker, and one of Akbar's disciples (p. 218-9). He was one of the best poets of Akbar's age, an age most fruitful in great poets. His *Maṣnawī*, entitled *Nūr-nāma* ranks after Nizām's *Shirīn Khusrāw*. *Vide* below among the poets of Akbar's reign.

Āṣaf kept a great number of women, and had a large family.

His sons. 1. *Mirzā Zayn' 'l-Ābidīn*. He was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 500 horse, and died in the second year of Shāhjahān's reign. He had a son *Mirzā Jaṣfar*, who like his grandfather was a poet, writing under the same *takhalluṣ* (Jaṣfar). He, Zāhid *Khān* Koka, and M. Shāfi (*Pādishāhnāma*; Sāqī, *Ma'āṣir*) son of Sayf *Khān*, were such intimate friends, that Shāhjahān dubbed them *siḥ yār*, "the three friends." He

later resigned the service, and lived in Āgra on the pension which Shāhjahān granted and Awrangzib increased. He died in 1094.

2. *Sulrāb Khān*. He was under Shāhjahān a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 1,200 horse, and died in the 13th year of Shāhjahān.

3. *Mirzā 'Alī Aṣghar*. He was a hasty youth, and could not bridle his tongue. In the Parenda expedition, he created dissensions between Shāh Shujā' and Mahābat *Khān*. He served in the war against Jujhār Bandela, and perished at the explosion of a tower in Fort Dhamūnī, as related in the *Pādishāhnāma*. He had just been married to the daughter of Muṣtamid *Khān* Bakhshī (author of the *Iqbāl-nāma-yi Jahāngīrī*); but as no cohabitation had taken place, Shāhjahān married her to *Khān* Dawrān. He was a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse.

4. *Mirzā 'Askari*. He was in the 20th year of Shāhjahān a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse.

The lists of grandees in the *Pādishāhnāma* mention two relations of Āṣaf—1. *Muḥammad Ṣāḥib*, son of *Mirzā Shāhī*, brother or nephew of Āṣaf. He was a Commander of One Thousand, 800 horse, and died in the second year of Shāhjahān's reign. 2. *Muqīm*, a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse.

XI. Commanders of One Thousand and Five Hundred.

99. Shaykh Farīd-i Bukhārī.

The *Iqbāl-nāma*, according to the *Ma'āṣir*, says he belonged to the *Mūsawī* Sayyids; but this is extraordinary, because the Bukhārī Sayyid's trace their descent to Sayyid Jalāl-i Bukhārī, seventh descendant of Imām 'Alī Naqī Alhādī.

The fourth ancestor of Shaykh Farīd was Shaykh 'Abd' 'l-Ghaffār of Dihli, who when dying desired his family to give up depending on Suyūrghāl tenures, but rather to enter the military service of the kings. This they seem to have done.

Shaykh Farīd was born at Dihli (*Tuzuk*, p. 68). He entered Akbar's service early. In the 28th year, when M. 'Aziz (No. 21) resigned from ill-health the command of the Bihār army, S. F. accompanied Vazīr *Khān* (No. 41) to the neighbourhood of Bardwān, where Qutlū of Orisā had collected his Afghāns. Qutlū having made proposals of peace, S. F. was ordered to meet him. In doing so he nearly perished through Qutlū's treachery (*vide* Stewart's Bengal). In the 30th year, he was made a Commander of 700, and gradually rose, till the 40th year, to a command of 1,500. He was also appointed Mir Bakhshī, and had also for some time

¹ It was customary under the Mughul Government to confer a pen-box or a golden instand, or both, as insignia on Diwāns. When such officers were deposed, they generally returned the presents.

² Mughul historians do not like to call the rulers of the Dakhin kings. The word which they generally use, is *dunyādār*, which is a meaningless title. I have not found this title used in histories written before the *Akbarnāma*.

the *Daftar-i Tan* in his charge, i.e., he had to settle all matters relating to the grants of Jāgīr holders.

His elevation under Jahāngīr was due to the decided support he gave Jahāngīr, immediately before his accession, and to the victory he obtained over Prince *Khusraw* at Bhairōwāl. When Prince Salim occupied Ilāhābād during his rebellion against his father, appointing his servants to *manṣabs* and giving them *ḡāgirs*, Akbar favoured Prince *Khusraw* so openly, that every one looked upon him as successor. Soon after, a sort of reconciliation was effected, and Salim's men were sent to Gujrāt. When Akbar lay on the death-bed, he ordered Salim to stay outside the Fort of Āgra; and M. Aziz Koka (No. 21) and Rājā Mān Singh, who from family considerations favoured *Khusraw's* succession, placed their own men at the gates of the fort, and asked Shaykh Farid to take command. But S. F. did not care for their arrangements and went over to Prince Salim outside, and declared him emperor, before Akbar had closed his eyes. On the actual secession, S. F. was made a commander of 5,000, received the title of *Ṣāhib* 's-sayf wa 'l-qalam,' and was appointed *Mīr Bahānī*.

A short time after, on the 8th Zī Hījāh, 1014, Prince *Khusraw* suddenly left Āgra, and went plundering and recruiting to Lāhor. S. F., with other Bukhārī and many Bārha Sayyids, was sent after him, while Jahāngīr himself followed soon after, accompanied by Sharif Khān Amīr 'l-Umarā' and Mahābat Khān, who were hostile to S. F., and took every possible opportunity of slandering him. Sultān *Khusraw* had gone to Lāhor and besieged the town, when he heard of S. F.'s arrival with 12,000 horse at the *Ab-i Sultānpūr*. He raised the siege, and arrived at the Bīāh, which S. F. had just crossed. *Khusraw* was immediately attacked. The fight was unusually severe. The Bārha and Bukhārī Sayyids had to bear the brunt of the fight, the former in the van under the command of Sayf Khān, son of Sayyid Mahmūd Khān Kundliwāl (p. 427) and Sayyid Jalāl. There were about 50 or 60 of the Bārha Sayyids opposed to 1,500 Badakhshī troopers, and had not S. Kamāl (vide No. 78) come in time to their rescue, charging the enemy with loud cries of *Pādīshāh salāmat* the Bārha Sayyids would have been cut down to a man. Sayyid Sayf Khān got seventeen wounds, and S. Jalāl died a few days after the battle. About four hundred of *Khusraw's* troopers were killed, and the rest dispersed. *Khusraw's* jewel-box fell

into the hands of the Imperialists. The fight took place in the neighbourhood of Bhairōwāl.¹ In the evening Jahāngīr arrived, embraced S. F., and stayed the night in his tent. The District was made into a Pargana of the name of Fathābād, and was given S. F. as a present. He received, besides, the title of *Murtāzā Khān*, and was appointed governor of the Ṣūba of Gujrāt.

In the 2nd year, S. F. presented Jahāngīr with an immense ruby made into a ring, which weighed 1 *mirgāl*, 15 *surlḥs*, and was valued at 25,000 Rs. As the relations of the Shaykh oppressed the people in Gujrāt, he was recalled from Ahmadābād (*Tuzuk*, p. 73). In the 5th year he was made governor of the Panjāb. In 1021 he made preparations to invade Kāngra. He died at Pathān in 1025, and was buried at Dīhli (*Tuz.* p. 159). At the time of his death, he was a Commander of Six Thousand, 5,000 horse.

Sayyid Ahmad, in his work on the antiquities of Dīhli, entitled *Āṣār* 's-Sanādīd, No. 77, says that the name of S. F.'s father was Sayyid Ahmad-i Bukhārī. Of Farid's tomb, he says, nothing is left but an arcade (*dālān*). But he wrongly places the death of the Shaykh in the 9th year, or 1033 A.H., instead of in the eleventh year, or 1025 A.D. Sayyid Ahmad also mentions a *Sārāī*, built by Shaykh Farid in Dīhli, which has since been repaired by the English Government, and is now used as a jail (جیل خانہ, *jēl Khāna*).

According to the *Tuzuk*, p. 65, Salimgaḡhī (Dīhli) belonged to S. Farid. It had been built by Salim Khān the Afghān during his reign in the midst (*dar miyān*) of the Jamna. Akbar had given it to Farid.²

When Shaykh Farid died, only 1,000 Ashrafis were found in his house, which very likely gave rise to the *Tārīkh* of his death:—

¹ Bhairōwāl, on our maps *Diyaol*, lies on the road from Jāhndūba to Amritsar, on the right bank of the Bīāh. After the defeat *Khusraw* fled northwards with the view of reaching Rohtās beyond the right bank of the Jhelum. He had there to cross the Rāwī, the Charāb, and the Jhelum. On coming to the Chanāb, at a place called *Shāhpūr* (a very common name in the Panjāb), he could not get boats. He therefore went to Sodhara, which is also mentioned as a place for crossing in the *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*—on our maps *Sodra*, N.E. of Vazīrābād—and induced some boatmen to take him over. But they were sent to the Chanāb, and swam back, was sent to *Ṣābād* 'l-Qāsim ḡrāt (at some distance from the island, and kept him confined in Gujrāt. And now on the capture reached Jahāngīr at Lāhor on the 1st Muharram 1015, i.e. 52 days after *Khusraw's* flight from Āgra. On the 3rd Safer, *Khusraw* Hasan Beg, a Badakhshī (No. 167), and *Ṣābād* 'r-Rabīm Khār, we

for when Akbar, in the 22nd Abū 'l-Faḡl (*Albarnāma*, III, p.

² This title we also find in old inscriptions, e.g. in those of Tribenī and Sītḡw. Hūgh District. It means *Lord of the sword and the pen*.

داد ¹ خرد برد *dād, khurd burd* (1025 A.H.).

"He gave, and left (carried off) little."

Shaykh Farid was indeed a man of the greatest liberality. He always gave with his own hands. Once a beggar came to him seven times on one day, and received money; and when he returned the eighth time, Farid gave him again money, but told him not to tell others; else they might take the money from him. He gave widows a great deal, and his jāgir lands were given as free land tenures to the children of his servants or soldiers who had been killed. When in Gujrāt, he had a list made of all Bukhārī Sayyids in the province,² and paid for every marriage feast and outfit; he even gave pregnant women of his clan money for the same purpose for the benefit of their yet unborn children. He never assisted singers, musicians, or flatterers.

He built many *sarāīs*. The one in Dihlī has been mentioned above. In Ahmadābād, a *maḥalla* was adorned by him and received as a memorial of him the name of Bukhārā. In the same town he built the Masjid and Tomb of Shāh Wajih³ 'd-Dīn (*died* 988; *Badā'onī*, III, 43). He also built *Farīdābād* near Dihlī, the greater part of the old pargana of Tilpat being included in the pargana of Farīdābād (Elliot's Glossary, Beame's Edition, II, p. 123). In Lāhor also, a *Maḥalla* was built by him, a large bath, and a *chauk*, or *bāzār*. The Government officers under him received annually three *khil'ats*; to his footmen he gave annually a blanket, and his sweepers got shoes. He never made alterations in his gifts.

His contingent consisted of 3,000 picked troopers. Neither in the reign of Akbar, nor that of Jahāngīr did he build a palace for himself. He always lived as if on the march. He paid his contingent personally, little caring for the noise and tumult incident to such offices. One of his best soldiers, an Afghān of the name of Sher Khān, had taken leave in Gujrāt, and rejoined after an absence of six years, when Sh. Farid was in Kalānūr on his march to Kāngra. The Shaykh ordered Dwārka Dās, his *Bakhshī*, to pay the man his wages, and the *Bakhshī* wrote out the Descriptive Roll, and gave the man one day's pay. But Farid got angry, and said, "He is an old servant, and though he comes rather late, my affairs have not fared ill on account of his absence; give him his whole pay." The man got 7,000 Rs., his whole pay for six years.

"Night and day," exclaims the author of the *Ma'āṣir*, "change as before, and the stars walk and the heavens turn as of old, but India has no longer such men. Perhaps they have left for some other country!"

Shaykh Farid had no son. His daughter also died childless. He had adopted two young men, Muḥammad Sa'id and Mir Khān. They lived in great pomp, and did not care for the emperor. Though often warned, they would noisily pass the palace in pleasure boats to the annoyance of the emperor, their boats being lighted up with torches and coloured lamps. One night they did so again, and Mahābat Khān, whom Jahāngīr had given a hint, sent one of his men and killed Mir Khān. S. F. demanded of the emperor Mahābat's blood; but Mahābat got together several "respectable" witnesses who maintained before the emperor that Mir Khān had been killed by Muḥammad Sa'id, and Shaykh F. had to remain quiet.

Muḥammad Sa'id was alive in the 20th year of Shāhjahān, and was a Commander of Seven Hundred, 300 horse (*Pādishāhnā*, II, 743).

Sayyid Ja'far, S. F.'s brother, was also in Akbar's service. He was killed in the battle of Patan (p. 433).

The *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b., 316, 313; II, 739) also mentions Sayyid Badr, son of Shaykh Farid's sister, a Commander of 700, 500 horse; and Sayyid Bhakar, son of Sh. F.'s brother, a Commander of Five Hundred, 300 horse.

100. Samānjī Khān, son of Chālma Beg.

For *Samānjī* we often find in MSS. *Samājī*. The Turkish *samān* means *hay*, so that *Samānjī* or *Samānchī* would mean *one who looks after the hay*.

The name of this grandee is neither given in the *Ma'āṣir*, nor the *Ṭabaqāt*. Nor have I come across his name in the *Akbarnāma*. It remains, therefore, doubtful whether he is the son of No. 58.

Another Samānjī Khān will be found below, No. 147.

101. Tardī Khān, son of Qiyā Khān Gung (No. 33).

He has been mentioned above, on p. 367. The *Ṭabaqāt* says that, in 1001, he was governor of Patan (Gujrāt).¹

¹ Tardī Khān. But this is a mistake, as at Akbar's forced march to Patan. *Tuzuk*, p. 19, l. 15, word *toṣnāī*, i.e., also at Akbar's forced march to Patan. *Ma'āṣir* (MS. 77 of the Library As. Soc. Bengal, p. 163, 6.) mentions the 4th Rabi' al I, as the day when Akbar left Agra; but from the *Akbarnāma* (Lucknow Edition, III, 18 ff.) it is clear that Akbar left Agra on the 24th Rabi' II, 981, and engaged the enemies on the 9th day after his

² In Dihlī, Ahmadābād, and many other places in Gujrāt do we find Bukhārī Sayyids. Vide Nos. 77, 78.

102. Mihṭar Khān, Anis^u 'd-Dīn, a servant of Humāyūn.

The word *mihṭar*, prop. a prince, occurs very often in the names of Humāyūn's servants. Thus in the *Akbarnāma* (Lucknow Edition, Vol. I, p. 269—a very interesting page, which gives the names of the grantees, etc., who accompanied the emperor to Persia).

Mihṭar Khān was the title of Anis^u 'd-Dīn. He was Humāyūn's treasurer on his flight to Persia, and returned with the emperor.

In the 14th year, when Rantanbhūr had been conquered (*vide* No. 96), the fort was put in his charge. In the beginning of the 21st year (beginning of 984) he accompanied Mān Singh on his expedition against Rānā Partāb of Maiwār, and distinguished himself as leader of the *Chandāwul* (rear). In the 25th year he held a *jāgīr* in Audh, and distinguished himself in the final pursuit of Maṣṣūm Khān Faranḡhūdī (No. 157).

Anis was gradually promoted. He was at the time of Akbar's death a Commander of Three Thousand. According to the *Tabaqāt*, he was in 1001 a Commander of 2,500.

He died in the 3rd year of Jahāngīr's reign, 1017, eighty-four years old. If I read the MSS. of the *Maṣṣīr* correctly, he was a Kāṭī, and looked upon his tribe with much favour. He was a man of great simplicity. It is said that he paid his contingent monthly.

Mūnis Khān, his son, was during the reign of Jahāngīr a Commander of Five Hundred, 130 horse. Abū Ṭālib, son of Mūnis Khān, was employed as treasurer (*Khizānchī*) of the Ṣūba of Bengal.

103. Rāy Durgā Sisodia.

Rāy Durgā is generally called in the *Akbarnāma*, Rāy Durgā Chandrawat, (چندراوات). The home of the family was the Pargana of Rāmpūr, also called Islāmpūr, near Chitor.

In the 26th year of Akbar's reign Rāy Durgā accompanied Prince Murād on his expedition against Mirzā Muhammad Ḥakīm of Kābul. In the 28th year he was attached to Mirzā Khān's (No. 29) corps, and distinguished himself in the Gujrat war. In the 30th year he was with M. 'Aziz Koka (No. 21) in the Dakḥin. In the 36th year he followed Prince Murād to Mālwa, and later to the Dakḥin.

In the 45th year Akbar sent him after Muzaḥfir Ḥusayn Mirzā. He then accompanied Abū 'l-Faṭl to Nāsik, and went afterwards home on

departure, i.e. on the 5th Jumādā I, 981. Hence the date 5th Jumādā I, 980, which Sayyid Ahmad gives, *Tuzuk*, p. 18, l. 16, should be corrected to 5th Jumādā I, 981.

The comparison of the several sources for a history of the MSS. is a truly herculean labour, which the want of the editors of our printed historical editions has very much

leave. He returned, but after six weeks went again home, apparently without permission.

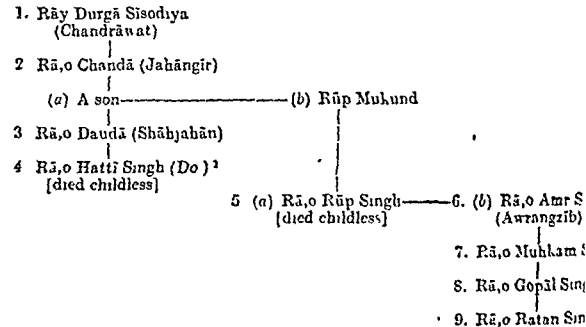
He died towards the end of the 2nd year of Jahāngīr's reign.

According to the *Tuzuk* (p. 63) he had served Akbar for upwards of forty years. Jahāngīr says, he had at first been in the service of Ūdai Singh, and reached, during the reign of Akbar, the dignity of Commander of Four Thousand. He is said to have been a good tactician.

The *Tabaqāt* says that he was in 1001 a Commander of Fifteen Hundred.

The *Maṣṣīr* continues the history of his descendants, from which the following tree has been taken.

Genealogy of the Rāyās of Rāmpūr (Islāmpūr), Chitor.



Rāy Ratan Singh turned Muhammadan, and got the title of *Mirzā Khān* (Aurangzib-Jahāndār Shāh).

104. Mādḥū Singh, son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās (No. 27).

He was present in the fight at Sarnāl (p. 353). In the beginning of the 21st year (Muharram, 984) he served under Mān Singh against Kikā, and distinguished himself in the battle of Goganda (21st I, 984).² In the 30th year he accompanied Mirzā Shāhruḥ

¹ There is some confusion in the MSS. and printed editions regarding his name in the *Padishāhnāma*, Ed. Bibl. Indica, I, b 305, he is called *Mādḥī Singh*; but Singh in the same work, Vol. II, p. 730 and *Ḥattī*, on p. 374.

² It was said above, p. 361, note 2, that the battle of Goganda was fought in 984 is the statement of the *Tabaqāt*, which the *Maṣṣīr* follows in its biographical notes on Mān Singh. But from the *Akbarnāma* and the History of Badā'uni who was present at the battle, and brought Albar Mān Singh's report, it is clear that Mān Singh set out on the 2nd Muharram, 984, and that the battle took place on the 21st Rabi' I of the year.

It has been remarked above (p. 363, note 1) that the chronology of the *Tuzuk* is erroneous. Badā'uni ascribes the errors to the omission of the intercalary days of confusion of solar and lunar years. Historians should bear this in mind. The *Maṣṣīr* is the only source for a history of Akbar's reign, and the *Sawānī* should be the work of the Historians.

on his expedition to Kashmīr. In the 31st year, after the death of Sayyid Hāmīd (No. 78), he took the contingent of Rājā Bhagwān from Thāna Langar, where he was stationed, to 'Alī Masjid, where Mān Singh was.

In the 48th year he was made a Commander of Three Thousand, 2,000 horse. According to the *Tabaqāt*, he had been, in 1001, a Commander of 2,000.

His son, *Chatr Sāl*, or *Satr Sāl*, was at the end of Jahāngīr's reign a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 1,000 horse. He was killed together with his two sons, Bīm Singh and Anand Singh, in the Dakhīn, in the 3rd year of Shāhjahān's reign. His third son, *Ugar Sen*, was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse (*vide* *Pādishāhn*, I, p. 294; I, b., pp. 305, 314).

105. Sayyid Qāsim, and 143. Sayyid Hāshim, sons of Sayyid Maḥmūd *Khān* of Bārha, Kūndliwāl (No. 75).

In the 17th year S. Qāsim served under *Khān* 'Ālam (No. 58) in the pursuit of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mirzā, who after his defeat by M. 'Azīz Koka (No. 21) had withdrawn to the Dakhīn.

S. Hāshim served, in the 21st year, with Rāy Rāy Singh (No. 44) against Sulṭān De'ora, ruler of Sarohī, and distinguished himself in the conquest of that place.

In the 22nd year both brothers served under Shāhbāz *Khān* (No. 80) against the Rānā. In the 25th year, when Chandr. Sen., son of Māldeo, raised disturbances, both brothers, who had *jāgīrs* in Ajmīr, were ordered to march against him. Both again distinguished themselves in the 28th year, and served in the *harāṭal* of Mirzā *Khān* (No. 29) in the Gujrāt war.

S. Hāshim was killed in the battle of Sarkich, near Aḥmadābād. S. Qāsim was wounded. He was subsequently appointed Thānadār of Patan. When Mirzā *Khān* went to Court, leaving Qulij *Khān* as Governor of Aḥmadābād, Qāsim was again appointed to a command and operated successfully against Muḥaffar, Jām (zamindār of Little Kachh), and *Khangār* (zamindār of Great Kachh).

On the transfer of Mirzā *Khān*, *Khān-i A'zam* (No. 21) was appointed Governor of Gujrāt. Qāsim continued to serve in Gujrāt, and distinguished himself especially in the 37th year. Later, he commanded the left wing of Sulṭān Murād's Dakhīn corps.

Qāsim died in the 44th year (1007). He was at his death a Commander of 1,500.

Regarding their sons, *vide* p. 427.

XII Commanders of Twelve Hundred and Fifty.

106. Rāy Sāl Darbārī, Shaykhāwat.

He is also called Rājā Rāy Sāl Darbārī, and is the son of Rājā Sojā, son of Rāy Rāy Mal Shaykhāwat, in whose service Ḥasan *Khān* Sūr (father of Sher Shāh) was for some time.

As remarked above (No. 23), the Kachhwāhas are divided into Rājāwats and Shaykhāwats. To the latter branch belong Rājā Lō Karan, Rāy Sāl, etc., the former contains Mān Singh's posterity (the present rulers of Jaipūr).

The term *Shaiikhāwat*, or *Shekhāwat*, as it is generally pronounced, is explained as follows. One of the ancestors of this branch had no sons. A Muḥammadan Shaykh, however, had pity on him, and prayed for him till he got a son. From motives of gratitude, the boy was called *Shaykh*.¹ Hence his descendants are called the Shaykhāwat Branch.

Rāy Sāl was employed at Court, as his title of *Darbārī* indicates. He was in charge of the Harem. During the reign of Jahāngīr, he was promoted, and served in the Dakhīn. He died there at an advanced age. He had twenty-one sons, each of whom had a numerous posterity.

Whilst Rāy Sāl was in the Dakhīn, Mādḥū Singh and other grandchildren of his, collected a lot of ruffians, and occupied Rāy Sāl's paternal possessions.² But Mathurā Dās, a Bengali, who was Rāy Sāl's Munshi and Vakil, recovered a portion of his master's lands.

After Rāy Sāl's death, his sons and grandsons lived, according to the custom of the Zamindārs of the age, in feud with their neighbours and with each other. Rājā Girdhar, Rāy Sāl's son, is almost the only one that distinguished himself at Court.

From the *Akbarnāma* we see that Rāy Sāl entered early Akbar's service; for he was present in the battle of *Khayārbād* (p. 414) in the fight at Sarnāl (*vide* 27), and accompanied the Emperor on his forced march to Patan and Aḥmadābād (p. 458. note).

The *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b., p. 314) mentions another son of Rāy Sāl's, Bhoj Rāj, who was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse.

The *Tabaqāt* says that Rāy Sāl, was in 1001 a Commander of Two Thousand. Abū 'l-Faḍl calls him in this list a Commander of 1250. This *manṣab* is unusual, and Rāy Sāl stands alone in this class. It does not

¹ He is the grandson of
² Called in a Khandhar ne

Shaykhji is said to have been (p. 348).
car Amber." Tod mentions

occur in the lists of Grandees in the *Pādīshāhnāma*. From other histories also it is clear that the next higher *Manṣab* after the *Hazārī* was the *Hazār o pānṣadī*, or Commander of Fifteen Hundred.

XIII. Commanders of One Thousand.

107. Muḥibb 'Alī Khān, son of Mir Khalifa.

This grandee must not be confounded with *Muḥibb 'Alī Khān Rahtāsī* (p. 466).

Muḥibb 'Alī Khān is the son of Mir Nizām 'd-Dīn 'Alī Khalifa, the "pillar of Bābar's government". He had no faith in Humāyūn, and was opposed to his accession. He therefore favoured Mahdī Khwāja, Bābar's son-in-law. Mahdī, a short time before Bābar's death, assumed a royal deportment. One day, Mir Khalifa happened to be in Mahdī's tent; and when he left, Mahdī, thinking himself alone, put his hand to his beard, and exclaimed, "Thou shalt by and by follow me." He had scarcely uttered these words, when he observed Muqīm-i Harawī¹ in the corner of the tent. Muqīm reported these words to Mir Khalifa, and upbraided him for giving Mahdī his support. Mir Khalifa thereupon changed his mind, forbade people to visit Mahdī, and raised, on Bābar's death, Humāyūn to the throne.

His son Muḥibb 'Alī Khān distinguished himself under Bābar and Humāyūn. His wife was Nāhid Begam, daughter of Qāsim Koka. Qāsim had sacrificed himself for Bābar. Bābar had fallen into the hands of 'Abdū 'Ilāh Khān Uzbek, when Qāsim stepped forward and said that he was Bābar. He was cut to pieces, and Bābar escaped. In 975, Nāhid Begam went to Thatha, to see her mother, Hāji Begam (daughter of Mirzā Muqīm, son of Mirzā Zū 'l-Nūn). After Qāsim Koka's death, Hāji Begam married Mirzā Ḥasan, and after him, Mirzā 'Īsa Tarḫān, king of Sindh (p. 390). Before Nāhid Begam reached Thatha Mirzā 'Īsa died. His successor, Mirzā Bāqī, ill-treated Hāji Begam and her daughter. Hāji Begam therefore collected a few desperate men and watched for an opportunity to get hold of M. Bāqī's person. The plot was, however, discovered, and Hāji Begam was put into prison. Nāhid Begam escaped and went to Bhakkar, where she was well received by Sulṭān Maḥmūd, ruler of the District. He persuaded her to ask Akbar to send her husband Muḥibb 'Alī to Bhakkar; and he would give him an army, if he liked to attack Thatha. Nāhid Begam did so on coming to Court, and Akbar,

in the 16th year (978), called for Muḥibb, who had then retired from court-life, and ordered him to proceed to Bhakkar.

Muḥibb set out, accompanied by *Mujāhid Khān*, a son of his daughter. Sa'īd Khān (No. 25), Governor of Multān, had also received orders to assist Muḥibb; but at Sulṭān Maḥmūd's request, Muḥibb came alone, accompanied by only a few hundred troopers. When he arrived at Bhakkar, Sulṭān Maḥmūd said that he had changed his mind: he might go and attack Thatha without his assistance; but he should do so from Jaisalmir, and not from Bhakkar. Muḥibb, though he had only 200 troopers, resolved to punish Sulṭān Maḥmūd for his treachery, and prepared himself to attack Bhakkar. Maḥmūd had 10,000 horse assembled near Fort Māthila (ماتھیلہ). Muḥibb attacked them, dispersed them, and took soon after the fort itself. He then fitted out a larger corps, and moved to Bhakkar, where he again defeated Maḥmūd. The consequence of this victory was that Mubārak Khān, Sulṭān Maḥmūd's vazir, left his master and went with 1,500 horse over to Muḥibb. But as Mubārak's son, Beg Oghlū, was accused of having had criminal intercourse with a concubine of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, Muḥibb wished to kill Beg Oghlū. Mubārak, who had not expected this, now tried to get out of Muḥibb's power. Muḥibb therefore killed Mubārak, and used the money which fell into his hands to complete his preparations for the siege of Bhakkar.

The siege had lasted three years, when famine and disease drove the inhabitants to despair. The swelling which is peculiar to the district decimated the people; and the bark of the *Sirs* tree (p. 238), the best remedy for it, could only be had for gold. Sulṭān Maḥmūd at last sent a message to Akbar, and offered the fort as a present to Prince Salim, if Muḥibb were recalled, and another grandee sent in his stead, who was to take him (Maḥmūd) to Court; for he said, he could not trust Muḥibb. Akbar accepted the proposal, and sent Mir Gesū, Bakūwal-begī, to Bhakkar.¹ Before Mir Gesū arrived, Sulṭān Maḥmūd had died. New complications arose on his arrival. *Mujāhid Khān* just besieged Fort Ganjāba,² and his mother Sāmi'a Begam (Muḥibb's daughter), who felt offended at Akbar's proceedings, dispatched a few ships against Mir Gesū, and nearly captured him. In the meantime Muqīm-i Harawī also arrived and dissuaded Muḥibb from hostilities against Mir Gesū.

¹ The conquest of Bhakkar is minutely related in the *Tārīkh-i Maṣṣūmī* (ride No. 329), from which Prof. Dowson in his edition of Elliot's History of India (I, p. 240 ff.) has given extracts. But Abū 'l-Faṣl's account contains a few interesting particulars and differences. For Dowson's Mir Kisū, we have to read Mir Gesū. His biography is given in the *Ala'ud-dīn*.
² Generally called *Ganjāwa*.

¹ Father of the Historian Nizām 'd-Dīn Ahmad, author of the *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*. Muqīm was then *Dīwān-i Dughlāt*.

The latter now entered Bhakkar (981) and the inhabitants handed the keys over to him.

But neither Muhibb nor Mujāhid felt inclined to leave for the Court, though their stay was fraught with danger. Muhibb therefore entered into an agreement with Mir Gesū, according to which Mujāhid should be allowed to go to Thatha, and that he himself with his whole family should be accommodated in Lohari. The arrangement had been partially carried out, when Mir Gesū dispatched a flotilla after Mujāhid. Muhibb upon this withdrew to Māthila. Sāmīfa Begam fortified the environs, and when attacked by Gesū's men, she successfully repulsed them for one day and one night. Next day, Mujāhid arrived by forced marches, defeated the enemy,¹ and occupied the land east of the river.

In the meantime, Akbar had sent Muḥammad Tarsō Khān (No. 32) as governor to Bhakkar, and Muhibb thought it now wise to go to Court.

In the 21st year, Muhibb received an appointment at Court, as a sort of *Mir 'Arz*. As he gave the emperor satisfaction, Akbar, in the 23rd year, allowed him to choose one of four appointments, the office of *Mir 'Arz*, the guard of the Harem, the governorship of a distant province, or the governorship of Dihli. Muhibb chose the last, and entered at once upon his office.

He died as Governor of Dihli in 989.

Muhibb is placed in the *Ṭabaqāt* among the Commanders of Four Thousand.

Regarding the town of Bhakkar, Abū 'l-Faḡl says that it is called in old books *Manṣūra*. Six rivers united pass by it in several branches; two branches lie to the south, one to the north. The town at the latter branch is called Bhakkar. On the second branch another town lies, called Lohari, and near it is the Indus.

Mirzā Shāh Ḥusayn Arghūn, king of Thatha, had Bhakkar fortified, and appointed as Commander his foster-brother, Sultān Maḥmūd. After Shāh Ḥusayn's death, Sultān Maḥmūd declared himself independent at Bhakkar, and Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān (p. 390) at Thatha. Both were often at war with each other. Sultān Maḥmūd is said to have been a cruel man.

As Bhakkar was conquered and annexed before Thatha, it was attached to the Ṣūba of Multān.

[Muhibb 'Alī Khān Rahtāsī.]

Like Muhibb 'Alī Khān, son of Mir Khalifa, Muhibb 'Alī Khān Rahtāsī is put in the *Ṭabaqāt* among the Commanders of Four Thousand. It is impossible to say why Abū 'l-Faḡl had not mentioned him in this list. His name, however, occurs frequently in the *Akbarnāma* and other histories. As he was a long time Governor of Rahtās in S. Bihār, he is generally called *Rahtāsī*. This renowned Fort had passed, in 945, into the hands of Sher Shāh. During his reign, as also that of Salīm Shāh, Faṭḥ Khān Batnī commanded the Fort. Subsequently it came into the hands of Sulaymān and Junayd-i Karrārānī. The latter appointed Sayyid Muḥammad commander. As related above (p. 437), he handed it over to Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80), at the time of the war with Gajpatī and his son Sri Rām (984).

In the same year, Akbar appointed Muhibb 'Alī Khān governor of Rahtās, and Shāhbāz Khān made over the Fort to him.

Muhibb rendered excellent services during the Bengal Military Revolt. His son also, Ḥabīb 'Alī Khān (*vide* No. 133), distinguished himself by his bravery, but was killed in a fight with one Yūsuf Miṭṭī, who had collected a band of Afghāns and ravaged S. Bihār. His death affected his father so much that he became temporarily insane.

In the 31st year, two officers having been appointed to each Ṣūba, Muhibb was ordered to join Vazīr Khān (No. 41), Governor of Bengal. In the 33rd year Bihār was given to the Kachhwāhas as *jāgīr*, and Akbar called Muhibb to Court, intending to make him governor of Multān. But as the emperor was just about to leave for Kashmir (997), Muhibb accompanied him.

Soon after entering Kashmir, Muhibb fell ill, and died, on the emperor's return, near the *Koh-i Sulaymān*. Akbar went to his sick-bed and saw him the moment he died.

In the *Akbarnāma* (III, p. 245) a place *Muhibb 'Alīpūr*¹ is mentioned which Muhibb founded near Rahtās.

108. Sultān Khwāja, 'Abdu 'l-'Azīm, son of Khwāja Khāwand Dost.

He is also called Sultān Khwāja Naqshbandī.² His father Khāwand Dost was a pupil of Khwāja 'Abdu 'sh-Shahīd, fifth son of Khwāja

¹ Not given on the maps.

² *Naqshband* was the epithet of the renowned saint Khwāja Bahāw 'd-Dīn of Bukhārā, born 728, died 3rd Rabi' 1, 791. He was called *naqshband*, because according to his own tale, he and his parents used to weave *kamkhābs* adorned with figures (*naqsh*).

¹ If Prof. Dowson's MSS. agree with his version (I, p. 241), the *Tārīkh-i Maṣṣūmī* would contradict the *Akbarnāma*. Mujāhid Khān is again mentioned, i.e., p. 282.

‘Abdu ‘Ilāh (generally called Khawājagān Khwāja; vide No. 17), son of the renowned saint Khwāja Aāshir ‘d-Dīn Ahrār (born 806, died 29th Rabi‘ I, 895).

When ‘Abdu ‘sh-Shahid came from Samarqand to India, he was well received by Akbar, and got as present the Pagana Chamāri. He remained there some time, but returned in 982 to Samarqand, where he died two years later.

Sultān Khwāja, though neither learned in the sciences nor in *tasawwuf* (mysticism), had yet much of the saintly philosopher in him. He possessed in a high degree the confidence and the friendship of the emperor. In 984 he was made *Mīr Hajj*, and as such commanded a numerous party of courtiers during the pilgrimage to Makkah. Never before had so influential a party left for Arabia: Sultān Khwāja was to distribute six *lāḥs* of rupees and 12,000 *ḥulṣats* to the people of Makkah.

On his return in 986 (23rd year) he was made a Commander of One Thousand, and appointed *Sadr* of the realm (p. 284). He held that office till his death, which took place in the 29th year (992). He was buried outside the Fort of Fathpūr, to the north.

His daughter, in the beginning of the 30th year, was married to Prince Dānyāl.

His son, Mīr Khwāja, was in the 46th year a Commander of 500.

According to Badā‘onī and Abū ‘l-Faḥl, Sultān Khwāja belonged to the elect of the “Divine Faith” (vide p. 214)

109. Khwāja ‘Abdu ‘Ilāh, son of Khwāja ‘Abdu ‘l-Latif

His name is not given in the *Ma‘āsir* and the *Tabaqāt*. The *Albar-nāma* mentions a Khwāja ‘Abdu ‘Ilāh who served in the war against Abdu ‘Ilāh Khān Uzbek (No. 14), in Mālwhā (971–2), during the last rebellion of Khān Zamān (No. 13), and in the fight at Sarnāl (middle of Sha‘bān, 980; vide No. 27). He also accompanied the emperor on his forced march to Patan and Ahmadābād. Vide the Lucknow Edition of the *Albar-nāma*, II, 285, 287, 367; III, 24.

110. Khwāja Jahān, Amīnā of Hirāt.

His full name is Khwāja Amīnu ‘d-Dīn Maḥmūd of Hirāt. The form Amīnā is modern Irānī, which likes to add a long ā to names.

Amīn was an excellent accountant and a distinguished calligrapher. He accompanied Humāyūn on his flight to Persia. On the return of the emperor, he was made *Bakhshi* of Prince Akbar.

On Akbar’s accession, Amīn was made a Commander of One Thousand, and received the title of Khwāja Jahān. He was generally employed in financial work, and kept the great seal. In the 11th year he was

accused by Muzaffar Khān (No. 37) of want of loyalty shown in the rebellion of Khān Zamān. Amīn was reprimanded. The great seal was taken from him, and he was dismissed to Makkah.

On his return, he was pardoned. In the 19th year (981–2) Akbar besieged Hājipūr; but Amīn had been compelled by sickness to remain behind at Jaunpūr. When the emperor returned from Hājipūr over Jaunpūr to Āgra, Amīn followed him. On the march, he was once charged by a *mast* elephant; his foot got entangled in a tent rope, and he fell to the ground. The accident had an injurious effect on Amīn, convalescent as he was. He died near Lakhnau in the beginning of Sha‘bān, 982.

According to the chronology of the *Tabaqāt*, his death took place in 983.

A son of Amīn’s brother is mentioned. His name was Mīrzā Beg. He was a poet and wrote under the *taḥallus* of Shahrī. He withdrew from Court, and died in 989.

Jahāngīr also conferred the title of Khwāja Jahān on the officer (Dost Muhammad of Kābul) who had served him as *Bakhshi* while Prince.

111. Tātār Khān, of Khurāsān.

His name is Khwāja Tāhīr Muhammad. In the 8th year he accompanied Shāh Budāgh Khān (No. 52) and Rūmī Khān (No. 146), and pursued Mīr Shāh Abū ‘l-Ma‘ālī, who withdrew from Ḥisār Firūza to Kābul.

He was then made governor of Dihli, where he died in 986.

The *Tabaqāt* says he was for some time *Vazīr*, and died in 985.

Regarding his enmity with Mullā Nūr ‘d-Dīn Tarkhān, vide Badā‘onī, III, 199.

112. Hakīm Abū ‘l-Fath, son of Mullā ‘Abdu r-Razzāq of Gilān.

His name is Masīh ‘d-Dīn Abū ‘l-Fath Mawlānā ‘Abdu r-Razzāq, his father, was a learned and talented man, and held for a long time the post of *Sadr* of Gilān. When Gilān, in 974, came into the possession of Tahmasp, Ahmad Khān, ruler of the country was imprisoned, and ‘Abdu r-Razzāq was tortured to death. Hakīm Abū ‘l-Fath, with his distinguished brothers, Hakīm Humām (No. 205) and Hakīm Nūr ‘d-Dīn,¹ left the country, and arrived, in the 20th year, in India (p. 181). They went to Court and were well received. Abū ‘l-Fath, in the 24th year, was made *Sadr* and *Amīn* of Bengal. At the outbreak of the military

¹ He is mentioned below among the poets of Akbar’s reign. His *taḥallus* is “Qarīn”. Their fourth brother, Hakīm Latīf ‘Ilāh, came later from Iran to India, and received through Abū ‘l-Fath’s influence a Command of Two Hundred (No. 354). He did not live long.

revolt, he was captured with several other officers (*vide* Nos. 98 and 159); but he escaped from prison, and went again to Court. He rose higher and higher in Akbar's favour, and possessed an immense influence in state matters and on the emperor himself. Though only a Commander of One Thousand, he is said to have had the power of a *Valīl*.

As related above (p. 367), he accompanied Bīr Bar on the expedition against the Yūsufzāīs in Sawād and Bijor. On his return, he was reprimanded, for the emperor, correctly enough, ascribed the disastrous issue of the campaign to Abū 'l-Fath's insubordinate conduct towards Zayn Koka (No. 34).

In the 34th year (997) he went with the emperor to Kashmir and from there to Zābulistān. On the march he fell sick, and died. According to Akbar's order, *Khawāja Shams*^u d'-Dīn (No. 159) took his body to Ḥasan Abdāl, and buried him in a vault which the *Khawāja* had made for himself (*Tuzuk*, p. 48). On his return, the emperor said a prayer at Abū 'l-Fath's tomb.

The great poet 'Urfi of Shīrāz (*vide* below, among the poets) is Abū 'l-Fath's encomiast. Fayzī also has composed a fine *marṣiya*, or elegy, on his death.

Abū 'l-Faṭl and Badā'onī speak of the vast attainments of Abū 'l-Fath. A rare copy of his *Munshuyāt*¹ is preserved in the Library of the As. Soc. Bengal (No. 780). He had a profound contempt for old Persian poets: thus he called Anwari diminutively *Anwariyak*; and of *Khaqānī* he said, he would give him a box on the ears if he were to come to him to rouse him from his sleepiness, and would send him to Abū 'l-Faṭl, who would give him another box, and both would then show him how to correct his verses (Badā'onī, III, 167).

Badā'onī mentions Abū 'l-Fath's influence as one of the chief reasons why Akbar abjured Islām (p. 184).

Abū 'l-Fath had a son, Fath^u 'llāh. He was killed by Jahāngīr, as he was an accomplice of *Khusrav* (*Tuzuk*, p. 58).

A grandson of Abū 'l-Fath is mentioned in the *Pādīshāhnāma* (II, p. 739). His name is Fath Ziyā; he was a Commander of Nine Hundred, 150 horse.

113. Shaykh Jamāl, son of Muhammad Balḥityār.

His full name is Shaykh Jamāl Balḥityār, son of Shaykh Muhammad Balḥityār. The Balḥityār clan had possessions in Jalesar, near Dhilli.

Shaykh Jamāl's sister held the post of superintendent in Akbar's

¹ His *Munshuyāt* contain interesting letters addressed by Abū 'l-Fath to his brother Ḥakīm Humām, the *Khān Khānan* (No. 29), *Khawāja Shams* (No. 159) and others.

harem, and procured for her brother a command of One Thousand. Jamāl's elevation excited much envy. One day, after taking some water, he felt suddenly ill. Rūp also, one of Akbar's servants, who had drunk of the same water, fell immediately ill. Akbar had antidotes applied, and both recovered.

In the 25th year he accompanied Ismā'īl Qulī *Khān* (No. 46) on his expedition against the rebel Niyābat *Khān*. Niyābat *Khān* was the son of Mir Ḥāshim of Nishāpūr, his name was 'Arab. Before his rebellion he held Jhosi and Aral (Jalālābās) as jāgīr. In the fight which took place near "Kantit, a dependency of Panna,"¹ Shaykh Jamāl was nearly killed, Niyābat *Khān* having pulled him from his horse.

In the 26th year he marched with Prince Murād against Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm of Kābul.

Shaykh Jamāl drank a great deal of wine. One day he brought such a smell of wine to the audience hall that Akbar felt offended, and excluded him from Court. Jamāl therefore squandered and destroyed the things he had with him, and assumed the garb of a *jogī*. This annoyed the emperor more, and Jamāl was put into prison. Soon after, he was pardoned; but he continued his old vice, and brought *delirium tremens* on himself. In the 30th year, when Akbar set out for Zābulistān, Shaykh Jamāl had to remain sick in Lūdhīyāna. He died there in the same year (993).

Jamāl has been mentioned above on p. 200.

114. Ja'far Khān, son of Qazāq Khān.

He is generally called in the histories Ja'far *Khān Taklū*, Taklū being the name of a Qizilbāsh tribe.

His grandfather, Muhammad *Khān Sharaf*^u 'd-Dīn Oghlū Taklū was at the time of Humāyūn's flight governor of Hirāt and *lalla*² to Sultān Muhammad Mirzā, eldest son of Shāh Tahmasp-i Ṣafawī. At the Shāh's order, he entertained Humāyūn in the most hospitable manner. When he died he was succeeded in office by his son Qazāq *Khān*. But Qazāq showed so little loyalty, that Tahmasp, in 972, sent

¹ The Bibl. Indica edition of *Badā'onī* (II, 289) says, the fight took place at *Gasht* (گشت), a dependency of *Palna* (پلنا), but this is a mistake of the editors. Sir H. Elliot (*Beames' Glossary* II, 166) has drawn attention to the frequent mistakes which MSS. make in the name of *Panna* (پنا), to which Kantit belonged. There is no doubt, that above, on p. 130, 12, and p. 129, note, we have likewise to read *Panna*, which was famous for its wild elephants.

² The word *lalla* is not in our dictionaries, though it occurs frequently in Persian historians, as the *Memoirs of Tahmasp*, the *Ṣālamara*, etc. I have never seen it used by Indian historians. From the passages where it occurs, it is plain that it has the same meaning as *ataliq*, which so often occurs in Indian histories, *vide* p. 383, note 3.

Ma'sūm Beg-i Šafawī against him. Qazūq fell ill, and when the Persians came to Hirāt, he died. Ma'sūm seized all his property.

Ja'far thinking himself no longer safe in Persia, emigrated to India, and was well received by Akbar. He distinguished himself in the war with Khān Zamān, and was made a *Khān* and a Commander of One Thousand. From *Badā'onī* (II, p. 161), we see that he had a *jāgīr* in the Panjāb, and served under Husayn Quli Khān (No. 24) in the expedition to Nagarkot.

According to the *Tabaqāt*, Ja'far's father did not die a natural death, but was killed by the Persians.

Ja'far had been dead for some time in 1001.

115. Shāh Fanā'ī, son of Mir Najafī.

His name is not given in the *Ma'āšir* and the *Tabaqāt*. From the *Akbarnāma* (Lucknow Edition, II, 170, 172) we see that he served in the conquest of Mālwa and took part in the battle near Sārangpūr (beginning of the 6th year; *vide* No. 120).

The poet *Fanā'ī* who is mentioned in *Badā'onī* (III, 296), the *Tabaqāt*, and the *Mir'ā'ī* 'l *Ālam*, appears to be the same. He travelled a good deal, was in Makkah, and distinguished himself by personal courage in war. Akbar conferred on him the title of *Khān*. He was a Chaghātā'ī Turk of noble descent. Once he said, in Akbar's presence, that no one surpassed him in the three C's—chess, combat, composition, when the emperor replied that he had forgotten a fourth, viz. conceit. For some reason, he was imprisoned, and when set at liberty it was found that he had become mad. He ran into the wilderness, and was no more heard of.

116. Asad^u 'Ilāh Khān, of Tabriz.

His name is not given in the *Ma'āšir* and the *Tabaqāt*. An Asad^u 'Ilāh Khān is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* (end of the 12th year). He served under Khān Zamān (No. 13) and commanded the town of *Zamāniyā* (p. 337, l. 14). After Khān Zamān's death, he wished to make over the town to Sulaymān, king of Bengal. But Mun'im (No. 11) sent a man to him to convince him of his foolishness, and quickly took possession of the town, so that the Afghāns under their leader, Khān Khānān Lodī, had to withdraw. This incident, however, brought the Afghān's into contact with Mun'im; and as they found him a tractable man, a meeting was arranged, which took place in the neighbourhood of Patna. This meeting was of importance, inasmuch as Khān Khānān Lodī, on the part of Sulaymān, promised to read the *Khutba*, and to strike coins in

Akbar's name. Bengal therefore enjoyed peace till the death of Sulaymān in 980.¹

The *Akbarnāma* mentions another officer of a similar name, Asad^u 'Ilāh *Turkmān*. He was mentioned above under 61.

117. Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān, of RadaKhshān.

From the *Akbarnāma* (III, 295) we see that he was killed in 988 in a fight with the rebel 'Arab Bahādūr. Shāhbāz Khān had sent Sa'ādat to a Fort² near Rahtās, where he was surprised by 'Arab, defeated and slain. It is said that 'Arab drank some of his blood.

118. Rūpsī Bairāgi, brother of Rāja Bihārī Mal (No. 23).

The *Ma'āšir* says that Rūpsī was the son of Rāja Bihārī Mal's brother. He was introduced at Court in the 6th year.

According to the *Tabaqāt*, he was a commander of Fifteen Hundred.

Jaymal, Rūpsī's son, was the first that paid his respects to Akbar (under 23). He served some time under Sharaf^u 'd-Dīn (No. 17), jāgirdār of Ajmīr, and was Thānadār of Mirtha. When Sharaf rebelled, Jaymal went to Court. In the 17th year he served in the *manḡalā* of Khān Kalān (*vide* No. 129) and accompanied the emperor on the forced march to Patan and Aḥmadābād (p. 458, note). In the 21st year he served in the expedition against Daudā, son of Rāy Surjan (No. 96), and the conquest of Būndī (Muḥarram, 985). Subsequently, he was sent by Akbar on a mission to the grandees of Bengal; but on reaching Chausā, he suddenly died.

Jaymal's wife, a daughter of Moth Rāja (No. 121), refused to mount the funeral pile; but Ūdai Singh, Jaymal's son, wished to force her to become a *Safī*. Akbar heard of it, and resolved to save her. He arrived just in time. Jagnāth (No. 69) and Rāy Sāl (No. 106) got hold of Ūdai Singh, and took him to Akbar, who imprisoned him.

The story of the heavy armour which Jaymal wore in the fight with Muḥammad Husayn Mirzā, after Akbar's forced march to Patan and Aḥmadābād, is known from Elphinstone's History (Fifth Edition, p. 509, note). Rūpsī was offended, because the emperor ordered Karān (a grandson of Māldeo) to put on Jaymal's armour, and angrily demanded it back. Akbar then put off his own armour. Bhagwān Dās, however, thought it necessary to ask the emperor to pardon Rūpsī's rudeness.

¹ According to the *Akbarnāma*, *Badā'onī*, and the *Tabaqāt*, Sulaymān died in 980. In Prinsep's Tables, Stewart's Bengal, etc., 981 is mentioned as the year of his death. The *Riyāz* 's-Salātīn, upon which Stewart's work is based, has also 981; but as this History is quite modern and compiled from the *Akbarnāma* and the *Tabaqāt*, 981 may be looked upon as a mistake. *Vide* note 3, p. 179.

² The MSs. call the Fort کست, کست, etc. It is said to be a dependency (a *muzāfāt*) of Rohtās.

He has been mentioned above, p. 13, note. His appointment to Bhakkar was made in 984, when Sayyid Muhammad Mir 'Adl (*vide* No. 140) had died.

Maqsūd 'Alī, who killed Istimād, is said to have been blind in one eye. When he explained to Istimād his miserable condition, his master insulted him by saying that someone should put urine into his blind eye. Maqsūd stabbed him on the spot. According to another account, Istimād was murdered by Maqsūd, whilst getting up from bed.

Istimād built *Istimādpur*, 6 *los* from Āgra. He had there a villa and a large tank. He also lies buried there¹

120. Bāz Bahādūr, son of Shajāwal Khān [Sūr].

Abū 'l-Fazl says below (Third Book, *Śūba* of Mālwa) that his real name was *Bāyazīd*.

Bāz Bahādūr's father was Shujā'at Khān Sūr, who is generally called in histories *Shajāwal*, or *Sajāwal*, *Khān*. The large town Shajāwalpur, or Sajāwalpur, in Mālwa bears his name;² its original name, *Shujā'atpur*, which Abū 'l-Fazl gives below under Sarkār Sūrangpur, Mālwa, appears to be no longer in use.

When Sher Shāh took Mālwa from Mallū (Qādir Khān), Shujā'at Khān was in Sher Shāh's service, and was made by him governor of the conquered province. In Salīm's reign, he returned to Court; but feeling dissatisfied with the king, he returned to Mālwa. Salīm dispatched a corps after him, and Shujā'at fled to the Rāja of Dūngarpūr. Some time after, he surrendered to Salīm, and remained with him, Mālwa being divided among the courtiers. Under 'Adlī, he was again appointed to Mālwa. After a short time, he prepared himself to assume the royal purple, but died (962).

Bāz Bahādūr succeeded him. He defeated several opponents, and declared himself, in 963, king of Mālwa. His expedition to Gashī was not successful, Rānī Dūrgāwati (p. 397) having repulsed him. He now gave himself up to a life of ease and luxury: his singers and dancing women were soon famous throughout Hindūstān, especially the beautiful Rūpmatī, who is even nowadays remembered.

¹ The trigonometrical maps have a village of the name of *Istimādpur Mendra* about 9 miles E. of Āgra, in the Pargana of Fathāli, near Samāra, where *Amrapāl* defeated Dārā Shikōh.

² A few MSS. have *Shajā'at Khān* for *Shajāwal Khān*, just as see 112. for *Sūrangpur*. *Shajāwal* also has *Shajā'at* (p. 511, note 1). It should be spelled "Shajā'at", whilst *Shajā'at* is pronounced *Shajā'*; but pronounced with a *a* over all India.

In the very beginning of the 6th year of Akbar's reign Adham Koka (No. 10) was ordered to conquer Mālwa. Pīr Muhammad Khān (No. 70) 'Abdu 'l-lah Khān Uzbek (No. 14), Qiyā Khān (No. 33), Bihāb Muhammad Khān of Qandahār (No. 95) and his son 'Adlī Khān (No. 125), Sādiq Khān (No. 43), Jālib 'Alī Khān (No. 133), Jāydar Muhammad Khān (No. 66), Muhammad Qulī Toghā'ī (No. 129), Qiyā Khān (No. 144), Mirak Bahādūr (No. 208), Samānī Khān (No. 147), Pāyanda Muhammad Mughl (No. 68), Mīr 'Alī Baidoz (No. 130), Shāh Fāzī (No. 116), and other grandees accompanied Adham. They met Bāz Bahādūr three *los* from Sūrangpur and defeated him (middle of 963). Bāz Bahādūr fled to the jungle on the Khāndeś frontier. He collected a new army, but was defeated by Pīr Muhammad, who had succeeded Adham. He then fled to Mirān Shāh of Khāndeś, who assisted him with troops. Pīr Muhammad in the meantime conquered Bājpur, threw him off suddenly upon Būhūnpūr, sacked the town, and allowed an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants. B. B. marched against him, and defeated him. As related above, Pīr Muhammad fled, and was drowned in the Narbūdī. The imperialists then upon got discouraged, and the jagirdārs left for Āgra, so that Bāz Bahādūr without opposition re-occupied Mālwa.

In the 7th year Akbar sent 'Abdu 'l-lah Khān Uzbek to Mālwa. Before he arrived, B. B. fled without attempting resistance, and withdrew to the hills. He lived for some time with Bhūjī, Zāhidnār of Bhopāl, and tried to obtain assistance from Chūngar Khān and Sher Khān of Gujrat, and lastly even from the Rājā of Gwal. Meeting nowhere with support, B. B. went to Rūnī Udā Singh. He then appeared to have thrown himself on Akbar's generosity; for in the 8th year Akbar ordered Hasan Khān Khushnāb² to conduct Bāz Bahādūr to Court. He now entered the emperor's service, and was made on his arrival a commander of One Thousand. Some time later, he was promoted to a *mansab* of Two Thousand. He had been dead for some time in 1001.

Bāz Bahādūr and his Representative buried together. Their tomb stands in the middle of a tank in Ujjain. *Vide* No. 112.

121. Udā Singh, Mōth Rājā, son of Rājā Mālwa.

The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* in 1001 a *Commander of Fifty* a *Hot-dod* and ruler of Jodhpūr.

² The 6th year of Akbar's reign was 963, and the 11th year, 1001, was the year of the death of Bāz Bahādūr. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* in 1001 a *Commander of Fifty* a *Hot-dod* and ruler of Jodhpūr.

Akbar, in 994, married Ūdai Singh's daughter to Jahāngīr. On p. 8 of the *Tuzuk*, Jahāngīr says that her name was *Jagat Gosā'inī*. She was the mother of Prince *Khurram* (Shāhjahān); *ibid* p. 323, l. 18.

Mirzā Hādī in his preface to Jahāngīr's Memoirs (the *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*) has the following remark (p. 6) "Rāja Ūdai Sing is the son of Rāja Māldeo, who was so powerful that he kept up an army of 80,000 horse. Although Rānā Sānkā, who fought with Firdaws-nakānī (Bihār) possessed much power, Māldeo was superior to him in the number of soldiers and the extent of territory, hence he was always victorious."

From the *Albarnāma* (Lucknow Edition, III, p. 183) we see that Moth Rāja accompanied in the 22nd year Šādiq Khān (No. 43), Rāja Askaran, and Ulugh Khān Hāshī (No. 135) on the expedition against Madhukar (29th Rabi' I, 985). In the 28th year he served in the Gujrāt war with Muzaffar (*Albarnāma*, III, 422).

Another daughter of Moth Rāja was married to Jaymal, son of Rūpi (No. 118)

122 *Ehwāja Shāh Mansūr*, of Shirāz.

Mansūr was at first *mushrif* (accountant) of the *Khushbū-Khāna* (Perfume Department). Differences which he had with Muzaffar Khān (No. 37) induced Sh. Mansūr to go to Jaunpūr, where Khān Zamān made him his *Dīcān*. Subsequently he served Mun'im Khān Khānān in the same capacity. After Mun'im's death he worked for a short time with Todar Mal in financial matters. In the 21st year (983), he was appointed by the emperor *Vazīr*. He worked up all arrears, and applied himself to reform the means of collecting the land revenue. The custom then was to depend on experienced assessors for the annual rate of the tax; but this method was now found inconvenient, because the empire had become greater; for at different places the assessment differed, and people and soldiers suffered losses. For this reason, the *Khwāja* in the 21th year, prepared a new rent roll, based upon the preceding *Dalsāla* roll, and upon the prices current in the 21th year. The empire itself, which did not then include Orissā, Thātīah, Kashmir, and the Dakkhin, was divided into 12 parts, called *Sūbas*; and to each *sūba* a *sipahsālār* (Military Governor), a *Dīcān*, a *Bālāshī* (Military Paymaster and Secretary), a *Mīr 'Adl*, a *Sadr*, a *Kotwāl*, a *Mīr Bahr*, and a *Wāqī'a Nau'is* (p. 268) were to be appointed. The strictness which the *Khwāja* displayed towards jāgīr-holders led to serious results. In the 23th year he lowered the value of the jāgīrs of the grantees in Bengal by one-fourth of their former value, and those in Bihār by one-fifth. As Bengal and South Bihār were then not completely subjugated, and the Afghāns still mustered large forces

in Eastern and Southern Bengal, in Orissā, and along the Western frontier of Bengal, Mansūr's rigour was impolitic; for Akbar's officers looked upon the old jāgīr emoluments as very moderate rewards for their readiness to fight the Afghāns. Akbar some time before, in consideration of the troubled state of both provinces, and the notorious climate of Bengal, had doubled the allowances of Bengal officers and increased by 50 per cent the emoluments of those in Bihār. This Mansūr cut down: he allowed Bengal officers an increase of 50, and Bihār officers an increase of only 20 per cent. He then wrote to Muzaffar to enforce the new arrangements. But the dissatisfaction was also increased by the innovations of the emperor in religious matters, and his interference with *Sayurghāl* tenures brought matters to a crisis. The jāgīr-holders in Jaunpūr, Bihār, and Bengal rebelled. That religious excitement was one of the causes of this military revolt, which soon after was confined to Bengal, is best seen from the fact that not a single Hindū was on the side of the rebels.¹ Todar Mal tried to prevent the outbreak: by reporting Mansūr and charging him with unnecessary harshness shown especially towards Ma'sūm Khān-i Farānkhūdi (No. 157) and Muhammad Tarsō (No. 32). Akbar deposed Mansūr and appointed temporarily Shāh Qulī Mahram (No. 45), but having satisfied himself of the justice of Mansūr's demands, he reinstated him in his office, to the great anxiety of the courtiers.

In the same year, Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, at Ma'sūm Khān-i Kābulī's instigation, threatened to invade the Panjāb, and Akbar prepared to leave for the north. Mansūr's enemies charged him with want of loyalty, and showed Akbar letters in the handwriting of Mirzā M Ḥakīm's Munshī, addressed to Mansūr. Accidentally Malik Šāni Ḥakīm's Dīwān, who had the title of *Vazīr Khān*, left his master, and paid his

¹ The chief rebel was Ma'sūm Khān-i Kābulī, who has been frequently mentioned above (pp. 198, 365, 377, 418, etc.). He was a *Turbati* Sayyid (*vide* p. 373, No. 37). His uncle, Mirzā 'Aziz, had been *Vazīr* under Humāyūn, and Ma'sūm himself was the foster-brother (*Lola*) of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother. Having been involved in quarrels with *Ehwāja Hasan Naqshbandī* (p. 339) who had married the widow of Mir Shāh Abū 'I Ma'ūlī, Ma'sūm, in the 20th year, went to Akbar and was made a commander of Five Hundred. He distinguished himself in the war with the Afghāns, and was wounded in a fight of One Thousand. In the 24th year he was again mentioned above. He was a commander of Fifteen Hundred. He died in the 12th year of Shāhjahān's reign. His son, Qubād, was a commander of Five Hundred.

The editors of the *Padishāhnāma*, Ed. Bibl. Indica, have entered Shujā's name twice, i. e. 304, and p. 308. As he was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, the second entry is wrong [Regarding his death *vide* *Albarnāma* III, 810 — B.]

respects to Akbar at Sonpat. As he put up with Manṣūr, new suspicions got afloat. Several words which Manṣūr was said to have uttered, were construed into treason, and letters which he was said to have written to M. M. Ḥakīm were sent to Akbar. Another letter from Sharaf Beg, his collector, was likewise handed to the emperor, in which it was said that Faridūn Khān (maternal uncle to M. M. Ḥakīm) had presented the Beg to the Mirzā. Akbar, though still doubtful, at the urgent solicitations of the grandees, gave orders to arrest Manṣūr; he should remain in arrest till any of the grandees should stand bail for him; but as none dared to come forward, they ordered the Khidmat Rāy (p. 262) to hang Manṣūr on a tree near Sarū Kot Khachwa (beginning of 989).¹

This foul murder gave the nobles the greatest satisfaction. But when Akbar came to Kābul (10th Rajab 989) he examined into Manṣūr's treasonable correspondence. It was then found, to the sorrow of Akbar, that every letter which had been shown to him had been a forgery, and that Manṣūr was not guilty of even one of the malicious charges preferred against him.

It is said, though at the time it was perhaps not proved, that Karam 'llah, brother of Shāhbāz Khān-i Kambū (p. 440, l. 23), had written the letters, chiefly at the instigation of Rāja Todar Mal.

Manṣūr had been Vazīr for four years.

123. Qutluḡ Qadam Khān, *Ākhta-begī*.²

The Turkish word *qutluḡ* means *mubārak*, and *qadam-i mubārak*, is the name given to stones bearing the impression of the foot of the Prophet. The *Tabaqāt* calls him *Qullū*, instead of *Qutluḡ*, which confirms the conjecture in note 2, p. 383.

Qutluḡ Qadam Khān was at first in the service of Mirza Kāmran, and then went over to Humāyūn.

In the 9th year of Akbar's reign, he assisted in the capture of Khwāja Muḥazzam, and served in the same year in Mālwa against 'Abdu 'llah Khān Uzbek (No. 14). In the battle of Khayrābād, he held a command in the van.

¹ So the *Albarnāma* *سرای کوت خاچوا*. Kot Khachwa is a village on the road from Karnāl to Ludhiyāna, Lat. 30° 17'; Long 76° 53'. In the Ed. Bibl. India of Badā'oni (II, pp. 293, 294) the place is called *کوت کج* *kajh Kot*, probably by mistake. Sharaf Beg, moreover, is called *Musbarraf Beg*, and a few lines lower, again *Sharaf Beg*. Badā'oni says nothing of Todar Mal's intrigues. Manṣūr was hanged in the very beginning of 989, i.e. the end of the 25th year. The 26th year of Akbar's reign commences on the 5th Safar 989 (the Lucknow Edition III, 325, has wrongly 990); and the 27th year commences 15th Safar 990, which in the Bibl. India Ed. of Badā'oni (II, p. 300, l. 2 from below) is wrongly called the 28th year.

² *Ākhta* means "a gelding", and *Ākhta-begī*, the officer in charge of the geldings (vide No. 65). This title is not to be confounded with the much higher title *Āibegī*, from the Turkish *ai*, a horse; vide p. 145, *Ā* in 65.

In the 19th year, he was attached to Munṣim's Bengal corps, and was present in the battle of Takarōi (p. 406). He was no longer alive in 1001.

His son, Asad (?) Khān, served under Prince Murād in the Dakhin, and was killed by a cannon ball before Dawlatābād.

124. 'Alī Qulī Khān, Indarābī.

Indarāb is a town of Southern Qunduz. A straight line drawn from Kābul northwards to Tālikhān passes nearly through it.

'Alī Qulī had risen under Humāyūn. When the Emperor left Kābul for Qandahār to inquire into the rumours regarding Bayrām's rebellion, he appointed 'Alī Qulī governor of Kābul. Later, he went with Humāyūn to India.

In the first year of Akbar's reign, he served under 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān (No. 13) in the war with Hemū, and accompanied afterwards Khizr Khwāja (p. 394, note 1) on his unsuccessful expedition against Sikandar Sūr.

In the fifth year, he served under Atga Khān (No. 15), and commanded the van in the fight in which Bayrām was defeated.

The *Tabaqāt* says that he was commander of Two Thousand, and was dead in 1001.

125. 'Ādil Khān, son of Shah Muḥammad-i Qalāti (No. 95).

He served under Adham Khān (No. 19) in Mālwa, and took a part in the pursuit of 'Abdu 'l-Khān Uzbek. Later, he assisted Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās (No. 31) on his expedition against Iskandar Uzbek; and was present at the siege of Chitor (p. 397). In the beginning of the 13th year (Ramazān, 975), Akbar was on a tiger-hunt between Ajmūr and Alwar. 'Ādil, who was at that time *muṣṭāb*, i.e., under reprimand, and not allowed to attend the Darbārs, had followed the party. A tiger suddenly made its appearance, and was on the point of attacking the Emperor, when 'Ādil rushed forward and engaged the tiger, putting his left hand into its mouth, and stabbing, with the dagger in his right, at the animal's face. The tiger got hold of both hands of his opponent, when others came up and killed the brute with swords. In the struggle 'Ādil received accidentally a sword cut.

He died of his wounds after suffering for four months. In relating his end, Abū 'l-Faḡl says that the wrath of heaven overtook him. He had been in love (*ta'alluq-i khāṭir*) with the wife of his father's Dīwān; but he was not successful in his advances. His father remonstrated with him, and 'Ādil in his anger struck at him with a sword.

Qiyām Khān, brother of 'Ādil Khān. Jahāngīr made him a Khān. He served the Emperor as *Qarāwalbegī* (officer in charge of the drivers).

126. Khwāja Ghiyās 'd-Dīn [ʿAlī Khān, ʿĀṣaf Khān II] of Qazwīn. He is not to be confounded with Mīr Ghiyās 'd-Dīn ʿAlī Khān (No. 161). For his genealogy, *vide* p. 398. The family traced its descent to the renowned saint Shaykh Ghiyās 'd-Dīn Suhrawardī,¹ a descendant of Abū Bakr, the Khalīfa.

Khwāja Ghiyās was a man of learning. On his arrival from Persia in India, he was made a Bakhshī by Akbar. In 981, he distinguished himself in the Gujrātī war, and received the title of ʿĀṣaf Khān. He was also made Bakhshī of Gujrāt, and served as such under M. ʿĀziz Koka (No. 21). In the 21st year, he was ordered to go with several other Amīr's to Idar, "to clear this dependency of Gujrāt of the rubbish of rebellion." The expedition was directed against Zamīndār Narāʿin Dās Rāthor. In the fight which ensued, the van of the Imperialists gave way, and Muqīm-i Naqshbandī, the leader, was killed. The day was almost lost, when ʿĀṣaf, with the troops of the wings, pressed forward and routed the enemies.

In the 23rd year, Akbar sent him to Mālwa and Gujrāt, to arrange with Shihāb Khān (No. 26) regarding the introduction of the Dāgh (pp. 252, 265).

He died in Gujrāt in 989.

Mīrzā Nūr 'd-Dīn, his son. After the capture of Khusraw (p. 455) Jahāngīr made ʿĀṣaf Khān III (No. 98), Nūr 'd-Dīn's uncle, responsible for his safety. Nūr 'd-Dīn, who was an adherent of the Prince, found thus means to visit Khusraw and told him that at the first opportunity, he would let him escape. But soon after, Khusraw was placed under the charge of Iʿtibār Khān, one of Jahāngīr's eunuchs, and Nūr 'd-Dīn had to alter his plans. He bribed a Hindū, who had access to Khusraw, and sent the Prince a list of the names of such grandees as favoured his cause. In four or six months, the number had increased to about 400, and arrangements were made to murder Jahāngīr on the road. But it happened that one of the conspirators got offended, and revealed the plot to Khwāja Waisī, Diwān of Prince Khurram, who at once reported matters to his august father. Nūr 'd-Dīn and Muhammad Sharif, son of Iʿtimād 'd-Dawla, and several others were impaled. The paper containing the list of names was also brought up; but Jahāngīr, at the request of Khān Jahān Lodī, threw it into the fire without having read it; "else many others would have been killed."

127. Farrukh Husayn Khān, son of Qāsim Husayn Khān. His father was an Uzbek of Khwarazm; his mother was a sister of Sultān Husayn Mirzā.

The Maʿāṣir and the Tabaqāt say nothing about him. A brother of his is mentioned in the Akbarnāma (II, p. 335).

128. Muʿīn 'd-Dīn [Aḥmad] Khān-i Farankhūdī.¹

Muʿīn joined Humāyūn's army when the Emperor left Kābul for Hindūstān. In the 6th year of Akbar's reign, he was made Governor of Āgra during the absence of the Emperor in the Eastern provinces. In the 7th year, when ʿAbd 'llah Khān Uzbek was ordered to re-conquer Mālwa, Muʿīn was made a Khān. After the conquest, he divided the province into khālīṣa and jāgīr lands, and performed this delicate office to Akbar's satisfaction. In the 18th year, Muʿīn was attached to Munʿim's Bihār corps. He then accompanied the Khān Khānān to Bengal, was present in the battle of Takaroi, and died of fever at Gaur (*vide* p. 407).

The Tabaqāt merely says of him that he had been for some time Mīr Sāmān.

For his son, *vide* No. 157.

Badāoni (III, p. 157) mentions a Jāmiʿ Masjid built by Muʿīn at Āgra.

129. Muhammad Quli Toqbā.

Toqbāʿi is the name of a Chaghtāʿi clan.

Muhammad Quli served under Adham Khān (No. 19) in the conquest of Mālwa (end of the 5th and beginning of the 6th year), and in the pursuit of Mīrzā Sharaf 'd-Dīn (No. 17) in the 8th year. In the 17th year (980) he served in the manqalā of the Khān-i Kalān (No. 16).² In the 20th

¹ Many MSS. have Farankhūdī. The Muʿjam mentions a place فرنگ, Farankad, which is said to be near Samarqand.

² Akbar left Fathpūr Sikri for Gujrāt, in the 20th Safar 980 (17th year), passed over Sangāni (8 miles south of Jamāl), and arrived on the 15th Ḥijab I. at Ajmir. On the 2nd Rabiʿ II, 980, he ordered Muhammad Quli Toqbāʿi to go to Baroda (manqalā), and left Ajmir on the 22nd Rabiʿ II. On the 10th Jumādā I, 980, Muhammad Quli Toqbāʿi and Akbar heard that Prince Dān had fled to Patana. Muhammad Quli Toqbāʿi reached Patana on the 1st Rajab, 980, and Aḥmadābād on the 14th of the same month. In the middle of Shaʿbān, 980, the fight at Sarnāl took place with Ibrāhīm Husayn Mirzā. On the 25th Shaʿbān, Akbar reached Baroda, and arrived at Sūrāt on the 7th Ramāzān, 980. On the 18th Ramāzān, 980, Mīrzā ʿĀziz defeated Muhammad Husayn Mirzā and the Fūlādīs at Patana. Sūrāt surrendered on the 23rd Shawwāl.

There are serious discrepancies in the MSS. regarding the day and year of Prince Dān's birth. The Tuzuk (Sayyid Ahmad's edition, p. 15) has the 10th Jumādā I, 979, which has been given above on p. 309. Badāoni (II, p. 139) has the 2nd Jumādā I, 980. The Akbarnāma has the 2nd Jumādā I, and relates the event as having taken place in 980. The MSS. of the Savānīnā also place the event in 980, but say that Dān was born on the 2nd Jumādā I, 979.

On the 6th Zi Qaʿda, 980, the 18th year of Akbar's reign commences. After the ʿid al-Qurbān (10th Zi Ḥijjaj, 980) Akbar returned over Patana and Jālor to Āgra, which he reached on the 2nd Safar, 981. After this, Muhammad Husayn Mirzā invaded Gujrāt, and took Bahrogh and Kambhī, etc., but was defeated by Qulij Khān and S. Ḥamid (No. 78).

¹ Author of the ʿAwārif 'l-Maʿārif. He died at Baghdād in 632. His uncle ʿAbd 'l-Najīb (died 663) was also a famous saint. Wüstenfeld's Jacut, III, p. 203, Najfīn 'l-Una, pp. 478, 544. Safinat 'l-Afkiyā (Lahore Edition), pp. 681, 683.

year, he was attached to MunSim's corps, and was present in the battle of Takaroi, and the pursuit of the Afghāns to Bhadrak (p. 375).

130. Mīr ʿAlī Khān Sildoz.

Sildoz is the name of a Chaghtā'i clan. According to the *Tabaqāt*, he was at first in Bayrām's service. In the end of 966, Akbar sent him to Fort Chanādū (Chunār) which Jamāl Khān, the Afghān Commander, wished to hand over to the Imperialists for a consideration (vide Badā'oni II, 32). Akbar offered him five parganas near Jaunpūr, but Jamāl did not deem the offer sufficiently advantageous, and delayed Mīr ʿAlī with vain promises. Mīr ʿAlī at last left suddenly for Āgra.

On his journey to Chanādū, he had been accompanied by the Historian Badā'oni, then a young man, to whom he had given lodging in his house at Āgra. On his return from the Fort, Badā'oni nearly lost his life during a sudden storm whilst on the river. Badā'oni calls him Mīr ʿAlī Beg, and says that he was later made a Khān and Governor of Chitor.

He served under Adham Khān (No. 10) in Mālwa, and in the Gujrāt wars of 980 and 981. In the 22nd year, Akbar was on a hunting tour near Hīsar, and honoured him by being his guest. In the following year, he attended Sakina Bānū Begum, whom Akbar sent to Kābul to advise his brother, Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. In the 25th year, he served under Todar Mal against the rebel ʿArab.

The *Tabaqāt* makes him a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, and says that he was dead in 1001.

131. Khwāja Ibrāhīm-i Badakhshī.

He is not mentioned in the *Maʿāzīr* and the *Tabaqāt*. From the *Akbarnāma* (II, p. 207) we see that he was Jāgirdār of Sakūt (in the Mainpūrī District). Near this town there were eight villages inhabited by robbers. In consequence of numerous complaints, Akbar resolved to surprise the dacoits. A great number were killed, and about one thousand of them were burnt in dwellings in which they had fortified themselves. Akbar exposed himself to great dangers; no less than seven

Ihtiyār ʿI-Mulk also appeared and marched upon Ahmadābād. Muḥammad Husayn Mirzā joined him. Both besieged Ahmadābād. Akbar now resolved again to go to Gujrāt. This is the famous nine days' march (24th Rabiʿ II, 981, to 4th Jumādā I, 981); vide p. 458, note. Muḥammad Husayn Mirzā was captured and killed, apparently without the order of the Emperor. Ihtiyār was also killed. Akbar then returns, and arrives, after an absence of forty-three days, at Fatḥpūr Sikri, 8th Jumādā II, 981.

It has been above remarked (p. 406, l. 21) that the Lucknow Edition of the *Akbarnāma* is not a trustworthy edition. An extraordinary error occurs in the events of the 17th year. The editors have divided the work into three, instead of two parts—the ʿĀ'in-i Akbarī, &c. the third part—and have ended their second volume with the birth of Dānyāl (2nd Jumādā I, 980). Their third volume opens with the beginning of the 18th year (6th Zi Qaʿda, 980). Hence they have omitted the important events which took place between these two days, viz., the conquest of Gujrāt and the first defeat of the Mirzās.

arrows struck in his shield, and his elephant fell with one foot in a grain pit, which threw the officer who was seated behind him with much force upon him. The fight chiefly took place in a village called in the MSS. *بروک* or *بروک*.¹

The *Tabaqāt* mentions a Sultān Ibrāhīm of Awba (near Hirāt) among Akbar's grandsons. His name is not given in the ʿĀ'in. He was the maternal uncle of Nizām 'd-Dīn Aḥmad, author of the *Tabaqāt*. He conquered Kamāon and the Dāman-i Koh.

132. Salīm Khān Kākar.²

Several MSS. of the ʿĀ'in call him Salīm Khān Kākar ʿAlī. The *Akbarnāma* calls him Salīm Khān Kākar, or merely Salīm Khān, or Salīm Khān Sirmūr. The *Tabaqāt* has Salīm Khān Sirmūr Afghān.

He served in the beginning of the 6th year in the conquest of Mālwa, and later under Muʿizz 'l-Mulk (No. 61) in Audh, and was present in the battle of Khayrābād. In 980, he took a part in the fight of Sarnāl. He then served in Bengal, and was jāgirdār of Tājpur. In the 28th year, he accompanied Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80) to Bhāṭī. As there were no garrisons left in Upper Bengal, Vazīr Khān having gone to the frontier of Orīṣā, Jabāri (vide p. 400, note 2) made an inroad from Kūch Bihār into Ghoraḡhāt, and took Tājpur from Salīm's men, and Pūrni, a from the relations of Tarsō Khān (No. 32). Jabāri moved as far as Tānda. The Kotwāl, Ḥasan ʿAlī, was sick, and Shaykh Allah Bakhsh Ṣadr fled in precipitate haste. Fortunately, Shaykh Farīd arrived, and Jabāri withdrew to Tājpur. In the 32nd year, Salīm served under Maṭlab Khān (No. 83) against the Tārikis, and shortly after, in the 33rd year, under Ṣādiq Khān against the same Afghān rebels.

He was no longer alive in 1001.

133. Ḥabīb ʿAlī Khān.

He is not to be confounded with the Ḥabīb ʿAlī Khān mentioned on p. 466.

Ḥabīb was at first in the service of Bayrām Khān. In the third year when Akbar had marched to Āgra, he ordered Ḥabīb to assist Qiyā Khān (No. 33) in the conquest. Towards the end of the fourth year, Akbar sent him against Rantanbhūr. This fort had formerly been in the possession of the Afghāns, and Salīm Shāh had appointed Jhuḡhār Khān governor. On Akbar's accession, Jh. saw that he would not be able to hold it against the Imperialists, and handed it over to Rāy Surjan (No. 96), who was then in the service of Rāna Ūdai Singh. But Ḥabīb had to raise the siege.

¹ Parōkh, nineteen kos south of Siyālkoṭ.—B.]

² Should be Ormar.—B.]

Abū 'l-Faṣl attributes this want of success partly to fate, partly to the confusion which Bayrām's fall produced.

In the 6th year (968) he served under Adham (No. 19), in Mālwa. According to the *Tabaqāt*, he died in 970.

131. Jagmāl, younger brother of Rājā Bihārī Mal (No. 23).

He must not be confounded with No. 218. Jagmāl was mentioned on p. 318. In the 8th year, he was made governor of Mithā. In the 18th year, when Akbar marched to Patan and Ahmadābād, he was put in command of the great camp.

His son Kangār. He generally lived with his uncle Rājā Bihārī Mal at Court. When Ibrahim Husayn Mirzā threatened to invade the Āgra District, he was ordered by the Rājā to go to Dillī. In the 18th year, he joined Akbar at Patan. In the 21st year, he accompanied Mān Singh's expedition against Rājā Partāb. Later, he served in Bengal, chiefly under Shāhbīz Khān (No. 89). When Shāhbīz returned unsuccessfully from Bhātī (p. 438) Kangār, Sayyid 'Abd' Allāh Khān (No. 189), Rājā Gopāl Mirzāda 'Alī (No. 152) met a detachment of rebels, and mistook them for their own men. Though surprised, the Imperialists held their ground and killed Nawrāz Beg Qāqshāl, the leader. They then joined Shāhbīz, and arrived after a march of eight days at Sherpūr Mūrcha.

According to the *Tabaqāt*, Kangār was in 1001 a Commander of Two Thousand. The phraseology of some MSS. implies that he was no longer alive in 1001.

135. Ulugh Khān Habshī, formerly a slave of Sultān Mahmūd of Gujrat.

Ulugh Khān is Turkish for the Persian *Khān-i Kalān* (the great Khān).

He rose to dignity under Mahmūd of Gujrat. The word *Habshī*, for which MSS. often have *Badaḥshī*, implies that he was of Abyssinian extraction, or a eunuch. In the 17th year, when Akbar entered for the first time Ahmadābād, he was one of the first Gujratī nobles that joined the Imperialists.

In the 22nd year, he served with distinction under Šādiq (No. 43) against Rājā Madhukar Bundela, Zamindār of Ūndcha. In the 24th year, he followed Šādiq who had been ordered to assist Rājā Todar Mal on his expedition against the rebel 'Arab (Niyābat Khān) in Bihār. He commanded the left wing in the fight in which Khabitā (p. 383, note 1) was killed.

He died in Bengal.

136. Maqsūd 'Alī Kor.

The *Tabaqāt* says that Maqsūd was at first in Bayrām Khān's service. He had been dead for a long time in 1001.

From the *Albarnāma* (II, 96) we see that he served under Qiyā Khān (No. 33) in the conquest of Gwāliyūr.

137. Qabūl Khān.

From the *Albarnāma* (II, p. 450, last event of the 15th year of Akbar's reign) we see that Qabūl Khān had conquered the District of Bhimbar on the Kashmir frontier. One of the Zamindārs of the District, named Jalāl, made his submission, and obtained by flattery a great power over Qabūl, who is said to have been a good-hearted Turk. Jalāl not only managed on various pretexts to send away Qabūl's troops, but also his son Yūdgar Husayn (No. 338), to Nawshahra. The Zamindārs of the latter place opposed Yūdgar, and wounded him in a fight. Exhausted and wounded as he was, Yūdgar managed to escape and took refuge with a friendly Zamindār. About the same time Jalāl collected his men and fell over Qabūl, and after a short struggle killed him (5th Ramazān, 978).

Akbar ordered Khān Jahān to invade the District. The lands of the rebellious Zamindārs were devastated and summary revenge was taken on the ringleaders.

Yūdgar Husayn recovered from his wounds. He is mentioned below among the commanders of Two Thousand.

The *Albarnāma* mentions another Qabūl Khān among the officers who served in the Afghān war in Bengal under Mun'im Khān Khānān. He was present in the battle of Takarā, and pursued the Afghāns under Todar Mal to Bhadrak (p. 406).

Neither of the two Qabūl Khāns is mentioned in the *Tabaqāt* and the *Ma'āzīr*.

Commanders of Nine Hundred.¹

138. Kūchak 'Alī Khān-i Kolāb.

Kolāb is the name of a town and a district in Badakhshān, long. 70°, lat. 30°. The District of Kolāb lies north of Badakhshān Proper, from which it is separated by the 'Āmū (Orus); but it was looked upon as part of the kingdom of Badakhshān. Hence Kūchak 'Alī is often called in the *Albarnāma* Kūchak 'Alī Khān-i Badakhshī.

¹ Not all MSS. of the *Ā'in* have these words; they count the officers from No. 153 to 175 amongst the Hazāris. But the best MSS. have this *manab*. In the lists of grandees in the *Ādākhshānāma* also the *manab* of Nine Hundred occurs.

He served under Munṣim Khān Zamān, and was present at the reconciliation of Baksar (Buxar) in the 10th year.

He also served under Munṣim Khān in Bengal, and held a command in the battle of Takaro, i (p. 406).

His sons are mentioned below, No. 148 and No. 380.

139. Sabdal Khān, Sumbul, a slave of Humāyūn.

140. Sayyid Muhammad, Mir ʿAdl, a Sayyid of Amroha.

Amroha, formerly a much more important town than now, belongs to the Sarkār of Sambal. Its Sayyids belonged to old families of great repute throughout India. Mir Sayyid Muhammad had studied the *Hadīs* and law under the best teachers of the age. The father of the Historian Badāʾonī was his friend. Akbar made Sayyid Muhammad, Mir ʿAdl. When the learned were banished from Court (*ikhṛāj-i ʿulamā*) he was made governor of Bhakkar.¹ He died there two years later in 981 (*vide* Nos. 119 and 251).

From the *Albarnāma*, we see that S. Muhammad with other Amroha Sayyids served, in the 18th year, under S. Maḥmūd of Bārha in the expedition against Rāja Madhukar.

He advised the Historian Badāʾonī to enter the military service of the emperor, instead of trusting to learning and to precarious *Madad-i maʿāsh* tenures, an advice resembling that of ʿAbdʾ I-Ḥafṣūr (*vide* No. 99, p. 451). S. Muhammad's sons were certainly all in the army; *vide* Nos. 251, 297, 363.

141. Razawī Khān, Mirzā Mirak, a Razawī Sayyid of Mashhad.

He was a companion of Khān Zamān (No. 13). In the 10th year, he went to the camp of the Imperialists to obtain pardon for his master. When in the 12th year Khān Zamān again rebelled, Mirzā Mirak was placed under the charge of Khān Bāqī Khān (No. 60), but fled from his custody (at Dihli, *Badāʾonī* II, 100). After Khān Zamān's death, he was captured, and Akbar ordered him daily to be thrown before a mast elephant; but the driver was ordered to spare him as he was a man of illustrious descent. This was done for five days, when at the intercession of the courtiers he was set at liberty. Shortly afterwards he received a manṣab, and the title of Razawī Khān. In the 19th year, he was made *Diwān* of Jaunpūr, and in the 24th year, *Bakhshī* of Bengal in addition to his former duties.

At the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt (25th year), he was with Muẓaffar Khān (No. 37). His harsh behaviour towards the dissatisfied *grandees* is mentioned in the histories as one of the causes of

¹ In 983, the 20th year (*Albarnāma* III, 138). *Badāʾonī* (III, p. 75) has 984.

the revolt. When the rebels had seceded (9th Zi Ḥijjah, 987) and gone from Tānda to Gaur, Muẓaffar sent Razawī Khān, Rāy Patr Dās (No. 196) and Mir Ahmad Munshī to them to try to bring them back to obedience. Things took indeed a good turn, and everything might have ended peacefully when some of Rāy Patr Dās's Rājputs said that the opportunity should not be thrown away to kill the whole lot. Rāy Patr Dās mentioned this to Razawī Khān, and through him, it appears, the rebels heard of it. They took up arms and caught Rāy Patr Dās. Razawī Khān and Mir Ahmad Munshī surrendered themselves.

The Maʿāṣir says that nothing else is known of Razawī Khān. The *Tabaqāt* says that he was a Commander of Two Thousand, and was dead in 1001.

Mirzā Mirak is not to be confounded with *Mirak Khān*, "an old grandee, who died in 975" (*Tabaqāt*); or with *Mirak Bahādur* (208).

Shāhjahān conferred the title of Razawī Khān on Sayyid ʿAlī, son of Ṣadr ʿ-Ṣudūr Mirān S. Jalāl of Bukhārā.

142. Mirzā Najāt Khān, brother of Sayyid Barka, and

149. Mirzā Husayn Khān, his brother.

Both brothers, according to the *Tabaqāt*, were dead in 1001. Their names are often wrongly given in MSS., which call them *Najābat*, instead of *Najāt*, and *Hasan* instead of *Husayn*.

From the *Albarnāma* (I, 411) we see that both brothers accompanied Humāyūn on his march to India.

Mirzā Najāt served, in the 10th year, against Khān Zamān (No. 13). In the end of the 21st year, he was attached to the corps which under Shihāb Khān (No. 26) moved to Khandesh, the king of which, Rāja ʿAlī Khān, had shown signs of disaffection. Later, he served in Bengal. When the Military Revolt broke out, Bābā Khān Qāqshāl (*vide*, p. 399, note 2), Jahāri (p. 400), Vazīr Jamil (No. 200), Saʿid-i Toqbāʿi, and other *grandees*, marched on the 9th Zi Ḥijja, 987, from Tānda to Gaur across the Ganges. Mir Najāt was doubtful to which party to attach himself; and when Muẓaffar sent his *grandees* [Mir Jamāl ʿd-Dīn Husayn Injū (No. 164), Razawī Khān (No. 141), Timūr Khān (No. 215), Rāy Patr Dās (No. 196), Mir Adham, Husayn Beg, Ḥakīm Abū ʿI-Fath (No. 112), *Khwāja* Shams ʿd-Dīn (No. 159), Jaʿfar Beg (No. 98), Muhammad Qulī Turkman (No. 203), Qasim Khān-i Sistānī, ʿIwaz Bahādur, Zulf ʿAlī Yazdī, Sayyid Abū Is-ḥāq-i Ṣafawī (No. 384), Muẓaffar Beg, etc.] to the banks of the Ganges, where the rebels had drawn up their army, Mir Najāt stayed with Vazīr Jamil, although Muẓaffar, who was Najāt's father-in-law, fully expected him to join. He must have soon after left

the rebels and gone to Southern Bengal; for in the end of the 25th year he was at Sitgāw (Hūgli). Abū 'I-Faṣl mentions him together with Murād Khān at Pāthabād (No. 31), and Qiyā Khān in Orīṣā (No. 33), as one of the few that represented Imperialism in Bengal (*Albarn.* III, 291). But these three were too powerless to check the rebels. Murād died, and Qiyā was soon after killed by the Afghāns under Qutlū, who looked upon the revolt as his opportunity. Mir Najāt also was attacked by Qutlū and defeated near Salimābād (Sulaymānābād), S. of Bardwān. He fled to the Portuguese governor of Hūgli.¹ Bābā Khān Qāqshāl sent one of his officers to get hold of Najāt; but the officer hearing of Qutlū's victory, attacked the Afghāns near Mangalkot, N.E. of Bardwān. Qutlū, however, was again victorious.

113. Sayyid Hāshim, son of Sayyid Maḥmūd of Bārha. Vide No. 105, p. 461.

114 Ghāzi Khān-i Badakhshī.

In MSS., *Ghāzi* is often altered to *Qāzi*, and *Badakhshī* to *Balakhshī*, and as Ghāzi Khān's first title was *Qāzi Khān*, his name is often confounded with No. 223. Other *Ghāzi Khāns* have been mentioned above, on pp. 395, 418.

Ghāzi Khān's name was Qāzi Nizām. He had studied law and Hadīḡ, under Mullā 'Alī-ḡ 'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm, and was looked upon as one of the most learned of the age. He was also the *murīd* of Shaykh Ḥusayn of Khwārazm, a renowned Sūfi. His acquirements procured him access to the court of Sulaymān, king of Badakhshān (No. 5), who conferred upon him the title of *Qāzi Khān*. At the death of Humāyūn, Sulaymān, wishing to profit by the distracted state of the country, moved to Kābul and besieged Munṣim (No. 11). After the siege had lasted for some time, Sulaymān sent Qāzi to Munṣim to prevail on him to surrender. But Munṣim detained him for several days, and treated him "to the most sumptuous fare, such as Badakhshīs cannot enjoy even in peaceful times." The good dinners made such an impression on Qāzi Khān that he advised Sulaymān to raise the siege, as there was no lack of provisions in the fort. Sulaymān thereupon returned to Badakhshān.

Subsequently Qāzi Khān left his master, and went to India. At Khānpūr he was introduced to the emperor on his return from Jaunpūr (*Albarn.*, III, 85). He received several presents, and was appointed *Parrānchī* writer (p. 273). Akbar soon discovered in him a man of great insight, and made him a Commander of One Thousand. He also bestowed upon

him the title of *Ghāzi Khān*, after he had distinguished himself in several expeditions.

In the 21st year, Ghāzi Khān commanded the left wing of Mān Singh's corps in the war with the Rānā. Though his wing gave way, he returned with the troops and joined the van, and fought bravely. He then received Awadh as *tuyūl*, and distinguished himself in Bihār against the rebellious grandees.

He died at Awadh in the 29th year (992) at the age of seventy, about the same time that Sultān Khwāja died (No. 109).

Ghāzi Khān is the author of several works (*vide* Badā'onī III, 153).

The *sijda*, or prostration, which formed so important a part in the ceremonies of the Court, was his invention (*vide* p. 167, note).

His son Ḥusām 'd-Dīn. Akbar made him a Commander of One Thousand, and sent him with the Khān Khānān (No. 29) to the Dakhin. Suddenly a change came over Ḥusām, and though a young man, he expressed to the commander his wish to resign the service and live as a faqir at the tomb of Nizām 'd-Dīn Awliyā in Dihli. The Khān Khānān persuaded him in vain to give up this mad idea; but Ḥusām next day laid aside his clothes, smeared his body with clay and mud, and wandered about in the streets and bazars. Akbar permitted his resignation. Ḥusām lived for thirty years as an ascetic in Dihli. Khwāja Bāqī Billah (born at Kābul and buried at Dihli) conferred on him power of "guiding travellers on the road of piety." He died in 1034. His wife was Abū 'I-Faṣl's sister. She gave at the request of her husband her ornaments to Darwishes, and fixed an annual sum of 12,000 Rupees as allowance for the cell of her husband. *Vide* Tuzuk, p. 80.

145. Farhat Khān, Mihtar Sakā'i, a slave of Humāyūn.

The MSS. have *Sakā'i* and *Sakāhī*. Farhat Khān is first mentioned in the war between Humāyūn and Mirzā Kāmrān, when many grandees joined the latter. In a fight, Beg Bābā of Kolāb lifted up his sword to strike Humāyūn from behind. He missed and was at once attacked by Farhat, and put to flight. When Humāyūn left Lāhor on his march to Sarhind, where Sikandar Khān was, Farhat was appointed *Shiqdār* of Lāhor.¹ Subsequently, Mīr Shāh Abū 'I-Ma'ālī was appointed Governor of Lāhor. He sent away Farhat, and appointed his own men instead. Farhat therefore joined Prince Akbar on his arrival in the Panjāb.

¹ *Albarnāma* I, 416. At the same time, Mīr Bābūs (No. 73) was appointed *Faujdar* of the Panjāb, Mirzā Shāh Sultān was made Amin, and Mihtar Jawhar, treasurer. Humāyūn was on the 29th Muharram, 962, at Bīgrām, crossed the Indus on the 5th Safar, when Bayrām arrived from Kābul, was at Lāhor on the 2nd Rabi' II, and at Sarhind, on the 7th Rajab.

¹ The MSS. of the *Albarnāma* call him *Bartab Bār Firingī*, or *Partab Firingī*.

After Akbar's accession, Farhat was made *Tuyūldār* of Korra. He distinguished himself in the war with Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mirzā near Aḥmadābād. When the Mirzā was brought in a prisoner, Farhat refused him a drink of water which he had asked for; but Akbar gave him some of his own water, and remonstrated with Farhat for his cruelty. In the 19th year, he served in Bihār and was made *jāgirdār* of Āra. In the 21st year (984), Gajpati (p. 437) devastated the district. Farhang Khān, Farhat's son, marched against him, but was repulsed and slain. Farhat then moved against the enemy to avenge the death of his son, but met with the same fate (*vide* No. 80).

146. Rūmī Khān, Ustād Jalabī (?), of Rūm.

He is not mentioned in the *Tabaqāt* and the *Maʿāṣir*, and but rarely in the *Akbarnāma*. In the 20th year, he and Bāqī Khān (No. 60) and ʿAbd-ʿ-Ṛaḥmān Beg (No. 186) accompanied a party of Begams from Court on their road to Makkah. The party consisted of Gulbadan Begam, Salima Sulṭān Begam, Hājī Begam, Gulʿāzūr Begam, Sulṭān Begam (wife of Mirzā ʿAskari), Umm Kulsum Begam (granddaughter of Gulbadan Begam), Gujnār Aghā (one of Bābar's wives), Bibi Ṣafiya, Bibi Sarw-ī Sahī and Shāham Aghā (wives of Humāyūn), and Salima Khānum (daughter of Khizr Khwāja). They left in Rajab, 983.

Rūmī Khān has also been mentioned above (No. 111).

147. Samānījī Khān Qurghūjī (*vide* No. 100).

He was a grandee of Humāyūn. During the reign of Akbar, he reached the dignity of a Commander of Fifteen Hundred. The *Tabaqāt* says he was, in 1001, a Commander of 2,000. In the same work he is called a *Mughul*.

In the beginning of the 6th year (middle of 968) he served in Mālwa under Adham Khān (No. 19) and was present in the battle of Sārangpūr. In the 9th year, he accompanied Muḥammad Qāsim Khān-i Nishāpūrī (No. 40) and pursued ʿAbd-ʿIlāh Khān Uzbek (No. 14). In the 13th year, he was ordered, together with Ashraf Khān Mir Munshī (No. 74), to go to Rantambhūr and suppress the disturbances created by Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn in Mālwa. Later, he held a *jāgīr* in Āra.¹ He joined at first the rebellious grandees, but convincing himself of their selfishness, he went back to the Imperial camp.

In the 39th year, he was allowed to come to Court, and died a few years later. His sons received employments in the army.

From the *Akbarnāma* (III, 156) we see that he also served in the

¹ The *Maʿāṣir* has *Awadh*. At the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt, he was *Jāgirdār* of the Āra District (*Akbarn*, III, 244).

21st year under Khān Jahān (No. 24) and was present in the battle of Āg Maḥall. In the 30th year, he was in Mālwa and was ordered to join the Dakhin corps. Two years later, he served under Shihāb Khān (No. 26) against Rāja Madhukar.

148. Shāhbeg Khān, son of Kūchak ʿAlī Khān of Badakhshān (Nos. 138 and 380).

His name is not given in the *Maʿāṣir* and the *Tabaqāt*. Amīr Beg, a Pāṇṣadī under Shāhjahān, appears to be his son.

149. Mirza Husayn Khān, brother of Mirzā Najāt Khān (*vide* No. 142).

150. Hakīm Zambil, brother of Mirzā Muḥammad Ṭabīb of Sabzwār. Zambil means "a basket". In the list of the physicians of the Court, lower down, he is called Hakīm Zambil Beg. Badāʾonī says, he was a *mugarrīb*, or personal attendant on the emperor.¹

151. Khudāwand Khān-i Dakhinī.

Khudāwand Khān was a Nizāmshāhī Grandee. As his father was born at Mashhad, Kh. is often called *Mashhadī*. He was of course a Shiʿah.

He was a man of imposing stature, and well known for his personal courage. When Khwāja Mirak of Iṣfahān, who had the title of Chingiz Khān, was the Vakīl of Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh, Kh. rose to dignity. He held several districts in Barār as jāgīr. The Masjid of Rohankhera² was built by him.

In 993, when Mīr Murtaẓā of Sabzwār (No. 162) commanded the army of Barār, and was no longer able to withstand Ṣalābat Khān Chirgis in the Dakhin, Kh. accompanied M. Murtaẓā to Hindūstān. Both were well received by Akbar, and Kh. was made a Commander of One Thousand. He received Paṭan in Gujrāt as *tuyūl*.

He was married to Abū ʿI-Faẓl's sister, and died at Karī in the end of the 34th year, before the middle of 998 (*Badāʾonī* II, 372, where in the *Tārīkh* of his death the word *Dakhinī* must be written without an *h*).

Once Abū ʿI-Faẓl had invited several grandees, Khudāwand among them. The dishes placed before Kh. contained fowls and game and different kinds of vegetables, whilst the other guests had roast meat. He remarked it, took offence, and went away. Although Akbar assured him that Abū ʿI-Faẓl had treated him to fowls and game according to a Hindūstānī custom, Kh. disliked Abū ʿI-Faẓl, and never went again to his house. "Hence Dakhinis are notorious in Hindūstān for stupidity."

¹ The Edit. Bibl. Indica of Badāʾonī (III, 164) calls him wrongly *Hakīm Zīnāl Shīrāzī*. Zīnāl is the reading of bad MSS., and *Sabzwārī* is often altered to *Shīrāzī*. Other bad MSS. have *Ranbel*.

² Rohankhera " " in the district of Buldāna. In Abū ʿI-Faẓl's list of one *Qawāl-i Khudāwand Khān*.

The *Tabaqāt* puts Kh. among the Commanders of Fifteen Hundred, and says that he died in 995. The *Ma'āshir* has 997.

152. Mirzāda 'Alī Khān, son of Muhtaram Beg.¹

He served in the 9th year in Mālwa during the expedition against 'Abdu' llah Khān Uzbek (No. 14). In the 17th year, he served in the Gujrāt war under the Khān-i Kalān (No. 16). Two years later, he commanded an expedition against Qāsim Khān Kāsū, who with a corps of Afghāns ravaged the frontiers of Bihār. In the 23rd year, he accompanied Shāhbāz Khān in the war with Rānā Partāb.² He then served in Bihār under Khān-i A'zam (25th year) and in Bengal under Shāhbāz Khān (*vide* No. 134, p. 483). In the 30th year (993) he was present in the fight with Qutlū near Mangalkot (Bardwān). In the 31st year, he was ordered to join Qāsim Khān (No. 59), who was on his way to Kashmīr. Not long after, in 995 (32nd year) he was killed in a fight with the Kashmīris who defeated an Imperial detachment under Sayyid 'Abdu' llah Khān (No. 189).

Badā'onī (III, p. 326) says he was a poet. He places his death in 996.

153. Sa'ādat Mirzā, son of Khizr Khwāja Khān (p. 394, note).

154. Shimāl Khān Chela.

Chela means "a slave". The *Tabaqāt* says he was a Qurchī, or armour-bearer of the emperor, and a genial companion. He was made a *Hazārī*. and was no longer alive in 1001.

In the 9th year, he assisted in the capture of Khvāja Mu'azzam. In the 20th year, he served in the war against Chandr Sen, during which Jalāl Khān (No. 213) had lost his life, and afterwards under Sayyid Aḥmad (No. 91) and Shāhbāz (No. 80) in the expedition to Siwāna.

155. Shāh Ghāzī Khān, a Sayyid from Tabriz.

The *Tabaqāt* calls him a Turkmān, and says, he was dead in 1001. He served in the 19th year with Mirzāda 'Alī Khān (No. 152) against Qāsim Khān Kāsū.

He may be the Shāh Ghāzī Khān mentioned below under No. 161.

156. Fāzil Khān, son of Khān-i Kalān (No. 16).

He was mentioned above, on p. 339.

157. Ma'sūm Khān, son of Mu'īnu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad Farānkhūdi (No. 128).

He is not to be confounded with Ma'sūm Khān-i Kābulī (p. 476, note).

¹ He is also called *Mirzād 'Alī Khān*. My text edition has wrongly *Mirzā 'Alī Khān*. For *Muhtaram* many MSS. read wrongly *Mahram*.

His father, Muhtaram Beg, was a grandee of Humāyūn's Court.

² Generally called in the Histories *Rānā Kikā*.

Ma'sūm was made a *Hazārī* on the death of his father, and received Ghāzīpūr as *tuyūl*. He joined Toḍar Mal in Bihār, though anxious to go over to the rebels (pp. 376-7). Not long afterwards, Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother, threatened to invade the Panjāb, and as the emperor had resolved to move personally against him, Ma'sūm thought it opportune to rebel. He seized Jaunpūr and drove away Tarsū Khān's men (No. 32). As Akbar had known him from a child, he was inclined to pardon him, provided he left Jaunpūr, and accepted Awadh as *tuyūl*. This M. did; but he continued to recruit, and when Shāh Qulī Mahram and Rāja Bir Bar had failed to bring him to his senses, Shāhbāz Khān, on hearing of his conduct, determined to punish him. The events of the expedition have been related on p. 437.

After his defeat near Awadh, M. threw himself into the town; but as several rebel chiefs had left him, he absconded, without even taking his family with him. He applied to two Zamindārs for assistance; but the first robbed him of his valuables, and the latter waylaid him, and had it not been for a bribe, M. would not have escaped. About this time one of his friends of the name of Maqṣūd joined him and supplied him with funds. M. collected men and surprised and plundered the town of Bahrūich. Vazīr Khān (No. 41) and others moved from Hājīpūr against him; but M. escaped them. After plundering the town of Muḥammadābād, he resolved to surprise Jaunpūr, when the *tuyūldārs* of the district marched against him. Being hard pressed, he applied to M. 'Azīz Koka (No. 21) to intercede for him. Akbar again pardoned him, and gave him the Pargana Mihsī, Sarkār Champāran, as *tuyūl*. But M. continued in a rebellious attitude, and when M. 'Azīz prepared to punish him, he applied for leave to go to Court. He arrived, in the 27th year, in Agra, and was again pardoned, chiefly at the request of Akbar's mother.

Soon after, on going home one night from the Darbār, he was killed on the road. An inquiry was ordered to be held, but without result, and people believed that Akbar had connived at the murder. Compare with this the fate of Nos. 61 and 62, two other Bihār rebels.

158. Tolak Khān Qūchin.

Tolak commenced to serve Bābar. He joined Humāyūn on his return from Persia. When the emperor had seized on Kābul, and M. Kūrām came near the town under the mask of friendship, many of Humāyūn's grandees went over to him, and the emperor was obliged to retreat northwards to Zāḥāk (نيسابان) and Bāmiyān, where he hoped to find faithful officers. He sent, however, Tolak and several others to Kābul.

to bring him correct information, but Tolak alone returned. For his faithfulness he was made Qurbegi.

Tolak accompanied Humāyūn to India. After the emperor's death, he belonged to those who supported the young Akbar, and was instrumental in the capture at a dinner party of Mir Shāh Abū 'l-Ma'sālī. Afterwards, T. went to Kābul, where he remained for a long time. In the 7th year of Akbar's reign, he was suddenly imprisoned by the young and hasty Ghani Khān, son of Mun'im Khān (No. 11), who was in charge of Kābul. Tolak managed to escape, and went to Bābā Khātūn, his jāgir, collecting men to take revenge on Ghānī. A favourable opportunity presented itself when Ghānī one day had left Kābul for a place called Khwāja Sayyārān (خواجه سیاران), to waylay a caravan from Balkh. He was just feasting with his companions, when Tolak Khān fell upon them. Ghānī, who was drunk, was caught, and Tolak marched to Khwāja Awāsh (خواجه اواش), a place two kos distant from Kābul. But he was opposed by Fazīl Beg (Mun'im's brother) and his son Abū 'l-Faṭḥ (called wrongly 'Abd' 'l-Faṭḥ, on p. 318), and thought it advisable to let Ghānī go. Ghānī immediately collected men and pursued Tolak, who now prepared himself to go to Hindūstān. Ghānī overtook him near the Āb-i Ghorband and killed Bābā Qūchīn, and several other relations and friends of Tolak. Tolak himself and his son Isfandiār managed to cut their way through the enemies, and arrived safely in India. Akbar gave Tolak a jāgir in Mālwa, where he remained for a long time.

In the 18th year, T. served under Khān Khānān (No. 29) in Mālwa and Gujrāt, and defeated Sayyid Dawlat in Kambhāt. He distinguished himself in the fights with Muzaffar, and served under Qulij Khān (No. 42) in the conquest of Bahrich. In the 30th year, he was attached to the corps which under M. 'Aziz Koka was to be sent to the Dakkhin. Having indulged in slander during the disagreement between M. 'Aziz Koka and Shihāb' 'd-Dīn, he was imprisoned. After his release he was sent to Bengal, where in the 37th year he served under Mān Singh against the Afghāns.

He died in the beginning of the 41st year (1004).

159. Khwāja Shams' 'd-Dīn Khawāfi.

Khawāfi means "coming from Khawāf", which is a district and town in Khurāsān. Our maps have "Khāff" or "Khāf", due west of Hirāt, between Lat. 60° and 61°. According to the *Mu'sjam' 'l-Buldān*, "Khawāf is a large town belonging [at the time the author wrote] to the revenue district of Nishāpūr. Near it lies on one side Bīrjūn belongs to the districts of Hirāt, and on the other

contains one hundred villages and three towns (Sanjān, Sirāwand, and Kharjard)." Amīn Rāzī in his excellent *Haft Iqīm* says that the district of Khawāf is famous for the kings, ministers, and learned men it has produced. The dynasty called, Āl-i Muzaffar, of whom seven kings ruled for 59 years over Fārs and Shirāz,¹ were Khawāfis. The author of the *Zakhrat' 'l-Khawānīn* says that the people of Khawāf were known to be bigoted Sunnis. When Shāh 'Abbās-i Šafawī, in the beginning of his reign, came to Khawāf, he forced the inhabitants to abuse, as is customary with Shi'as, the companions of the Prophet (*sabb-i saḥāba*); but as the people refused to do so, he had seventy of the principal men thrown down from a Masjid. Although then no one was converted, the Khawāfis are now as staunch Shi'as as they were formerly bigoted Sunnis.

Khwāja Shams' 'd-Dīn was the son of Khwāja 'Alā's' 'd-Dīn, who was a man much respected in Khawāf. Shams accompanied Muzaffar Khān (No. 37), his countryman, to Bihār and Bengal. At the outbreak of the Military Revolt, he was caught by the rebels, and Ma'sūm-i Kābuli had him tortured with a view of getting money out of him. Shams was half dead, when at the request of 'Arab Bahādūr he was let off and placed under 'Arab's charge, who lay under obligations to him. But Shams eluded his vigilance, and fled to Singrām, Rāja of Kharakpūr (Bihār).² As the roads were all held by the rebels, Shams could not

¹ They succumbed to Timūr. The Historians disagree regarding the length of their reign, some give 57 years, from A.H. 741 to 798.

Amīn Rāzī mentions also several learned men and vazīrs besides those mentioned in the *Mu'sjam*, and relates some anecdotes illustrating the proverbial sagacity and quick-wittedness of the inhabitants of Khawāf.

The number of Khawāfis in the service of the Mughul emperors was considerable. One is mentioned below, No. 347. The Ma'asir Mirzā 'Izzat (under Jahāngir); Mirzā Ahmad, and Muṭṭam (under Shāh-jahān); Sayyid Amir Khān Shaykh Mir, Khwā Khān, 'Inayāt Khān, and Mustafā Khān (under Awrangzib). The lists of grantees in the *Pādishāhnāma* mention several other Khawāfis. In later times we have the name of 'Abd' 'r-Razzāq Šams' 'd-Dawla Awrangūbādī, who was murdered in 1171. His ancestor, Mir Kamāl' 'd-Dīn-Khawāfi, has served under Akbar.

For Khawāfi some MSS. have Khāfi. The Historian Muhammad Hāshim Khāfi Khān has also been supposed to be a Khawāfi, though it must be observed that geographical titles are rare. There are a few, as Rūmī Khān, Ghaznī Khān, Habshi Khān. The authors of the *Pādishāhnāma* and the

² Singrām later fought Though he never went to Court, he of Bihār

. and, reached, under Jahāngir, the dignity of a Commander of Fifteen Hundred. Under Shāh-jahān, he served with Mahābat, Khān in Balkh, against Jhujār Singh Bundela, in and was at his death in 1044 a Commander of Two Thousand. His in Qandahār, in the war between Awrangzib and Shāh Shujā's in the second conquest of Palāman (4th year of Awrangzib). awrangzib's reign. Vide Proceedings, Asiatic Society

make his way to the Imperial army. He collected men, attacked the rebels, and carried off some of their cattle; and when some time after dissensions broke out among the mutineers, he found means to escape. Akbar received him with every distinction, and appointed him, in the same year (26th) to superintend the building of Fort Āṭak (built 990-1) on the Indus, near which the Imperial camp then was.¹

After this, Shams was for some time Diwān of Kābul. In the 39th year, when Qulij Khān (No. 42) after the death of Qāsim Khān (No. 59) was made Shibadār of Kābul, Shams was made Diwān of the empire (*Diwān-i kull*), vice Qulij.² When Akbar in the 43rd year, after a residence of fourteen years in the Panjāb, moved to Āgra to proceed to the Dakhin, the Begams with Prince Khurram (Shāhjahān) were left in Lāhor, and Shams was put in charge of the Panjāb, in which office he continued, after Akbar's mother had returned, in the 44th year, with the Begams to Āgra.

Shams died at Lāhor in the 45th year (1008). The family vault which he had built near Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl having been used for other purposes (p. 469) he was buried in Lāhor in that quarter of the town which he had built, and which to his honour was called Khawāfipūra.

He is said to have been a man of simple manners, honest and faithful, and practical in transacting business.

Like Shaykh Farid-i Bukhārī (No. 99), whom he in many respects resembles, he died childless.

His brother, Khawāja Mūmin Khawāfī, was made, on his death, Diwān of the Panjāb. Mūmin's son, ʿAbdʾ l-Khalīq was a favourite of Āṣaf Khān IV (p. 398). He was killed by Mahābat Khān, when Āṣaf had been removed by Mahābat from Fort Āṭak and imprisoned.

160. Jagat Singh, eldest of Rāja Mān Singh (No. 30).

Kūwar Jagat Singh served in the 42nd year under Mirzā Jūʿfar Ṣaf Khān (No. 98) against Rāja Bāsū, zamindār of Mau and Paṭhān (Nūrpūr, N.E. Panjāb). In the 44th year (1008) when Akbar moved to Mālwa, and Prince Salīm (Jahāngir) was ordered to move against Rānā Amr Singh,

¹ The author of the *Maʿāsir* repeats Abū l-Fazl's etymology of the name "Āṭak", which was given on p. 404, note. He also says that some derive it from the Hindi, *atah*, prevention, a bar, "because Hindūs will not go beyond the Indus." But there is no instance on record that Hindūs ever did object to cross the Indus. Bhagwān Dās, Mān Singh, ʿĀbul and Zābulistān, and had their Rājputs there; the Rājputs distinguished themselves in the conquest of Fort Āṭak built in 990-91.—B.]

² Abū l-Fazl's etymology is also doubtful; for in the *Akhbar-nāma* (II, 302) he mentions the name "Āṭak" long before the building of the Fort (III, 335).

³ The twelve Diwāns, who in 1003 had been appointed to the 12 Shūbas, were under his orders. *Diwān-i kull* is the same as *Vazīr-i kull* or *Vazīr-i miydaq*, or merely *Vazīr*.

Mān Singh was called from Bengal, and Jagat Singh was ordered to go to Bengal, as nāʾib of his father. While still at Āgra, he died from excessive drinking. Regarding J. S.'s daughter, vide p. 323 and No. 175.

Mahā Singh, Jagat's younger son, was appointed in his stead. His youth and inexperience inclined the Afghāns under ʿUsmān and Shujāwal Khān to attack him. They defeated him and Partāb Singh, son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās (No. 336), near Bhadrak in Orisā (45th year). Mān Singh hastened to Bengal, and after defeating in 1009 the Afghāns near Sherpūr ʿĀṭā, between Shiṭūrī (Sooree) in Bīrbhūm and Murshidābād, recovered Lower Bengal and Orisā.

Mahā Singh died soon after, like his father, from excessive drinking.

161. Naqib Khān, son of Mir ʿAbdʾ l-Laṭīf of Qazwīn.

Naqib Khān is the title of Mir Ghiyāsʾ d-Dīn ʿAlī. His family belongs to the Sayfī Sayyids of Qazwīn, who were known in Irān for their Sunni tendencies. His grandfather Mir Yahyā was "a well-known theologian and philosopher, who had acquired such extraordinary proficiency in the knowledge of history, that he was acquainted with the date of every event which had occurred from the establishment of the Muḥammadan religion to his own time."

"In the opening of his career, Mir Yahyā was patronized by Shāh Ṭahmāsp-i Ṣafawī, who called him Yahyā Maʿsūm,¹ and was treated by the king with such distinction, that his enemies, envious of his good fortune, endeavoured to poison his patron's mind against him, by representing that he and his son, Mir ʿAbdʾ l-Laṭīf, were the leading men among the Sunnīs of Qazwīn. They at last prevailed so far as to induce the king, when he was on the borders of Āzarbāyjan, to order Mir Yahyā and his son, together with their families, to be imprisoned at Iṣfahān. At that time, his second son, ʿAlāʾ d-Dawla was in Āzarbāyjan, and sent off a special messenger to convey his intelligence to his father.. Mir Yahyā, being too old and infirm to flee, accompanied the king's messenger to Iṣfahān, and died there, after one year and nine months, in A.H. 962, at the age of 77 years."²

"Mir ʿAbdʾ l-Laṭīf, however, immediately on receipt of his brother's

¹ I.e. exempt, probably from losing life and property for his attachment to Sunnism.

² Mir Yahyā is the author of an historical compendium called *Ṭabʾ d-tawārīkh*, composed in 1541. Vide Elliot's Bibl. Index to the Historians of India, p. 129. His second son ʿAlāʾ d-Dawla wrote under the poetical name of Kāfī, and is the author of the *Nafāʾis l-Maʿāṣir*, a "taḥṣīr", or work on literature. Badāʾunī (III, 97) says he composed a *Qasida* in which, according to the manner of Shiʿahs, he abused the companions of the Prophet and the Sunnīs, and among the latter his father and elder brother (ʿAbdʾ l-Laṭīf), whom he used to call *Ḥayrat-i Aqā*, as he had been his teacher. But the verse in which he cursed his relations is ambiguously worded.

Some fix the date of Mir Yahyā's death two years earlier.

communication, fled to Gilān,¹ and afterwards at the invitation of the emperor Humāyūn went to Hindūstān, and arrived at Court with his family just after Akbar had ascended the throne. By him he was received with great kindness and consideration, and appointed in the second year of his reign as his preceptor. At that time Akbar knew not how to read and write, but shortly afterwards he was able to repeat some odes of Ḥāfiz. The Mīr was a man of great eloquence and of excellent disposition, and so moderate in his religious sentiments,² that each party used to revile him for his indifference."

"When Bayrām Khān had incurred the displeasure of the emperor and had left Āgra and proceeded to Alwar with the intention, as it was supposed, of exciting a rebellion in the Panjāb, the emperor sent the Mīr to him, to dissuade him from such an open breach of fidelity to his sovereign." Elliot, *Index*, l.c.

Mīr 'Abd' 'l-Laṭīf died at Sikrī on the 5th Rajab, 981,³ and was buried at Ajmīr near the Dargāh of Mīr Sayyid Ḥusayn Khing-Suwār.

'Abd' 'l-Laṭīf had several sons. The following are mentioned: 1. Naqīb Khān; 2. Qamar Khān; 3. Mīr Muḥammad Sharīf. The last was killed in 984 at Fatḥpūr by a fall from his horse, while playing hockey with the emperor (Bad. II, 230). For Qamar Khān, vide No. 243.

Naqīb Khān arrived with his father in India, when Akbar after his accession was still in the Panjāb (*Akbarnāma*, II, 23) and soon became a personal friend of the emperor (II, 281). In the 10th year, he conveyed Akbar's pardon to Khān Zamān, for whom Muḥsin Khān had interceded (II, 281). In the 18th year, N. accompanied the emperor on the forced march to Patan and Aḥmadābād (p. 481, note), and in the following year to Patan. In the end of the 21st year, he took part in the expedition to Īdar (III, 165) and was sent in the following year to Mālwa or Gujrat, after the appointment of Shihāb to the latter province. After the outbreak of the Military Revolt in Bengal, N. with his brother Qamar Khān served under Toḡar Māl and Ṣādiq Khān in Bihār against Maḥṣūm-i Kābuli (III, 273). In the 26th year, he received the title of Naqīb Khān.⁴ Though

¹ The MSS. of the *Ma'asir* have حلال كابل; so also Badā'oni, l.c.

² He was the first that taught Akbar the principle of *ṣulḥ-i kull*, "peace with all," the Persian term which Abū 'l-Faṣl so often uses to describe Akbar's policy of toleration. Abū 'l-Faṣl (*Akbarnāma*, II, 23) says that 'Abd' 'l-Laṭīf was accused in Persia of being a Sunni and in Hindūstān of being a Shī'ah.

³ Elliot has by mistake 971. The *Tārīkh* of his death in the *Ma'asir* and *Badā'oni* (III, p. 99) is *ṣaḥr-i āl-i Yā-Sin*, "the pride of the descendants of Yāsīn (the Prophet)" as 981, if the long *alif* in *āl* be not counted 2, but 1.

⁴ Kewal Rām, according to Elliot, says in the *Tazkirat* 'l-'Umarā' that the title was conferred on Naqīb Khān in the 25th year for his gallant conduct in repelling an attack made by Maḥṣūm Khān-i Kābuli on the Imperialists under Todar Māl and Khān. This might attack is related in the *Akbarnāma* (III, 293). The fight took in the 25th year, near Gayā; but Abū 'l-Faṣl says nothing of Naqīb's. He does not even mention his name.

during the reign of Akbar, he did not rise above the rank of a *Ḥazārī*, he possessed great influence at Court. He was Akbar's reader, and superintended the translations from Sanscrit into Persian, mentioned on p. 110. Several portions of the *Tārīkh-i Alfī* also (p. 113) are written by him.

Naqīb had an uncle of the name of Qāzī 'Īṣā, who had come from Irān to Akbar's Court, where he died in 980. His son was Shāh Ghāzī Khān (vide No. 155). Akbar married the latter to Sakina Bānū Begam, sister of Mīrẓā Muḥammad Ḥakīm (Akbar's half-brother); and as Naqīb Khān, in the 38th year, reported that Qāzī 'Īṣā had expressed a dying wish to present his daughter to Akbar, the emperor married her. Thus two of Naqīb's cousins married into the imperial family.

On the accession of Jahāngīr, N. was made a Commander of 1,500 (*Tuzuk*, p. 12). He died in the 9th year of J.'s reign (beginning of 1023) at Ajmīr, and was buried at the side of his wife within the enclosure of Muḥsin-i Chishtī's tomb (*Tuzuk*, p. 129). His wife was a daughter of Mīr Maḥmūd, *Munshiy* 'l-Mamālīk, who had been for twenty-five years in Akbar's service (Badā'oni III, 321).

Naqīb's son, 'Abd' 'l-Laṭīf, was distinguished for his acquirements. He was married to a daughter of M. Yūsuf Khān (No. 35) and died insane.

Naqīb Khān, like his grandfather, excelled in history. It is said that he knew the seven volumes of the *Rawzat* 's-ṣafā by heart. Jahāngīr, in his Memoirs, praises him for his remarkable memory, and Badā'oni, who was Naqīb's schoolfellow and friend, says that no man in Arabia or Persia was as proficient in history as Naqīb. Once on being asked how many pigeons there were in a particular flock then flying, he responded instantly, without making a mistake of even one.

162. Mīr Murtaẓā Khān, a Sabzwāri Sayyid.

Mīr Murtaẓā Khān was at first in the service of 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr. Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh called him to Aḥmadnagar, and made him Military Governor of Barār, and later Amīr 'l-'Umarā'. He successfully invaded, at Nizām Shāh's order, 'Ādil Shāh's dominions. But Nizām Shāh suffered from insanity, and the government was left in the hands of his Vakīl, Shāh Qulī Ṣalābat Khān; and as he reigned absolutely, several of the nobles, especially the *tuyūldars* of Barār, were dissatisfied. Ṣalābat Khān being bent on ruining them, Mīr Murtaẓā Khudāwand Khān (No. 151), Jamshed Khān-i Shirāzī and others, marched in 992 to Aḥmadnagar. Ṣalābat Khān and Shāhẓāda Mīrān Ḥusayn surprised them and routed them. Mīr Murtaẓā lost all his property, and unable to resist Ṣalābat Khān, with Khudāwand Khān to Akbar, who made him a Commander

M. M. d'Amboise, called himself in 1513 Muzid in the Dakkhin invasion. When the Prince of Bidar Akbar ascended the throne (No. 42) he remained in Malabar (p. 10, *Footnote*), and M. M. in Bidar, to guard the conquered districts. D'Amboise stayed there, he was not to take possession of Fort Quil, near Bidar (1514 year, 1007), persuaded the conquerors Wajid and Daud Khan to enter Akbar's service. Later, M. M. d'Amboise called for him in the conquest of Akbar's seat under Prince Daulat Khan, but after M. M. died, as above said, he was not.

M. M. d'Amboise is not to be confused with the learned Mir Mustard Sharaf Khan (No. 101, III, 20), or the Mir M. d'Amboise, and by Fakhri III, 20.

100. Fakhri, No. 101, IV, 20, Akbar Mirza Koka (No. 21).

He was appointed Governor of Bidar (p. 715 and 716). At the end of Akbar's reign, he was a Commander of Three Thousand.

In the 10th year of Jalal Khan's reign, he received the title of Jalal Khan Qutb Khan, and he died at Bidar. Jalal Khan's father, Governor of Bidar, and was a Commander of Three Thousand. Mirza Asir Khan had been a military appointed Governor of that Bidar, but as he had given the emperor a letter, he was deposed at Bidar. Since properly blamed was a Commander of Three Thousand, and Governor of Bidar. When these Prince Asir Khan had taken possession of Bidar, and prepared to go off to march on Bidar, he was called to Bidar. Jalal Khan and Raja Pithan ahas a letter to Bidar. On their arrival at Bidar, Sharaf Khan left Bidar, and he was called to Bidar (No. 9), Governor of the Bidar (No. 21).

On Bidar Khan's accession, Sharaf was deposed, but allowed to remain in Malabar. A short time after, he was appointed to Sharaf Khan's seat, and he died there in the 5th year of Shahjahan's reign (1011).

Sharaf's son, Bahram, was made by Shahjahan a Commander of 1,000, 500 horse (*Purshian* I, b, 200) and appointed to succeed his father. Whilst in Gujarat, he built a place called after him Bahrampur. He died in the 15th year of Shahjahan's reign (*Purshian* II, p. 733).

101. Mir Jamāl 'd-Din Husayn, an Inju Sayyid.

From a remark in the *Wazir* it appears that a part of Shiraz was called Inju; vide *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, 1868, p. 67 to p. 69.

Mir Jamāl 'd-Din Inju belongs to the Sayyids of Shiraz, who trace their descent to Qasimarrā'i (I) ibn-i Hasan ibn-i Ibrahim Tabātibā'i Husayni. Mir Shāh Mahmūd and Mir Shāh Abū Turīb, two later members

of the renowned family, were appointed during the reign of Shāh Tahir as a reward, at the request of the Chief Justice of Persia, 'Abd al-Kādir 'Abd al-Kādir, the first as Shāh 'Abd al-Kādir of Persia, and the second as Qasim 'Abd al-Kādir. Mir Jamāl 'd-Din rose of the rank of a Commander.

Mir Jamāl 'd-Din went to the Dakkhin, the King of which had frequently been allied with the Inju. He afterwards entered Akbar's service, took part in the Gujarat wars, and was present in the battle of Patana (p. 172). Later he was sent to Bengal. At the outbreak of the Military Revolt, he was with Murad (Akbar III, p. 255). In the 10th year (1007) he was made a Commander of 8,000, and accompanied, shortly after, Akbar Khan (No. 21) on his expedition to Gujarat (Akbar III, 472). In the 35th year, he had a pigra in Malabar, and served up for Akbar Khan in the Dakkhin. His promotion to the rank of a Har'at took place in the 45th year. When in the 45th year the first of Akbar had been conquered, Shāh 'Abd al-Kādir, king of Bijapur, wished to enter into a matrimonial alliance with Akbar, and offered his daughter to Prince Daulat. To settle matters, Akbar despatched the Mir in 1009 (Akbar III, 416) to the Dakkhin. But the marriage only took place in 1013, near Patana. After this, accompanied by the Husayni Firshita, he went to Ajra, in order to lay before the emperor "such presents and tributes, which never before came from the Dakkhin".

At the end of Akbar's reign, Mir J. was a Commander of Three Thousand. Having been a favourite of Prince Salim, he was promoted after the Prince's accession to the post of a Chahar-Hazari, and received a *khassanah* and a *Paig*. When Khusrav rebelled, the Mir received the order to effect an undertaking by offering Khusrav the kingdom of Kābil with the same conditions under which M. Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's brother, had held that province. But the Prince did not consent; and when he was subsequently made a prisoner (p. 455) and brought before his father, Hasan Beg (No. 167), Khusrav's principal agent told Jalal Khan that all Amirs of the Court were implicated in the rebellion; Jamāl 'd-Din had only a short time ago asked him (Hasan Beg) to promise him an appointment as *Parizadeh*. The Mir got pale and confused, when Mirza Asir Koka (No. 21) asked the emperor not to listen to such abominations; Hasan Beg knew very well that he would have to suffer death and therefore tried to involve others; he himself (Asir) was the chief conspirator, and ready as such to undergo any punishment. Jahāngir consoled the Mir, and appointed him afterwards Governor of Bihār. In the 11th year, Mir Jamāl received the title of *Asad 'd-Daula*.

¹ *Shirazi* is an abbreviation for *Shirazi 'd-Din*.

(? Scratch.—B.)

On this occasion, he presented to the emperor a dagger, inlaid with precious stones, the making of which he had himself superintended when at Bijāpūr. At the top of the handle, he had a yellow *yāqūt* fixed, perfectly pure, of the shape of half an egg, and had it surrounded by other *yāqūts* and emeralds. The value was estimated at 50,000 Rupees.

In 1621, Jahāngir pensioned him off, because he was too old, allowing him four thousand rupees *per mensem*. The highest rank that he had reached was that of a brevet Panj hazārī with an actual command of Three Thousand and Five Hundred. In 1623, at the eighteenth anniversary of Jahāngir's accession, he presented the emperor a copy of the great Persian Dictionary, entitled *Farhang-i Jahāngirī*, of which he was the compiler. The first edition of it had made its appearance in 1017.¹

After having lived for some time in Bahrā, ich, Mir Jamāl returned to Āgra, where he died.

Mir Jamāl's 'd-Dīn had two sons. 1. *Mir Amīn* 'd-Dīn. He served with his father, and married a daughter of 'Abd'r-Raḥīm Khān Khānān (No. 29). He died when young.

2. *Mir Ḥusām* 'd-Dīn. He married the sister of Ahmad Beg Khān, brother's son of Ibrāhīm Khān Fath-Jang (Nūr Jahān's brother). Jahāngir made him Governor of Āsir, which fort he handed over to Prince Shāhjahān during his rebellion. On Shāhjahān's accession, he was made a Commander of 4,000, with 3,000 horse, received a present of 50,000 Rupees, and the title of *Murtaẓā Khān*. He was also made Governor of Thathah, where he died in the second year (1039).

Mir Ḥusām's sons—1. *Šamšām* 'd-Davla. He was made Dīwān of Shāh Shujā' in the 21st year. In the 28th year, he was appointed Governor of Orīśa with a command of 1,500, and 500 horse. He died in the end of the same year. 2. *Nūr* 'lāh. He is mentioned in the *Pādīshāhnāma* (I, b., p. 312) as a Commander of Nine Hundred, 300 horse.

165 Sayyid Rājū, of Bārha.

Historians do not say to which of the four divisions (*vide* p. 427) the Bārha clan Rājū belongs.

He served in the 21st year, under Mān Singh, and in the 28th year, under Jagannāth (No. 69), against the Rānā. While serving under the latter, Rājū commanded the Imperial garrison of Mandalgarh, and successfully conducted an expedition against a detachment of the Rānā's troops. In the 30th year, Jagannāth and Rājū attacked the Rānā in his residence; but he escaped.

¹ Regarding the *Farhang-i Jahāngirī*, *vide Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, 1868, pp. 12 to 15, and 65 to 69.

Later, Rājū served under Prince Murād, Governor of Mālwa, whom, in the 36th year, he accompanied in the war with Rāja Madhukar; but as the Prince was ordered by Akbar to return to Mālwa, Rājū had to lead the expedition. In the 40th year, he served in the siege of Aḥmadnagar. Once the enemies surprised the Imperialists, and did much damage to their cattle. Rājū attacked them, but was killed in the fight, together with several of his relations (A.H. 1003).

166. Mir Sharif-i Āmulī.

His antecedents and arrival in India have been mentioned above on p. 185. In the 30th year (993) Prince Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm of Kābul died, and the country was annexed to India. Mir Sharif was appointed Amin and Šadr of the new province. In the following year, he served under Mān Singh in Kābul. In the 36th year,¹ he was appointed in the same capacity, though with more extensive powers, to Bihār and Bengal. In the 43rd year, he received Ajmir as *aqlāṣ*, and the Pargana of Mohān near Lakhnau, as *tuyūl*. During the siege of Āsir, he joined the Imperial camp with his contingent, and was well received by the emperor.

He is said to have risen to the rank of a Commander of Three Thousand. He was buried at Mohān. On his death, neither books nor official papers were found; his list of soldiers contained the names of his friends and clients, who had to refund him six months' wages *per annum*.

Jahāngir in his memoirs (*Tuzuk*, p. 22) praises him very much.

The *Tabaqāt* says, "Mir Sharif belongs to the heretics of the age. He is well acquainted with ṣūfism and is at present (1001) in Bihār."

Note on the Nuḡṭawiyya Sect (نقطه).

It was mentioned above (p. 186) that Mir Sharif spread in India doctrines which resembled those of Maḥmūd of Basaḥwān.² The curious sect which Maḥmūd founded, goes by the name of *Maḥmūdīyya*, or *Wāḥidīyya*, or *Nuḡṭawiyya*, or *Umanā*.³ Maḥmūd called himself *Shakhṣ-i wāḥid*, or "the individual", and professed to be the Imām Mahdī, whose appearance

¹ The Lucknow edition of the *Akbarnāma* (III, p. 629) says he was made at the same time a Commander of Four Thousand. This must be a mistake, because Mir Sharif was at Jahāngir's accession a Commander of 2,500 (*Tuzuk*, p. 22).

² Badā'uni (Ed. Bibl. Indica) has *Basāḥwān*; the MSS. of the Ma'āsir, *Basāḥwān* (with a long penultima) and in other places *Basāḥwān* without a *w*; the Calcutta edition of the *Dabistān* (p. 374) and Shea and Troyer's Translation have *Masajirān*—a shifting of the diacritical points.

³ The name *nuḡṭawi* was evidently used by Badā'uni, though the MSS. from which the Bibl. Indica edition was printed, have *Nabaḡi*, which was given on p. 185. For *Umanā*, Shea's translation of the *Dabistān* has *Umanā*; but *umanu* (امانو) is, no doubt, the plural of *amin*.

on earth ushers in the end of the world. According to the Calcutta edition of the *Dabistān* and Shea's Translation, he lived about A.H. 600; but the MSS. of the *Ma'āsir* have A.H. 800, which also agrees with Badā'oni's statement that Maḥmūd lived at the time of Timūr. The sect found numerous adherents in Irān, but was extinguished by Shāh 'Abbās-i Māzi,¹ who killed them or drove them into exile.

Maḥmūd had forced into his service a passage from the Qur'ān (Sur. XVII, 81), *‘asā an-yab‘asa-kā rabbu-kā maqām’an mahmūd’an*, "peradventure thy Lord will raise thee to an honorable (*maḥmūd*) station," He maintained that the human body (*jasad*) had since its creation been advancing in purity, and that on its reaching a higher degree of perfection "Maḥmūd" would arise, as indicated in the passage from the Qur'ān, and with his appearance the dispensation of Muḥammad would come to an end. He taught the transmigration of souls, and said that the beginning of everything was the *nuḡta-yi khāk*, or earth-atom, from which the vegetables, and from these the animals, arose. The term *nuḡta-yi khāk* has given rise to their name *Nuḡtawīs*. For other of Maḥmūd's tenets, vide Shea's translation of the *Dabistān*, vol. III, pp. 12 to 26.

Some of Maḥmūd's doctrines must have been of interest to Akbar, whose leanings towards the "man of the millennium", transmigration of souls, etc., have been mentioned above, and Mir Sharif-i Āmulī could not have done better than propounding the same doctrine at Court, and pointing out to Akbar as the restorer of the millennium.

The author of the *‘Ālam Ārū‘-yi Sikandari*, as the *Ma'āsir* says, mentions Mir Sharif-i Āmulī under the following circumstances. In 1002, the 7th year of Shāh 'Abbās-i Māzi's reign, the astrologers of the age predicted, in consequence of certain very inauspicious conjunctions, the death of a great king, and as this prediction was universally referred to Shāh 'Abbās Jalāl 'd-Din Muḥammad of Tabriz, who was looked upon as the greatest astronomer of the period, it was proposed that Shāh 'Abbās should lay aside royalty for the two or three days the dreaded conjunction was expected to last, and that a criminal who had been sentenced to death should sit on the throne. This extraordinary expedient was everywhere approved of; the criminals threw lots, and Yūsuf the quiver-maker, who belonged to the heretical followers of Darwish Khusrāw of Qazwin, was raised to the throne. He reigned for three days, and was then killed. Soon after, Darwish Khusrāw was hanged. His ancestors had been well-diggers, but he was a dervish, and though he had been wise enough

¹ Māzi (مَازِي), i.e., who passed away, is the epithet which historians give to Shāh 'Abbās I of Persia, the contemporary of Akbar and Jahāngir.

never to speak of his *Nuḡtawīyya* belief, he was known as one of the sect, and was accordingly killed. So also Mir Sayyid Ahmad of Kāshān, whom 'Abbās killed with his own sword. Among his papers treatises were found on the *Nuḡta* doctrine, and also a letter addressed to him by Abū 'l-Faḡl in Akbar's name. Mir Sharif-i Āmulī, a good poet and the head of the sect, heard of these persecutions, and fled from Astrābād to Hindūstān.

Regarding the last sentence, the author of the *Ma'āsir* remarks that it involves an anachronism, for Mir Sharif was in India in 984, when Akbar was at Dipālpūr in Mālwa; and besides, Sharif-i Āmulī was mentioned in no *Tazkira* as a poet.

167. Hasan Beg Khān-i Badakhshī Shaykh 'Umarī.¹

Hasan Beg was a good soldier. In the 34th year, Akbar after his stay in Kashmīr, marched to Zābulistān, and passed through the district of Pakhalī, "which is 35 kos long and 25 broad, and lies west of Kashmīr. In Pakhalī, Sultān Ḥusayn Khān-i Pakhalīwāl (No. 301) paid his respects. This Zamindār belonged to the descendants of the Qārlugh (قارلوق), whom Timūr on his return from India to Tūrān had left in Pakhalī as garrison. After following Akbar's Court for a few days, Sultān Ḥusayn Khān withdrew without leave, and the emperor ordered Hasan Beg to occupy Pakhalī (*Akbarnāma* III, 591, 598). He speedily subdued the district. In the 35th year, during Hasan Beg's temporary absence at Court, Sultān Ḥusayn Khān again rebelled, assumed the title of Sultān Nāṣir 'd-Din, and drove away Hasan Beg's men. But soon after, he had again to submit to Hasan Beg. In the 46th year, Hasan was made a Commander of Two Thousand and Five Hundred for his services in Bangash, and was put, towards the end of Akbar's reign, in charge of Kābul, receiving Fort Rohtās (in the Panjab) as jāgir.

In the beginning of Jahāngir's reign, he was called from Kābul to Court. On his way, at Mathurā (Muttra), Hasan Beg met Prince Khusrāw, who had fled from Āgra on Sunday, the 8th Zi Ḥijjah, 1014.² From

¹ *Badakhshī* is the adjective formed from *Badakhshān*, as *Kāshī* from *Kāshān*. The words *Shaykh 'Umarī* are to be taken as an adjective formed like *Albarshahi*, *Jahāngiri*, etc., which we find after the names of several grantees. Thus *Shaykh 'Umarī* would mean "belonging to the servants of Shaykh 'Umar", and this explanation is rendered more probable by the statement of historians that Hasan Beg belonged to the *Biharigan* or "nobles of Bābar's Court".

Hasan Beg is often wrongly called *Husayn Beg*. Thus in the *Tuzuk*, p. 25 ff.; *Padi-shāhn* I, p. 306; *Akbarnāma* III, 598.

² Generally spelt *روهناس*. The fort in Bihār is spelt without *nāw*, *روهناس*, though both are identical.

³ So the *Tuzuk*. The *Ma'āsir* has the 20th, instead of the 8th. MSS. continually confound *دست* and *دست*. But Jahāngir on his pursuit reached Hoida on the 10th Zi Ḥijjah and the *Tuzuk* is correct.

distrust as to the motives of the emperor, which led to his recall from Kābul, or "from the innate wickedness of Badakhshis", he joined the Prince with his three hundred Badakhshī troopers, received the title of Khān Bābā, and got the management of all affairs. Another officer who attached himself to Khusrāw, was 'Abd' 'r-Rahīm, Diwān of Lāhor. After the defeat near Bhairōwāl on the Biāh,¹ the Afghāns who were with the prince, advised him to retreat to the Eastern provinces of the Empire; but Hasan Beg proposed to march to Kābul, which, he said, had always been the starting-place of the conquerors of India; he had, moreover, four lacs of rupees in Rohtās, which were at the Prince's service. Hasan Beg's counsel was ultimately adopted. But before he could reach Rohtās, Khusrāw was captured on the Chanāb. On the 3rd Šafar 1015, the Prince, Hasan Beg, and 'Abd' 'r-Rahīm, were taken before Jahāngir in the Bāgh-i Mirzā Kāmran, a villa near Lāhor, Khusrāw himself, according to Chingiz's law (*batorah i Chingiz* (?) with his hands tied and fetters on his feet. Hasan Beg after making a useless attempt to incriminate others (p. 500), was put into a cow-hide and 'Abd' 'r-Rahīm into a donkey's skin, and in this state they were tied to donkeys, and carried through the bazars. "As cow-hides get dry sooner than donkey-skins," Hasan died after a few hours from suffocation: but 'Abd' 'r-Rahīm was after 24 hours still alive, and received at the request of several courtiers, free pardon.² The other accomplices and the troopers of Khusrāw were impaled; their corpses were arranged in a double row along the road which leads from the Bāgh-i Mirzā Kāmran to the Fort of Lāhor, and Khusrāw, seated on a sorry elephant, was led along that way. People had been posted at short intervals, and pointing to the corpses, kept calling out to Khusrāw, "Behold, your friends, your servants, do homage to you."

Hasan Beg was mentioned above on p. 370. His son *Isfandiyyār Khān*, was under Shāhjahān, a commander of 1,500. He served in Bengal, and died in the 16th year of Shāhjahān's reign (*Pādishāhn*. I, 476; I, b. 304). The 'Arif Beg-i Shaykh 'Umari mentioned in the *Pādishāhn*. (I, b. 319) appears to be a relation of his.

- 168. Sheroya Khān, son of Sher Afkan Khān.

Sher Afkan Khān was the son of Qūch Beg. Qūch Beg served under Humāyūn, and was killed in the successful attempt made by several

¹ Vide p. 456 note. There is another Bhairōwāl between Wazīrābād and Siyālkot, south of the Chanāb.

² In Zā 'l-Hijjal, 1018, he got an appointment as a Yūzbāshi, or commander of 100 and was sent to Kashmir (Tuzuk, p. 79). In the Tuzuk, he is called 'Abd' 'r-Rahīm Khān, 'Abd' 'r-Rahīm "the Ass"

grandees to save Maryam Makāni, Akbar's mother, after the fatal battle of Chausā (*vide* No. 96, p. 450). When Humāyūn fled to Persia, Sher Afkan remained with Mirzā Kāmran in Kābul; but he joined the emperor on his return from Irān, and was made governor of Qalāt. Later he received Zāhāk-Bāmiyān as jāgīr, but went again over to Kāmran. Humāyūn's, soon after, captured and killed him.

Sheroya Khān served at first under Mun'im (No. 11) in Bengal and Orīśā. In the 26th year he was appointed to accompany Prince Murād to Kābul. In the 28th year, he served under 'Abd' 'r-Rahīm (No. 29) in Gujrāt, and was present in the battle of Sarkich (*Akbarnāma* III, 403, 422). In the 30th year, he served under Maṭlab Khān (No. 83) against Jalāl Tārikī (p. 442.). In the 39th year, he was made a Khān, and was appointed to Ajmīr. According to the *Tabaqāt* he was a Hazārī in 1001.

169. Nazar Be Uzbek.

The *Akbarnāma* (III, p. 500) says, "On the same day¹ Nazar Be, and his sons, Qanbar Be, Shādi Be (No. 367), and Bāqī Be (No. 368), were presented at Court, and were favourably received by the emperor."

Shādi Be distinguished himself in the expedition under Maṭlab Khān (No. 83) against the Tārikīs. He may be the Shādi Khān Shādī Beg, mentioned in the *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b. 308) as a commander of One Thousand. *Be* is the abbreviation of *Beg*. Nazar Be is not to be confused with Nazar (?) Beg (No. 247).

170. Jalāl Khān, son of Muhammad Khān, son of Sulṭān Ādam, the Gakkhar.

171. Mubārak Khān, son of Kamāl Khān, the Gakkhar.

The Gakkhars are a tribe inhabiting, according to the *Ma'āṣir*, the hilly districts between the Bahat and the Indus.² At the time of Zayn' 'l-'Ābidīn, king of Kashmir, a Ghaznī noble of the name of Malik Kid (کد or کید), who was a relation of the then ruler of Kābul, took away

¹ When the news was brought to Akbar that Mān Singh, soon after the defeat of the Imperialists, and the death of Bir Bar in the Khaybar Pass, had defeated the Tārikīs at Ṣālī Masjid (end of the 30th year, or beginning of Rabi' I, 994).

² Mr. J. G. Delmerick informs me that the Gakkhars inhabited the hilly parts of the Rawul Pindī and Jhelam districts from Khānpūr on the borders of the Hazāra district along the lower range of hills skirting the Tahsils of Rawul Pindī, Kuhūta, and Gūjar Khān, as far as Domeli in the Jhelam district. Their ancient strongholds were Pharwāla, Sulṭānpūr, and Dāngali. They declare that they are descended from the Kaianian kings of Irān. Their ancestor Kid invaded Tibet, where he and his descendants reigned for ten generations. His tenth descendant Kab conquered Kashmir, and took possession of half of it. The Gakkhars then reigned for 16 generations after Kab in Kashmir. The 17th generation was Zayn' 'l-'Ābidīn, and to Afghānistān, where he died. His son, Gakkhar Shāh, was the grandfather of Ghaznī, and was made lord of the Sind Sīcar Duāb. His son was the grandfather of Tātūr, whose father was Malik Pilū. Vide Mr. Delmerick's History of the Gakkhars, *Journal A.S.B.*, 1871. Vide p. 621.

these districts from the Kashmiris, and gradually extended his power over the region between the Nilūb (Indus) and the Sawālīks and the frontier of modern Kashmir.¹ Malik Kid was succeeded by his son Malik Kalān, and Malik Kalān by Malik Bir. After Bir, the head of the tribe was Sultān Tatār, who rendered Bābar valuable service, especially in the war with Rānā Sānkā. Sultān Tatār had two sons, Sultān Sārang and Sultān Ādam. Sārang fought a great deal with Sher Shāh and Salīm Shāh, capturing and selling a large number of Afghāns. The Fort Rohtās was commenced by Sher Shāh with the special object of keeping the Gakkhars in check. Sher Shāh in the end captured Sultān Sārang and killed him, and confined his son Kamāl Khān in Gwālyār, without, however, subjugating the tribe. Sultān Ādam was now looked upon as the head of the clan. He continued to oppose the Afghāns. Once Salīm Shāh gave the order to blow up a portion of the Gwālyār Fort, where the state prisoners were kept. Kamāl Khān, who was still confined, had a miraculous escape and was in consequence pardoned. Kamāl went to his kinsfolk; but as Sultān Ādam had usurped all power, he lived obscurely, with his brother Saʿīd Khān, avoiding conflict with his uncle. Immediately after Akbar's accession, however, Kamāl paid his respects to the emperor at Jāhndhar, was well received, and distinguished himself in the war with Hemū and during the siege of Mānkot. In the 3rd year he was sent against the Miyāna Afghāns, who had revolted near Saronj (Mālwa) and was made on his return jāgīrdār of Karah and Fathpūr Huswah. In the 6th year, he served under Khān Zamān (No. 13) against the Afghāns under the son of Mubārīz Khān ʿAdlī (p. 336.) In the 8th year (970), he was called to Court, and as Akbar wished to reward him, Kamāl Khān begged the emperor to put him in possession of the Gakkhar district, which was still in the hands of his usurping uncle. Akbar ordered the Khān-i Kalān (No. 16) and other Panjābī grandees to divide the district into two parts, and to give one of them to Kamāl Khān; if Sultān Ādam was not satisfied with the other, they should occupy the country and punish Sultān Ādam. The latter alternative was rendered necessary by the resistance of Sultān Ādam. The Panjāb,

¹ The *Ma'sā'ir* says, he subjected the tribes called *جند* (Jand) and *جند* (Jand) (vide p. 487). Mr. Delmerick says, the *Khatars* inhabit the western parts of the *Rawal Pindi* district. The second tribe is that of the *Janjās*, who inhabit the Salt Range. The third, *Ma'an* (ماان) are found in the southern parts of the *Rawal Pindi* and the *Jhelam* districts; the fourth, *Ma'an* (ماان) and *Dādan Khān* (دادان خان), a tribe of some importance in the *Ma'an* district, is intended for the *Khokhar* (خوخر), and *Dādan Khān* (دادان خان) and *Mangarāl* (منگرال) large tribes in *Jammū*. The seventh he supposes to be a mistake for *paḥāyā* (پاہا) or hill tribes, which were the *Dhūnds* (دھنڈ) and *Sattis* (سٹس). Vide Additional Notes at end to p. 507.

army, therefore, and Kamāl Khān entered the Gakkhar district, and defeated and captured Ādam after a severe engagement near the "Qasba of Hilā".¹ Sultān Ādam and his son Lashkarī were handed over to Kamāl Khān, who was put in possession of the district. Kamāl Khān killed Lashkarī, and put Sultān Ādam into prison, where he soon after died. (*Akbarnāma*, II, 240 ff.)

It is stated in the *Tabaqāt* that Kamāl Khān was a Commander of Five Thousand, distinguished for courage and bravery, and died in 972²

Mubâarak Khân and Jalâl Khân served in the 30th year under Mirzâ Shâhrukh, Bhagwân Dâs, and Shâh Qulî Mâhram, in Kashmîr (*Akbnâmâ*, III, 485). The *Tabaqât* calls both, as also Sa'îd Khân, Commanders of Fifteen Hundred. A daughter of Sa'îd Khân was married to Prince Salim; vide No. 225, note.

172. Tāsh Beg Khān Mughul, [Tāj Khān].

Tāsh Beg served at first under Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, king of Kābul, and entered, after the death of his master, Akbar's service. He received a jāgīr in the Panjāb. According to the *Akbarnāma* (III, 489), he went with Bīr Bar (No. 85) to Sawād and Bijor, and distinguished himself under 'Abd' l-Matlab (No. 83) against the Tārkīs (III, 541).

In the 40th year, he operated against the Āṣū Khayāl Afghāns, though with little success. Two years later, he served under Āṣaf Khān (No 98) in the conquest of Mau, and received the title of Tāj Khān. When Rājā Bāsū again rebelled (47th year), Khawāja Sulaymān, Bakhshī of the Panjāb, was ordered to march against him with the contingents of Quliy Khān (No. 42), Husayn Beg-i Shaykh Umari (No. 167), Aḥmad Beg-i Kābulī (No. 191), and Tāj Khān. Without waiting for the others, T. Kh. moved to Pathān. Whilst pitching his tents, Jamīl Beg, T. Kh.'s son, received news of Bāsū's approach. He hastily attacked him, and was killed with fifty men of his father's contingent.

Jahāngir, on his accession, promoted him to a command of 3,000. In the second year of his reign, he officiated as governor of Kābul till the arrival of Shāh Beg Khān (No. 57). He was afterwards appointed governor of Thathah, where he died in the ninth year (1023).

¹ Not Haulī (هالی), south of Chihānwālā between the Jhelam and the Chanāb; but Hīlī, or Hīl, which, Mr. Delmerick says, is a ferry on the Jhelam near Dāngālī, Sulṭān Ādam's stronghold.

² So in my MSS of the *Tab* which would be the same year in tance, hence he adds a *ḥaḥ*. (l. p. 302.)

173. Shaykh 'Abd' 'Ilāh, son of Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥawṣ (of Gwāliyār).

Shaykh 'Abd' 'Ilāh at first lived a retired and saintly life, but entered subsequently the Emperor's service. He distinguished himself, and is said to have risen to the dignity of a Commander of Three Thousand. He died when young.

His brother Ziyā' 'Ilāh lived as a Faqīr, and studied during the lifetime of his father under the renowned saint Wajih' 'd-Dīn in Gujrāt, who himself was a pupil of Muḥammad Ḥawṣ.

Biographies of Muḥammad Ḥawṣ (died 970 at Āgra, buried in Gwāliyār) will be found in the *Ma'āsir*, *Bādā'uni* (III, p. 4), and the *Khaṣṣat* 'I-Asfiyā' (p. 969). He was disliked by Bayrām Khān, Shaykh Gadā'i, and Shaykh Mubārak. Abū 'I-Faẓl's father. Vide also *Ma'āsir-i 'Ālamgiri*, p. 166.

174. Rāja Rājsingh, son of Rāja Askaran, the Kachhwāha.

Rāja Askaran is a brother of Rāja Bihārī Māl (No. 23). He served in the 22nd year with *Sadiq Khān* (No. 43) against Rāja Madhukar of Ūdha,¹ and in the 25th year under Toḍar Māl in Bihār. In the 30th year, he was made a Commander of One Thousand, and served in the same year under 'Aziz Koka (No. 21) in the Dakḥin. In the 31st year, when Akbar appointed two officers to each ṣūba, Askaran and Shaykh Ibrāhīm (No. 82) were appointed to Āgra. In the 33rd year, he served a second time against Rāja Madhukar under Shihāb Khān (No. 26), and died soon after.

Abū 'I-Faẓl has not given his name in this list of grantees. The *Tabaqāt* says he was a Commander of Three Thousand.

Rāj Singh, his son, received the title of Rāja after the death of his father. He served for a long time in the Dakḥin, was called in the 44th year to Court, and was appointed commandant of Gwāliyār. In the 45th year, he joined the Imperial army, which under Akbar besieged Fort Āsir. In the 47th year, he pursued, together with Rāj Rājān, Patr Dās (No. 196) the notorious Bir Singh Deo Bundela, who at Jahāngir's instigation had murdered Abū 'I-Faẓl. For his distinguished services in the operations against the Bundela clan, he was promoted, and held, in the 50th year the rank of a Commander of 4,000, 3,000 horse. In the 3rd year, of Jahāngir's reign, he served in the Dakḥin, where he died in 1021 (10th year).

Rām Dās, his son, was a Commander of 1,000, 400 horse. He received, in the 12th year, the title of Rāja, and was made, in the same year, a Commander of 1,500, 700 horse.

One of his grandsons, Prasuttam Singh, turned Muḥammadan in the 6th year of Shāhjahān's reign, and received the name of 'Ibādātmand.¹

175. Rāj Bhoj, son of Rāj Surjan Hādā (No. 96).

When Būndī, in the 22nd year, was taken from Daudā, elder brother of Rāj Bhoj, the latter was put in possession of it. Bhoj served under Mān Singh against the Afghāns of Orisā, and under Shaykh Abū 'I-Faẓl in the Dakḥin (*Akbari*, III, 851, 855).

His daughter was married to Jagat Singh (No. 160).

In the first year of his reign, Jahāngir wished to marry Jagat Singh's daughter. Rāj Bhoj, her grandfather, refused to give his consent, and Jahāngir resolved to punish him on his return from Kābul. But Rāj Bhoj, in the end of 1016, committed suicide. The marriage, however, took place on the 4th Rabi' I, 1017, (*Tuzuk*, pp. 68, 69).

It is said that Rāthor and Kachhwāha princesses entered the imperial Harem; but no Hādā princess was ever married to a Timuride.

XIV. Commanders of Eight Hundred.

176. Sher Khwāja.

He belonged to the Sayyids of Itāwa (ساداتِ ایتوا). His mother was a *Naqshbandī* (p. 466, note 2). Sher Kh's name was "Pādishāh Khwāja", but Akbar called him on account of his bravery and courage *Sher Khwāja*.

In the 30th year, Sh. Kh. served under Sa'īd Khān Chaghtā'i (No. 25) against the Yūsufzāis, and afterwards under Sulṭān Murād in the Dakḥin. In the 40th year, the Prince sent with him a corps to Paṭan, where he distinguished himself against Ikhlas Khān. He continued to serve in the Dakḥin under Abū 'I-Faẓl. In the engagement near Bir he was wounded. He entered the town victoriously but was besieged. From want of provisions, his men had to subsist on horse-flesh. As in consequence of the swelling of the Gangā (Godāvari) he did not expect assistance from the north, he resolved to try a last sortie and perish, when Abū 'I-Faẓl arrived and raised the siege. Abū 'I-Faẓl proposed to leave his own son 'Abd' 'r-Rahmān at Bir; but Sh. Kh. refused to quit his post. In the 46th year, he received a drum and a flag.

¹ Ūdha is generally spelt on our maps *Oorcha*. It lies near Jhānsi on the left bank of the Betwa. The name of the river "Dasthārā" mentioned on p. 382, is differently spelt in the MSS. In one place the *Ma'āsir* has *Saldahārā*.

¹ Regarding the Kachhwāhas, see my article in the *Calcutta Review*, for April, 1871, entitled "A Chapter from Muḥammadan History".

Sh. Kh. remained in favour during the reign of Jahāngir. He was with the emperor when Mahābat Khān near the Bahat had taken possession of Jahāngir's person. After Jahāngir's death, he served with Āṣaf Khān against Shahryār in Lāhor.

In the 1st year of Shāhjahān's reign, he was made a Commander of 4,000, with 1,000 horse, and received the title of *Khawāja Bāqī Khān*. He was also appointed governor of Thathah, vice Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān (p. 392). He died on his way to his province in 1037. *Pādishāhn.*, I, 181, 200.

His son *Khawāja Hāshim* was made a commander of 500 (*Pādishāhnāma*, I, b. 327). Another son, *Asad* 'llāh, is mentioned as a Commander of 900, 300 horse, (*Pādishāhn.*, II, 738).

177. Mirzā Khurram, son of Khān-i A'zam Mirzā 'Aziz Koka (No. 21).

He has been mentioned above, p. 346.

XV. Commanders of Seven Hundred.

178. Quraysh Sultān, son of Abd' 'r-Rashid Khān, king of Kāshghar.

182. Sultān 'Abd' 'llāh, brother (by another mother) of Quraysh Sultān

310. Shāh Muhammad, son of Quraysh Sultān.

Quraysh Sultān is a descendant of Chingiz Khān.¹ His genealogical tree is given in the *Akbarnāma* (III, 584) and the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* as on following page.

After the death of 'Abd' 'r-Rashid Khān (16), 'Abd' 'l-Karim Khān, elder brother of Quraysh Sultān, succeeded to the throne of Kāshghar. He treated his relations well, partly in fulfilment of his father's wish, partly from natural benevolence. But Khudābanda, son of Quraysh Sultān, quarrelled with Muhammad Khān, his uncle, and Khudābanda occupied the town of Tarfān. 'Abd' 'llāh, doubting the loyalty of his relations, ordered Quraysh Sultān to go to Makkah. Q. went first with his family to Badakhshān and Balkh, and lastly, with the permission of 'Abd' 'llāh Khān of Tūrān, to Hindūstān. He met Akbar, in the 34th year, at Shihāb 'd-Dīn-pūr, when the emperor was just returning from Kashmir, was well received, and appointed to a command of Seven Hundred.

Quraysh died in the 37th year (1000), at Hājpūr.

179. Qarā Bahādūr, son of Mirzā Maḥmūd, who is the paternal uncle of Mirzā Haydar [Gurgānī].

¹ Chingiz Khān in the histories is often called *Qā'ān-i Buzurg*

1. Chingiz Khān.
2. Chaghtā'ī Khān.
3. Mawātkān (second son of Chaghtā'ī Khān)
4. سمرتا (the MSS. give various readings).
5. Yarsq' Khān (called after his conversion Sultān Ghiyā' 'd-Dīn).
6. Dawā Khān.²
7. Alsīnūqā, or Alasīnūqā, Khān.
8. Tughluq Timūr Khān
9. Khizr Khawāja Khān (father-in-law of Timūr).
10. (a) Muhammad Khān . . . (b) Sham' Jabān Khān . . . (c) Naqah Jabān Khān.
11. (a) Sher Muhammad Khān. (b) Sher 'Alī Ughlān.
12. Uwas Khān, son of Sher 'Alī Ughlān.
13. Yūnas Khān, father of Bābar's mother.
14. Sultān Ahmad Khān, known as Alāncha Khān.
15. Sultān Abū Sa'īd Khān.
16. 'Abd' 'r-Rashid Khān.

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 17. (1) 'Abd' 'l-Karim <u>Khān</u> . | (2) Quraysh Sultān (No. 168). | (3) Sultān 'Abd' 'llāh (No. 178). |
| (1) Shāh Muhammad (No. 310).
(2) Khudābanda. | | |

Like the preceding, Qarā Bahādūr belonged to the royal family of Kāshghar. Mirzā Haydar's father, Muhammad Husayn, was the son of Bābar's maternal aunt.

Mirzā Haydar, during his stay in Kāshghar, had accompanied the

¹ Burāq, Vam'bery, p. 153 — BJ.

² Dawā invaded India during the reign of 'Alā' 'd-Dīn; vide *Journal As Soc. Bengal* for 1869, p. 194, and 1870, p. 44.

³ His daughter is called Tukul Khānum توكول خانم. It is said that Timūr after the marriage received the title of Gurgān گورگان, the Mughal term for the Persian *dāwad*, a son-in-law. Hence Timurides are often called *Gurganids*.

⁴ Mirzā Haydar was a historian and poet. He wrote in 951 the *Tārīkh-i 'Abd' 'r-Rashīdī*, in honour of 'Abd' 'r-Rashīd, king of Kāshghar. The villa known as *Dagh-i Sa'd* was erected by him. *Akbarnāma*, III, 585.

The MS of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* in the Library of the Asiatic Society (Perman MSS. No. 155, three parts, 19 lines per page) is a fair, though modern copy, and was brought by Capt. H. Strachey from Yarkand.

The *Tārīkh* commences with the reign of Tughluq Timūr, who was converted to Islām by Mawlānā Arabad' 'd-Dīn, and goes down to the reign of 'Abd' 'r-Rashīd. The second *daftar* contains the Memoirs of Mirzā Haydar. The style is elegant.

son of Sultān Abū Saʿīd on several expeditions to Kashmīr, and had thus acquired some knowledge of the people and the state of that province. He subsequently went over Badakhshān to India, and arrived at Lāhor, where Mirzā Kāmran made him his *nāʾib* during his absence on an expedition to Qandahār, which the Shāh of Persia had taken from Khwāja Kalān Bēg. M. Haydar afterwards accompanied Kāmran to Āgra, and tried on several occasions to persuade Humāyūn to take possession of Kashmīr. When the emperor after his second defeat by Sher Shāh retreated to Lāhor, he gave M. Haydar a small corps and sent him to Kashmīr. The country being in a distracted state, M. H. took possession of it without bloodshed, and ruled as absolute king for ten years. But afterwards he ordered the *khulʿa* to be read, and coins to be struck, in Humāyūn's name. He was killed in 958 by some treacherous Kashmīris.

The father of Qarā Bahādūr was Mirzā Maḥmūd; hence Q. B. was M. Haydar's cousin. As he had been with M. H. in Kashmīr, Akbar, in the 6th year, ordered him to re-conquer the province, and gave him a large corps. But Q. B. delayed his march, and when he arrived in the hot season at Rājor, he found the passes fortified. Soon afterwards, he was attacked and defeated by Ghāzi Khān, who had usurped the throne of Kashmīr. Q. B. discomfited returned to Akbar.

In the 9th year, he accompanied the emperor to Mālwa, and was appointed, on Akbar's return, governor of Mandū. He died soon after.

For a relation of Qarā Bahādūr, vide No. 183.

180. Muzaḥfar Ḥusayn Mirzā, son of Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mirzā [son of Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā].

Muzaḥfar Ḥusayn Mirzā is a Timuride. His tree is as follows:—

Umar Shaykh Mirzā (second son of Timur).

Mirzā Bāyqā.

Mirzā Mansūr.

M. Bāyqā.

Waiz Mirzā.

Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā.

(1) Ulugh Mirzā. (2) Shāh Mirzā. (3) Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn M. (4) Muḥammad Ḥusayn M.

(1) Sikandar Mirzā, sive Ulugh Mirzā. (2) Maḥmūd Sultān M., sive Shāh Mirzā.

Muzaḥfar Ḥusayn Mirzā (No. 180).

[His brother is Abū 'l-Ghāzi Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā.—B.]

The mother of Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā was the daughter of the renowned Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā, king of Khurāsān, at whose Court Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā held a place of distinction. After Sultān Ḥusayn's death, Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā went to Bābar, who treated him with every distinction. Humāyūn also favoured him, though on several occasions he rebelled, and extended his kindness to his sons, Ulugh Mirzā and Shāh Mirzā, who had given him repeatedly cause of dissatisfaction. Ulugh Mirzā was killed in the expedition against the Hazāras, and Shāh Muḥammad died, soon after, a natural death.

Ulugh Mirzā had two sons, Sikandar Mirzā and Maḥmūd Sultān Mirzā; but Humāyūn changed their names, and gave Sikandar the name of Ulugh Mirzā, and Maḥmūd Sultān Mirzā that of Shāh Mirzā.

As Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā was old, Akbar excused him from attending at Court (*taḥlif-i bār*), and gave him the pargana of Aʿzampūr in Sambhal as a pension. He also bestowed several other places upon his grandsons Ulugh and Shāh Mirzā. At Aʿzampūr in his old age, Muḥammad Sultān M. had four other sons born to him—1. Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mirzā, 2. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mirzā, 3. Masʿūd Ḥusayn Mirzā, and 4. ʿĀqil Ḥusayn Mirzā.

In the 11th year of Akbar's reign, Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, king of Kabul, invaded India and besieged Lāhor; and when Akbar marched against him, Ulugh M. and Shāh M. rebelled. They were joined in their revolt by their (younger) uncles Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn M. and Muḥammad Ḥusayn M. The rebellious Mirzās went plundering from Sambhal, to Khān Zamān (No. 13) at Jaunpūr; but as they could not agree with him, they marched on Dillī, and from there invaded Mālwa, the governor of which, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās (No. 31), was with the emperor. The consequence of their revolt was, that Akbar imprisoned the old Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā. He died a short time after in his prison at Biānā. In the 12th year, when Akbar had defeated and killed Khān Zamān, and conquered Chitor, he made Shihāb Khān (No. 26) governor of Mālwa, and ordered him to punish the Mirzās.

About this time Ulugh M. died. The other Mirzās unable to withstand Shihāb Khān fled to Chingiz Khān (p. 419), who then ruled over a portion of Gujrāt. Chingiz Khān was at war with Iʿtimād Khān (No. 67) of Ahmadābād; and as the Mirzās had rendered him good service, he gave them Bahrūch as jāgīr. But their behaviour in that town was so cruel that Chingiz Khān had to send a corps against them. Though the Mirzās defeated his troops they withdrew to Khāndesh, and re-entered Mālwa. They were vigorously attacked by Ashraf Khān (No. 74), Sādiq Khān

No. 43). and others, who besieged Rantanbhūr (13th year), and were pursued to the Narbadā, where many soldiers of the Mirzās perished in crossing. In the meantime Chingiz Khān had been murdered by Jhujhār Khān and as Gujrāt was in a state of disorder, the Mirzās with little fighting, occupied Champānīr, Bahrōch, and Sūrat.

In the 17th year, Akbar entered Gujrāt and occupied Ahmadabad. Dissensions having broken out among the Mirzās, Ibrāhīm Husayn M. left Bahrōch, and arrived at a place 8 miles from Akbar's camp. Most of Akbar's Amīrs had the day before been sent away towards Sūrat in search of Muhammad Husayn M. Hearing of Ibrāhīm Husayn's arrival, the emperor dispatched Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80) after the Amīrs whilst he himself marched to the Mahindri River, where it flows past the town of Sarnāl. Akbar had about 40 men with him, few of whom had armour; but when the Amīrs returned, the number rose to about 200. The signal of attack was given and after a hard fight, Ibrāhīm Husayn M. was defeated. He fled towards Āgra, whilst his wife, Gulrukḥ Begam, a daughter of Mirzā Kāmran, on hearing of his defeat, fled with Muzaffar Husayn Mirzā from Sūrat to the Dakhin.

Akbar now resolved to invest Sūrat, and left M. 'Aziz Koka (No. 21) with a garrison in Ahmadābād, ordering at the same time Qutb 'd-Dīn (No. 28) to join 'Aziz with the Mālwa contingent. Muhammad Husayn M. and Shāh M. thereupon united their troops with those of Sher Khān Fūlādī, a Gujrātī noble, and besieged Patan. 'Aziz marched against them, and defeated them (p. 432). Muhammad Husayn M. then withdrew to the Dakhin.

Ibrāhīm Husayn M. and his younger brother Mas'ūd Husayn M. having met with resistance at Nāgor (p. 384), invaded the Panjāb. The governor, Husayn Qulī Khān (No. 24) at that time besieged Nagarkot, and hearing of the inroad of the Mirzās, made peace with the Rāja, attacked the rebels, defeated them, and captured Mas'ūd. Ibrāhīm Husayn fled towards Multān, and was soon afterwards wounded and captured by some Balūchīs. He then fell into the hands of Sa'id Khān (No. 25) and died of his wounds.

After Akbar's return to Āgra, Muhammad Husayn Mirzā left the Dakhin, invaded Gujrāt; and took possession of several towns. He was defeated at Kambhāt by Nawrang Khān (p. 354) and joined the party of Ikhtiyār 'l-Mulk and the sons of Sher Khān Fūlādī. They then marched against Ahmadābād and besieged M. 'Aziz Koka. To relieve him Akbar hastened by forced marches from Āgra to Patan, and arrived, on the 5th Jumādā I, 981 (p. 458), with about 1,000 horse,

at a place 3 kos from Ahmadābād. Leaving Ikhtiyār to continue the siege, Muhammad Husayn opposed the emperor, but was defeated and wounded. In his flight his horse fell over a bramble, when two troopers captured him, and led him to Akbar. Each of the two men claimed the customary reward, and when Bīr Bar, at Akbar's request, asked Muhammad Husayn which of the two had taken him prisoner, he said, "The salt of the emperor has caught me; for those two could not have done it." Ikhtiyār, on hearing of the defeat and capture of Muhammad Husayn, raised the siege, and fled with his 5,000 troopers. Akbar at once pursued him. Ikhtiyār got detached from his men, and in jumping over a shrub fell with his horse to the ground, when Subrāb Turkman who was after him, cut off his head, and took it to the emperor. Muhammad Husayn also had, in the meantime, been executed by Ray Singh (No. 44), whom Akbar had put over him.

Shāh Mirzā had fled in the beginning of the battle.

In the 22nd year, Muzaffar Husayn Mirzā, whom his mother had taken to the Dakhin, entered Gujrāt and created disturbances. He was defeated by Rāja Todar Mal and Vazīr Khān (p. 379) and fled to Jūnāgaḥ. When the Rāja had gone, Muzaffar besieged Vazīr in Ahmadābād. During the siege he managed to attach Vazīr's men to his cause, and was on the point of entering the town, when a cannon ball killed Mīhr 'Alī Kolābī, who had led the young Muzaffar into rebellion. This so affected Muzaffar that he raised the siege, though on the point of victory, and withdrew to Nazrbār. Soon after, he was captured by Rāja 'Alī of Khāndesh, and handed over to Akbar. He was kept for some time in prison; but as he showed himself loyal, Akbar, in the 36th year, released him, and married him to his eldest daughter, the Sultān Khānum. He also gave him the Sarkār of Qanawjastuyūl. Muzaffar, however, was addicted to the pleasures of wine, and when complaints were brought to Akbar, he cancelled the tuyūl, and again imprisoned him. But he soon after set him at liberty. In the 45th year (1008), when Akbar besieged Āsir, he sent Muzaffar to besiege Fort Lalang. But he quarrelled with Khwāja Fath' 'Ilāh, and one day, he decamped for Gujrāt. His companions deserted him; and dressing himself in the garb of a faqir, he wandered about between Sūrat and Baglāna, when he was caught by Khwāja Waisi and taken before the Emperor. After having been imprisoned for some time, he was let off in the 46th year. He died, not long after, a natural death.

His sister, Nūr 'n-Nisā, was married to Prince Salim (vide No. 225, note). Gulrukḥ Begam, Muzaffar's mother, was still alive in 1023, when she was visited on her sick-bed by Jahāngīr at Ajmir.

181. Qundūq Khān, brother of the well-known Bayrām Oghlān.

The *Albarnāma* (I, 411) mentions a Qundūq Sulṭān, who accompanied Humāyūn on his march to India.

For Qundūq, some MSS. read Qundūz. A grandee of this name served in Bengal under Muṣṭafī, and died at Gaur (p. 407).

182. Sulṭān 'Abd' 'llāh, brother (by another mother) of Quraysh Sulṭān (No. 178).

183. Mirzā 'Abd' 'r-Rahmān, son of Mirzā Iḥaydar's brother (*vide* No. 179).

184. Qiyā Khān, son of Sāhib Khān.

In the *Tabaqāt* and the *Albarnāma* he is generally called قیاس صاحب حسن, which may mean "Qiyā, the beautiful", or "Qiyā, son of Sāhib Ḥasan". Proper nouns ending in a long vowel rarely take the Izāfat.¹ It looks as if the reading صاحب خان of the Ā in MSS. was a mistake. The words صاحب حسن are intended to distinguish him from Qiyā Gung (No. 33).

Qiyā served under Shams' 'd-Dīn Atga against Bayrām (p. 332). He was also present in the battle of Sārangpūr (*vide* No. 120).

185. Darbār Khān, 'Ināyat [ullah], son of Takaltū Khān, the Reader.

Darbār's father was Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reader. 'Ināyat, on his arrival in India, was appointed to the same post by Akbar, and received the title of Darbār Khān. He served in the 9th year (end of 971) in Mālwa, and in the 12th year, in the last war with Khān Zamān. He accompanied the emperor to Rantanbhūr, and when Akbar, in the 14th year, after the conquest of the fort, made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Muṣṭafī Chishtī in Ajmir, Darbār Khān took sick leave, and died on his arrival at Āgra.

According to his dying wish—to the disgust of the author of the *Ma'āşir*—he was buried in the mausoleum of one of Akbar's dogs, which he had built. The dog had shown great attachment to its imperial master.

186. 'Abd' 'r-Rahmān, son of Muṣayyid Duldāy.

The name *Duldāy* had been explained above on p. 388. 'Abd' 'r-Rahmān's great-grandfather, Mir Shāh Malik, had served under Timūr. 'Abd' 'r-Rahmān was killed in a fight with the Bihār rebel Dalpat. *Vide* under his son Barkhurdār, No. 328, and under No. 146. Another son is mentioned below, No. 349.

187. Qāsim 'Alī Khān.

When Akbar, in the 10th year, moved against Khān Zamān (No. 13), Qāsim 'Alī Khān held Ghūzīpūr. In the 17th year, he served in the siege of Sūrat, and in the following year, with Khān 'Ālam (No. 58) in the conquest of Patna under Muṣṭafī. For some reason he returned to Court, and took Shujā'at Khān (No. 51) a prisoner to Muṣṭafī, whom he had slandered. In the 22nd year, he served under Šādiq (No. 43) against Madhukar Bundela, and in the 25th year, under 'Aziz Koka (No. 21) in Bihār. In the 26th year, he was employed to settle the affairs of Hājī Begam, daughter of the brother of Humāyūn's mother (*aqhā'i zāda-yi rāhida-yi Jannat-āstāni*), who after her return from Makkah (see under 146) had been put in charge of Humāyūn's tomb in Dīblī, where she died. In the 31st year, when Akbar appointed two officers for each Šūba, Q. A. and Faṭḥ Khān Tughluq were sent to Audh. He returned, in the 35th year, from Khayrābād to Court, and soon after received Kālpi as jāgīr. "Nothing also is known of him" *Ma'āşir*. For his brother, *vide* No. 390.

188. Bāz Bahādur, son of Sharīf Khān (No. 63)

Vide above, p. 415.

189. Sayyid 'Abd' 'llāh, son of Mir Khwānanda.

Some MSS. have "Khwānd" instead of "Khwānanda." Sayyid 'Abd' 'llāh had been brought up at Court. In the 9th year, he served in the pursuit of 'Abd' 'llāh Khān Uzbek. In the 17th year, he was with the Khān-i Kalān (No. 16) in the first Gujrāt war. Later, he served under Muṣṭafī in Bengal, and was with Khān 'Ālam (No. 58) in the battle of Takarōi (p. 406). In 984, he brought the news of Da'ūd's defeat and death at Āgmaḥal (p. 350) to Akbar. During the Bengal military revolt, he served under Mirzā 'Aziz (No. 21) and under Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80), chiefly against Maṣūm-i Farankhūdī (No. 157). In the 31st year, Akbar sent him to Qāsim Khān (No. 59) in Kashmīr. In the 34th year (997), he was one night surprised by a body of Kashmīris, and killed with nearly three hundred Imperialists.

190. Dhārū, son of Rāja Toḍar Mal (No. 39).

Vide above, p. 378.

191. Aḥmad Beg-i Kābulī.

Aḥmad Beg traces his origin to Mir Ghiyās' 'd-Dīn Tarkhān, a Chaghtā'i noble who served under Timūr. Like Shāh Beg (No. 57), Tāj Khān

¹ Thus you say ملاک, ملاک, ملاک, the accursed Hujāgū.

² Sayyid Aḥmad's edition of the *Tuzuk* mentions a Qāsim 'Alī on p. 58, l. 2 from below; but according to the *Ma'āşir*, we have there to read Qāsim Beg for Qāsim 'Alī.

(No. 172), Abū 'I-Qāsim (No. 129), Maṣūm Khān (p. 476, note 1), and Talhā Beg (No. 195). A. B. entered, after M. Muhammad Ḥakīm's death, Akbar's service. He was made a commander of 700, and received, in 1003, on the removal of Yūsuf Khān-i Rāzawī (No. 35), a jāgir in Kashmir. He married the sister of Jāsar Beg Aṣaf Khān (No. 93).

During the reign of Jahāngir he rose to the post of a commander of 3,000, and received the title of *Kāin*, and also a flag. He was for some time governor of Kashmir. On his removal, he went to Court, and died.

From the *Tuzuk* we see that Ahmad Beg in the first year of Jahāngir was made a commander of 2,000, and held Peshāwar as jāgir. In the second year he was ordered to punish the Afghān tribes in Bangash, and was for his services there promoted, in the 5th year, to a command of 2,500. In the 9th year, in consequence of complaints made by Qulij Khān (No. 42), he was called to Court, and confined to Fort Rantanbhūr (*Tuzuk*, p. 156). In the following year, he was released (*l.c.*, p. 146) and sent to Kashmir (*l.c.*, p. 149).

Ahmad Beg's sons, especially his second eldest, were all distinguished soldiers. They are —

1. *Muhammad Maṣūf* (eldest son). He was killed in the war with the Tārikis. His son Ardsher, was a commander of 1,000, six hundred horse, and died in the 18th year of Shāhj.'s reign.

2. *Sa'id Khān Bahādūr Zafar-jang* (second son). He rose during the reign of Shāhjahān to the high dignity of a commander of 7,000, and distinguished himself in every war. He was governor of Kābul, the Panjāb, and Bihār. He died on the 2nd Šafar, 1062. Of his twenty-two sons, the two eldest, *Khānazād Khān* and *Luṭf 'Ilāh*, were killed in the Balkh war, where Sa'id also was severely wounded. Two other sons, *ʿAkbar 'Ilāh* and *Fath 'Ilāh*, rose to high commands.

3. *Muḥliṣ 'Ilāh Kān Iṣṭikhār Khān*. He rose under Shāhjahān to a command of 2,000, one thousand horse, and was Fawjār of Jammū (*Pādishāhn.*, I, p. 258), and died in the 4th year of Shāhj.'s reign.

4. *Abū 'I-Baqā*. He was the younger brother (by the same mother) of Sa'id, under whom he served. He was thānadār of Lower Bangash. In the 15th year, after the Qandahār expedition, he got the title of *Iṣṭikhār Khān*, at the same time that his elder brother received that of *Zafar-jang*, and was made a commander of 1,500, one thousand horse.

192. *Hakīm 'Ali*, of Gilān.

'Ali came poor and destitute from Persia to India, but was fortunate

enough to become in course of time a personal attendant (*mulāzim*) and friend of Akbar. Once the emperor tried him by giving him several bottles of urine of sick and healthy people, and even of animals. To his satisfaction, 'Ali correctly distinguished the different kinds. In 938, he was sent as ambassador to 'Adil Shāh of Bijāpūr, and was well received; but before he could be sent back with presents for his master, 'Adil Shāh suddenly died.¹

In the 39th year, Ḥakīm 'Ali constructed the wonderful reservoir (*ḥauz*), which is so often mentioned by Mughul historians. A staircase went to the bottom of the reservoir, from where a passage led to an adjoining small room, six gaz square, and capable of holding ten or twelve people. By some contrivance, the water of the reservoir was prevented from flowing into the chamber. When Akbar dived to the bottom of the reservoir and passed into the room, he found it lighted up and furnished with cushions, sleeping apparel, and a few books. Breakfast was also provided.

In the 40th year, 'Ali was a commander of 700, and had the title of *Jālinūs 'Z-Zamānī*, "the Galenus of the age." His astringent mixtures enjoyed a great reputation at Court.

He treated Akbar immediately before his death. It is said that the Emperor died of dysentery or acute diarrhœa, which no remedies could stop. 'Ali had at last recourse to a most powerful astringent, and when the dysentery was stopped, costive fever and strangury ensued. He therefore administered purgatives, which brought back the diarrhœa, of which Akbar died. The first attack was caused, it is said, by worry and excitement on account of the behaviour of Prince Khuraw at an elephant fight. Salim (Jahāngir) had an elephant of the name of *Girānbār*, who was a match for every elephant of Akbar's stables, but whose strength was supposed to be equal to that of *Ābrūp*, one of Khuraw's elephants. Akbar therefore wished to see them fight for the championship, which was done. According to custom, a third elephant, *Rantahman*, was selected as *jabāncha*, i.e., he was to assist either of the two combatants when too severely handled by the other. At the fight, Akbar and Prince Khuram (Shāhjahān) sat at a window, whilst Salim and Khuraw were on horseback in the arena. Girānbār completely worsted Ābrūp, and as he mauled

¹ 'Adil Shāh was murdered in 938 by a young handsome eunuch, whom he attempted to use for an immoral purpose. The king was known as much for his justice and goodwill towards his subjects as for his mania for boys and unnatural crimes. He obtained with some exertion two young and handsome eunuchs from Malik Barid of Beder, and was stabbed by the elder of the two at the first attempt of satisfying his inordinate desires. Mawlānā Rāzā of Mashhad, poetically styled Rāzāī, found the *tarikh* of his death in the words *Shāh-jahān shud shahid* (938), "The king of the world became a martyr."

him too severely, the *fabāncha* elephant was sent off to Ābrūp's assistance. But Jahāngir's men, anxious to have no interference, pelted Rantahman with stones, and wounded the animal and the driver. This annoyed Akbar, and he sent Khurram to Salim to tell him not to break the rules, as in fact all elephants would once be his. Salim said that the pelting of stones had never had his sanction, and Khurram, satisfied with the explanation, tried to separate the elephants by means of fireworks, but in vain. Unfortunately Rantahman also got worsted by Girānbār, and the two injured elephants ran away, and threw themselves into the Jamna. This annoyed Akbar more; but his excitement was intensified, when at that moment Khursaw came up, and abused in unmeasured terms his father in the presence of the emperor. Akbar withdrew, and sent next morning for 'Alī, to whom he said that the vexation caused by Khursaw's bad behaviour had made him ill.

In the end of 1017, Jajāngir also visited 'Alī's reservoir, and made him a commander of 2,000. He did not long enjoy his promotion, and died on the 5th Muḥarram, 1018. Jahāngir says of him (*Tuzuk*, p. 74) that he excelled in Arabic, and composed a commentary to the *Qānūn*. "But his subtlety was greater than his knowledge, his looks better than his walk of life, his behaviour better than his heart; for in reality he was a bad and unprincipled man." Once Jahāngir hinted that 'Alī had killed Akbar. On the other side it is said that he spent annually 6,000 Rupees on medicines for the poor.¹

He had a son, known as *Ḥakīm 'Abd' l-Wahhāb*. He held a *manṣab*. In the 15th year of Jahāngir's reign, he claimed from certain Sayyids in Lāhor the sum of 80,000 Rs., which, he said, his father had lent them. He supported his claim by a certificate with the seal of a Qāzī on it, and the statements of two witnesses. The Sayyids, who denied all knowledge, seeing that the case went against them, appealed to the Emperor. Jahāngir ordered Āṣaf Khān (No. 98) to investigate the case. 'Abd' l-Wahhāb got afraid, and tried to evade the investigation by proposing to the Sayyids a compromise. This looked suspicious, and Āṣaf by cross-questioning found that the claim was entirely false. He therefore reported 'Abd' l-Wahhāb, and the Emperor deprived him of his *manṣab* and *jāgīr*. He seems to have been afterwards restored to favour, for in the *Pādīshāh-nāma* (I, 6. 328) he is mentioned as a commander of 500, fifty horse.

¹ *Badī' onī* (III, 166) says that 'Alī was the son of the sister of Ḥakīm l-Mulk of Gilān, and learned medicine and science under Shāh Fath' l-lāh of Shīrāz. He was a rabid Shi'ah, and a bad doctor who often killed his patients. Thus he killed Fath' l-lāh by prescribing *harisa* (vide p. 34, note).

'193. Gūjar Khān, son of Quṭb' d-Dīn Khān Atga (No. 28). He was mentioned above under No. 28.

194. Sadr Jahān Muftī.

Mīrān Ṣadr Jahān was born in Pihānī, a village near Qanawj.¹ Through the influence of Shaykh 'Abd' n-Nabī he was made *Muftī*. When 'Abd' l-lāh Khān Uzbek, king of Tūrān, wrote to Akbar regarding his apostacy from Islām, Mīrān Ṣadr and Ḥakīm (No. 205) were selected as ambassadors. The answer which they took to 'Abd' l-lāh contained a few Arabic verses which 'Abd' l-lāh could construe into a denial of the alleged apostacy—

قيل ان الله ذو ولد قيل ان الرسول قد كينا
ما بينا الله والرسول معا من لسان الوري فكيف انا

"Of God people have said that He had a son; of the Prophet some have said that he was a sorcerer. Neither God nor the Prophet has escaped the slander of men—Then how should I?"

Mīrān returned in the 34th year, and was made *Ṣadr* (vide p. 284). In the 35th year, at the feast of Ābūnāmāh, the Court witnessed a curious spectacle. The Ṣadr and 'Abd' l-Hay (No. 230), the Chief Justice of the empire, took part in a drinking feast, and Akbar was so amused at seeing his ecclesiastical and judicial dignitaries over their cups, that he quoted the well-known verse from Ḥāfiz:—

در دور پادشاه خطابخش جرم بوش حافظا قراءه کش شد و مفتی بیاله نوش

Up to the 40th year, he had risen to the dignity of a commander of 700; but later, he was made an Amīr, and got a *manṣab* of 2,000 (vide p. 217-18).

During the reign of Jahāngir, who was very fond of him, he was promoted to a command of 4,000, and received Qanawj as *tuyūl*. As Ṣadr under Jahāngir he is said to have given away more lands in five years than under Akbar in fifty. He died in 1020, at the age, it is believed, of 120 years. His faculties remained unimpaired to the last.

His position to Akbar's "Divine Faith" has been explained above (p. 217-18). There is no doubt that he temporized, and few people got more for it than he. He also composed poems, though in the end of his life, like Badā' onī, he repented and gave up poetry as being against the spirit of the Muḥammadan law.

He had two sons:—

1. *Mīr Badr-i 'Ālam*. He lived a retired life.

2. *Sayyid Nizām Khān*. His mother was a Brāhman woman, of

¹ So Badā' onī. The *Ma'āzīr* says, Pihānī lies near Lakhnau.

whom his father had been so enamoured that he married her; hence Nizām was his favourite son. He was early introduced at Court, and, at the death of his father, was made a commander of 2,500, two thousand horse. In the first year of Shāhjahān's reign, he was promoted to a command of 3,000, and received, on the death of Murtaṣā Khān Injū (p. 501) the title of *Murtaṣā Khān*. He served a long time in the Dakkhin. His *tugl* was the Pargana of Dalaman, where he on several occasions successfully quelled disturbances. He was also Faujdar of Lakhnau. In the 24th year of Shāhjahān's reign he was pensioned off, and received 20 lacs of dāms *per annum* out of the revenue of Pihāni, which was one krot. He enjoyed his pension for a long time.

His sons died before him. On his death, his grandsons, 'Abd' 'l-Muqtadir and 'Abd' 'līh were appointed to manage, and received as *tugl* the remaining portion of the revenue of Pihāni. 'Abd' 'l-Muqtadir rose to a command of 1,000, six hundred horse, and was Faujdar of Khayrābād.

195. Takhta Begi Kābuli [Sardār Khān].

He was at first in the service of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, and distinguished himself in the wars with India, but on the death of his master (30th year) he joined Akbar's service. He served under Mān Singh and Zayn Koka against the Yūzufāis. As Thānahdār of Peshāwar he pushed on several occasions the Tārikis. In the 19th year, he was made a *Khān*.

After Jahāngir's accession, he was made a commander of 2,000, and received the title of *Sardār Khān*. He was sent with Mirzā Ghāzi Tarḥān (p. 392), to relieve Shāh Beg Khān (No. 57) in Qandahār. As Shāh Beg was appointed governor of Kābul, Takhta was made governor of Qandahār, where, in 1016, he died.

He had a villa near Peshāwar, called the *Bāgh-i Sardār Khān*. His two sons, Hayāt Khān and Hildāyat 'līh got low managab.

196. Ray Patr Dās [Rāja Bikramājī], a Khatri.

Patr Dās was in the beginning of Akbar's reign accountant (*mushrif*) of the elephant stables, and had the title of *Rāy Rāyān*. He distinguished himself, in the 12th year, during the siege of Chitor. In the 24th year, he and Mir Adham were made joint diwāns of Bengal. At the outbreak of the Bengal military revolt, he was imprisoned by the rebels (p. 485), but got off and served for some time in Bengal. In the 30th year, he was made diwān of Bihār. In the 38th year, he was ordered to occupy Bāndhū (p. 446), the capital of which after a siege of 8 months and 25 days surrendered (42nd year). In the 43rd year, he was made diwān of Kābul,

but was in the following year again sent to Bāndhū. In the 46th year, he was made a commander of 3,000. When Abū 'l-Faṣl, in the 47th year, had been murdered by Bir Singh, Akbar ordered Patr Dās to hunt down the rebel, and bring his head to Court. Patr defeated Bir Singh in several engagements, and blockaded him in Irich. When the siege had progressed, and a breach was made in the wall, Bir Singh escaped and withdrew to the jungles with Patr close at his heels. Akbar, at last, in the 48th year, called P. to Court, made him in the next year a commander of 5,000, and gave him the title of Rāja Bikramājī.

After Jahāngir's accession, he was made *Mīr Atash*, and was ordered to recruit and keep in readiness 50,000 artillery (*topchī*) with a train of 3,000 gun-carts, the revenue of fifteen parganas being set aside for the maintenance of the corps (*Tuzuk*, p. 10).

When the sons of Muḥasīlār of Gujrāt created disturbances, and Yātim Bahādūr had been killed, Patr was sent to Ahmadābād with powers to appoint the officers of the rebels who submitted up to commands of Yūzbāshis, or to recommend them, if they had held higher commands, for appointments to the Emperor.

"The year of his death is not known." *Ma'āzīr*.

The Rāy Mohan Dās mentioned occasionally in the *Akbarnāma* and the *Tuzuk* (p. 50) appears to be his son.

197. Shaykh 'Abd' 'r-Raḥīm, of Lakhnau.

He belongs to the Shaykhzādas of Lakhnau, and was in the 40th year a commander of 700. He was a great friend of Jamāl Bakhtiyār (No. 113), from whom he learned wine-drinking. In fact he drank so hard that he frequently got insane. In the 30th year, when Akbar was in the Panjāb, 'Abd' 'r-Raḥīm wounded himself in a fit whilst at Siyālkoṭ in Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Faṣl's dwelling. Akbar looked after the wound himself.

His wife was a Brāhman woman of the name of Kishnā. After the death of her husband, she spent his money in laying out gardens and villas. In one of them her husband was buried, and she entertained every one who passed by the tomb, from a *panjāzārī* to a common soldier, according to his position in life.

'Abd' 'r-Raḥīm was mentioned above on p. 359-60.

198. Mednī Rāy Chauhān.

From the *Akbarnāma* we see that he served, in the 28th and 32nd years, in Gujrāt. Nizām 'd-Dīn Ahmad, who was with him in Gujrāt, says in the *Tabqāt*—"Mednī Rāy is distinguished for his bravery and liberality, and is now (i.e., in 1001) a commander of 1,000."

199. *Mir Abū 'l-Qāsim Namakīn* [Qāsim *Khān*].

The MSS. have almost invariably *Tamkīn* (تمکین) instead of *Namakīn*. He is not to be confounded with Nos. 240 and 250.

Mir Abū 'l-Qāsim was a Sayyid of *Hirāt*. He was at first in the service of *Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm*, Akbar's brother and king of *Kābul*. But he left *Kābul*, and on entering Akbar's service, he received *Bhira* and *Khushāb* in the *Punjab* as *jāgīr*. As his lands lay within the *Namaksār*,¹ or salt range, he once presented Akbar, evidently in allusion to his faithful intentions (*namak-ḥalālī*), with a plate and a cup made of salt (*namakīn*), from which circumstance he received the nickname of *Namakīn*.

Abū 'l-Qāsim served in the war with *Dā'ūd* of *Bengal*. In the 26th year, he was in *Kābul*, and accompanied, in the 30th year, *Ismā'īl Qulī Khān* (No. 46) on his expedition against the *Balūchīs*. In the 32nd year, the *Afghān* chiefs of *Sawūd* and *Bajor*, and *Terāh* waited with their families on Akbar, who made *Abū 'l-Qāsim* *Krori* and *Fawjdār* of those districts, and ordered him to take the families of the chiefs back to *Afghānistān*. The chiefs themselves were retained at Court. Renewed fights, in the 33rd year, gave him frequent occasions of distinguishing himself.

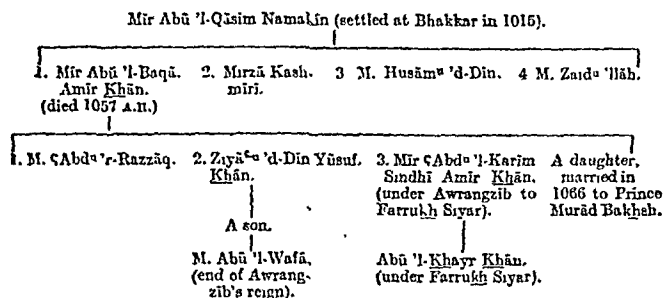
Up to the 40th year, he rose to a command of 700. In the 43rd year, he was appointed to *Bhakkar*. He built the great mosque in *Sukkhār*, opposite to *Bhakkar*. The inhabitants accused him of oppressions, and he was deposed. A party of the oppressed arrived with him at Court, and lodged a new complaint against him with *ʿAbdū 'l-Hay* (No. 230), the *Qāzī* of the imperial camp (*urdū*). But *Abū 'l-Qāsim*, though summoned, did not appear before the judge, and when the matter was reported to Akbar, he was sentenced to be tied to the foot of an elephant, and paraded through the bazars. To avoid the disgrace, he came to an immediate settlement with the complainants, chiefly through the mediation of *Shaykh Ma'rūf*, *Ṣadr* of *Bhakkar*, and prevailed on them to return the very day to their homes. The next day he went to the Emperor, and complained of the *Qāzī*, stating that there were no complainants, and *ʿAbdū 'l-Hay* tried in vain to produce the oppressed parties. This case led to the order that *Qāzīs* should in future prepare descriptive rolls of complainants, and present them to the Emperor.

¹ The *namaksār*, or salt-range, says the *Ma'asir*, is a district 20 *los* long, and belongs to the *Sind Sāgar* *Duāb*, between the *Bahat* and the *Indus*. People break off pieces from the salt rocks, and carry them to the banks of the river, where the price is divided between the miners and the carriers, the former taking $\frac{1}{2}$ and the latter $\frac{1}{2}$ of the amount realized. Merchants buy the salt at a price varying from half a *dām* to two *dāms* (one *rupce* = 40 *dāms*) per *man*, and export it: The Government takes 1 *Rupce* for every 17 *mans*. The salt is also often made into ornaments.

Abū 'l-Qāsim was, soon after, made a *Khān*, got a higher *maṅṣab*, and received *Gujrāt* in the *Panjab* as *tuyūl*. In the first year of *Jahāngīr*'s reign, he was made a commander of 1,500. The part which he played in the capture of Prince *Khusrāw* has been mentioned above (p. 456, note 1, where *Tamkīn* is to be altered to *Namakīn*). For his services he was again appointed to *Bhakkar* with the rank of a commander of 3,000. He now resolved to make *Bhakkar* his home. Most of his illustrious descendants were born there. On a hill near the town, southwards towards *Loharī*, near the branch of the river called *Kahārmātrī* (کیا، ماتری), he built a mausoleum, to which he gave the name of *Suffa-yi Ṣafā* (the dais of purity). He and several of his descendants were buried in it.

He is said to have been a most voracious man. He could eat—historians do not specify the time—1,000 mangoes, 1,000 sweet apples, and 2 melons, each weighing a *man*. The *Ma'asir* says, he had 22 sons, and the *Tuzuk* (p. 13) says he had 30 sons and more than 15 daughters.

The following tree is compiled from several notes in the *Ma'asir*—



Mir Abū 'l-Baqā Amir Khān rose under *Jahāngīr* to a command of 2,500, fifteen hundred horse. Through the influence of *Yamīn* 'd-Dawla he was made governor of *Multān*, and in the 2nd year of *Shāhjahān*, he was made a commander of 3,000, two thousand horse, and appointed to *Thathah*, *vice* *Murtazā-yi Injū* deceased (p. 501). In the 9th year, he was made *Tuyūldār* of *Bir* in the *Dakhin*, and was sent, in the 14th year, to *Siwistān vice* *Qarāq Khān*. In the following year he was again appointed to *Thathah*, where, in 1057 (20th year), he died. He was buried in the mausoleum built by his father. Under *Jahāngīr* he was generally called *Mir Khān*. *Shāhjahān* gave him the title of *Amir Khān*.

One of his daughters was married in 1066, after his death, to Prince *Murād Baksh*, who had no children by his first wife, a daughter of

appointed to Kābul, Muḥammad Qulī Khān, his brother Hamza Beg (perhaps No. 277), and others, were sent to Kashmīr, *vice* Yūsuf Khān (No. 35, and p. 452). In the 45th year, a party of Kasmīrīs tried to set up Ambā Chak¹ as king; but they were defeated by 'Alī Qulī, son of M. Q. Kh. In the 47th year, M. Q. Kh. was made a commander of 1,500, six hundred horse; and Hamza Beg, one of 700, three hundred and fifty horse. New disturbances broke out when in the following year 'Alī Rāy, king of Little Tibet, invaded the frontier districts of Kashmīr. He retreated on M. Q. Kh.'s arrival, and was vigorously pursued, when the imperialists were enforced by Sayfī 'Ilāh (No. 262) from Lāhor. In the 49th year, Ambā again appeared, but was driven, with some difficulty, from his mountains.

In the 2nd year of Jahāngīr's reign, M. Q. Kh. was removed from Kashmīr. Hamza Beg was, in the 49th year of Akbar's reign, a commander of 1,000.

204. Bakhtyār Beg Gurd-i Shāh Maṣṣūr.

The *Izāfat* most likely means that he was the son of Shāh Maṣṣūr, in which case the word *gurd* (athlete) would be Bakhtyār's epithet. Two MSS. have the word *pisar* (son) instead of *gurd*.

The *Ṭabaqāt* says: "Bakhtyār Beg Turkmān is an Amīr, and governs at present (1001) Sīwistān." In the 32nd year, he served against the Tārikīs.

205. Hakīm Humām,² son of Mīr 'Abd' 'r-Razzāq of Gilān.

Regarding his family connection, *vide* No. 112, p. 468. Humām's real name is Humāyūn. When he came to Akbar's Court, he discreetly called himself Humāyūn Qulī, or "slave of Humāyūn"; but soon afterwards Akbar gave him the name of Humām. He held the office of Bakāwal Beg (p. 59), and though only a commander of 600, he was a personal friend of Akbar, and possessed great influence at Court. In the 31st year he was sent with Ṣadr Jahān (No. 194) to Tūrān as ambassador. Akbar often said that he did not enjoy his meals on account of Humām's absence. He returned to India about a month after his brother's death. He died in the 40th year, on the 6th Rabi' I, 1004. *Badi' al-Zamān* (II, p. 406) says, the day after Humām's death, Kamālā (p. 261) also died, and their was at once put under seal and escheated to the government, were destitute of a decent shroud.

Humām had two sons:—

1. *Hakīm Hāzīq* (حاتق). He was born at Fathpūr Sikri, and was a young man when his father died. At Shāhjahān's accession, he was made a commander of 1,500, six hundred horse, and was sent: in the 1st year. to Tūrān as ambassador. He rose to a command of 3,000. Later, for some reason, his manṣab was cancelled, and he lived at Āgra on a pension of 20,000 rupees *per annum*, which in the 18th year was doubled. He died in the 31st year (1068).¹ He was a poet of some distinction, and wrote under the name of *Hāzīq*. His vanity is said to have been very great. A copy of his diwān was kept on a golden stool in his reception room. and visitors, when it was brought in or taken away, were expected to rise and make salāms; else he got offended.

2. *Hakīm Khushshāl*. He grew up with Prince Khurram. Shāhjahān, on his accession, made him a commander of 1,000. He was for some time Bakhsī of the Dakhīn.

² 206. Mīrzā Anwar, son of Khān-i A'zam Mīrzā Koka (No. 21).

He was mentioned above on page 346

XVII. Commanders of Five Hundred.

207. Baltū Khān of Turkistān.

He was a grandee of Humāyūn, and served in the Kābul war, and in the battles which led to H.'s restoration

208. Mīrak Bahādūr Arghūn

The *Ṭabaqāt* says he reached a command of 2,000, and died.² From the *Akbarnāma* (II, 170, 248) we see that he served in the conquest of Mālwa (*vide* No. 120) and in the pursuit of Sharaf' 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn (No. 17).

209. La'ī Khān Kolābī.

He is also called La'ī Khān *Badakhshī* (*vide* p. 481), and served under Humāyūn in the war of the restoration (*Akbarn.* I, 411). He distinguished himself in the defeat of Hemū. Later, he served under Mun'īm in Bengal and Orīṣā, and died of fever at Gaur (p. 407).

210. Shaykh Ahmad, son of Shaykh Salīm.

He is the second (*miyānī*) son of Shaykh Salīm of Fathpūr Sikri. He was a commander of 500 (No. 82), and died in the 22nd

¹ The MSS. have *Chak*. The *Tuzuk* mentions "a Kashmīrī of royal blood." He was killed by Sher Afkan (*vide* No. 394) at Bardwān, on

² Humām, not Hammām, is the Indian pronunciation.

¹ i.e. 1068 as the period from

211 Iskandar Beg-i Badakhshī.

He is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* (II, 251) as having served in the pursuit of Abū'l-Ma'ālī (end of the 8th year).

212 Beg Nūrīn Khān Qūchīn.

He served under Mu'izz¹ 'I-Mulk (No. 61) in the battle of Khayrābād. In the 32nd and 33rd years, he served under 'Abd^u 'I-Matlab (No. 83) and Šadiq Khān (No. 43) against the Tārikīs.

The *Tabaqāt* says he was a commander of 1,000, and was dead in 1001.

213. Jalāl Khān Qūrchī.

Akbar was much attached to him. In the 7th year, he was sent to Rām Chand Bhagela (No. 89) with the request to allow Tānsin to go to Court. In the 11th year, it came to the Emperor's ears that J. was passionately attached to a beautiful boy. Akbar had the boy removed; but J. managed to get him again, and fled with him from Court. M. Yūsuf Razawī pursued and captured them. After some time, J. was restored to favour. Later, he took a part in the expedition to Siwāna and distinguished himself, in the 20th year, in the war with Rāja Chandr Sen of Mārwar. During the expedition a Rājput introduced himself to him who pretended to be Devī Dās, who had been killed at Mirtha, evidently with a view of obtaining through him an introduction to Court. The stranger also reported that Chandr Sen had taken refuge with Kallā, son of Rām Rāy, and brother's son to Ch. S., and a detachment of imperialists was sent to Kallā's palace. Kallā now wished to take revenge on the stranger for spreading false reports, and induced Shimāl Khān (No. 154) to help him. Shimāl therefore invited the stranger; but though surrounded by Sh.'s men, the pretender managed to escape. He collected a few men and entered one night a tent which he supposed to belong to Shimāl. But it happened to be that of Jalāl, who was cut down by the murderers (end of 983, *Akbarn.*, III, 140).

It was Jalāl who introduced the historian Badā'onī at Court.

214. Parmānand, the Khatrī.

He is mentioned in Dowson's edition of *Elliot's Historians*, I, p. 244.

215. Timūr Khān Yakka.

He served under Mun'īm (No. 11) in Kābul, and, in the 10th year, against Khān Zamān (*Akbarn.*, II, 236, 326).

The Timūr-i Badakhshī mentioned several times in the *Akbarnāma* (III, 165, 174) appears to be another officer. *Vide* No. 142.

216. Sānī Khān, of Hirāt.

He was born at Hirāt, and belonged to the Arlāt (ارلات) clan. According to the *Akbarnāma* (I, 379), Mawlānā Sānī, "who is now called Sānī

Khān", was in the service of Mirzā Hindāl; but after the Mirzā's death (21st Zi Qa'ada, 958) he was taken on by Humāyūn. He served in the wars with Khān Zamān.

Badā'onī (III, 206) says that his real name was 'Alī Akbar. He was a fair poet, but a heretic, and like Tashbihī of Kāshān, wrote treatises on the Man of the Millennium, according to the Nuqtawī doctrines (p. 502). Hence he must have been alive in 990.

217. Sayyid Jamāl¹ 'd-Dīn, son of Sayyid Aḥmad Bārha (No. 91).

Vide above, p. 447. He had also served in the final war with Khān Zamān.

218. Jagmal, the Pūwār.

He served in the second Gujrāt war after Akbar's forced march to Patan and Ahmadābād (p. 458 note).

219. Husayn Beg, brother of Husayn Khān Buzurg.

220. Hasan Khān Batanī.¹

The *Tabaqāt* classes him among the commanders of 1,000. He was at first in the service of the Bengal king Sulaymān, and was present with Sulaymān Mankli (p. 400) and Kālā Pahār at the interview between Mun'īm and Khān Zamān (No. 13) at Baksar (Buxar). *Akbarn.*, II, 325.

Hasan was killed with Bir Baṛ in the Khaybar Pass; *vide* p. 214. MSS. often call him wrongly *Husayn* instead of *Hasan*.

221. Sayyid Chhahjū,² of Bārha.

The *Tabaqāt* says that S. Chhahjū was a brother of S. Maḥmūd (No. 75) and distinguished for his courage and bravery. From the family genealogies of the Bārha clan it appears that S. Ch. was a Kūndliwāl. His tomb still exists at Majhera, and according to the inscription he died in 967.

222. Mun'if Khān, Sulṭān Muḥammad of Hirāt.

223. Qāzī Khān Bakhshī.

Some MSS. have *Badakhshī* instead of *Bakhshī*. *Vide* No. 144.

224. Ḥājī Yūsuf Khān.

He was at first in Kāmran's service. In the 12th year, he joined the corps of Qiyā Khān (No. 33), and rendered assistance to M. Yūsuf Khān, whom Khān Zamān (No. 13) besieged in Qanawj. In the 17th year, he operated under Khān 'Ālam (No. 58) against M. Ibrāhīm Husayn, and was present in the battle of Sarnāl. In the 19th year, he went with Mun'īm to Bengal and Orīṣā, and died after his return at Gaur (p. 407).

¹ Batanī is the name of an Afghān tribe, N.W. of Derā Ismā'īl Khān.

² The spelling "Chhahjū" is preferable to "Jahjū".

225. Rāwul Bhīm, of Jaisalmir.

The *Tuzuk* says (p. 159):—"On the 9th Khurdād (middle of 1025), Kalyān of Jaisalmir was introduced at Court by Rājā Kishn Dās, whom I had sent to him. Kalyān's elder brother was Rāwul Bhīm, a man of rank and influence. When he died, he left a son two months old, who did not live long. Bhīm's daughter had been married to me when I was prince, and I had given her the title of Mahitagi Jahān. This alliance was made, because her family had always been faithful to our house. I now called Bhīm's brother to Court, invested him with the Gān, and made him Rāwul."¹

For Kalyān, vide under No. 226. In the 12th year of Jahāngīr's reign he was made a commander of 2,000, one thousand horse (*Tuzuk*, p. 163).

226. Hāshim Beg, son of Qāsim Khān (No. 59).

After the death of his father (39th year) and the arrival of Qulij Khān (No. 42), the new governor of Kābul, Hāshim returned to Court. In the 1st year, he served under M. Rustam (No. 9) against Bāsū and other rebellious rāmlidars in the north-eastern part of the Panjāb, and distinguished himself in the conquest of Manu. In the 44th year, he served under Farīd-i Bulṭārī (No. 99) before Aṣir. Later, he went with Saḍīd Khān to Nāsik.² After the conquest of Tiranbak, he returned to Court (46th year), and was appointed, in the following year, to a command of 1,500.

In the first year of Jahāngīr's reign, he was made a commander of 2,000, fifteen hundred horse. In the 2nd year, his manṣab was increased to 3,000, two thousand horse, and he was made governor of Orīṣā. In the 6th year, he was transferred to Kashmir, his uncle Khwājāpi Muhammad

Husayn (No. 241) officiating for him there till his arrival from Orīṣā. His successor in Orīṣā was Rājā Kalyān, brother of Bhīm (No. 225).

Hāshim's son is the renowned Muhammad Qāsim Khān Mir Atīsh. He was, in the 18th year of Shāhjahān's, a commander of 1,000, five hundred and ninety horse. Dārghā of the Topkhāna and Kotwāl of the camp. He distinguished himself in Balhā, Andkhūd, received the title of Muṣṭamid Khān,³ and was made, in the 21st year, a commander of 2,000, one thousand horse, and Aḥṡa Beṭ. In the following year, he was promoted to a command of 3,000, and also got the title of Qāsim Khān. He then served under Awrangzib in Qandahār, and was made, in the 28th year, a commander of 4,000, two thousand five hundred horse. In the next year, he destroyed Fort Sāntūr (سنتور), which the ruler of Sīnagar had repaired. Later, he was made by Dārā Shikoh a commander of 5,000, five thousand sīharpa-duaspa, received a present of a lac of rupees, and was appointed governor of Ahmadābād (Gujrāt), whilst Jauwant Singh was made governor of Mālwa. Both were ordered to unite their contingents near Ujjain, and keep Prince Muṣṭafā Bahāsh in check. When the Prince left Gujrat, the two commanders marched against him viā Bāwāra; but when approaching Khāchrod, Muṣṭafā suddenly retreated 18 *kos*, and joined, 7 *kos* from Ujjain, the army of Awrangzib. The two chiefs had received no information of Awrangzib's march. They attacked him, however, but were totally defeated (near Ujjain, 22nd Rajab, 1068). In the first battle between Awrangzib and Dārā, at Samogar,⁴ Qāsim commanded the left wing. Soon after, he made his submission, and received Sambhal and Mutāḥḥad, as *tuyūl*, as Rustam Khān-i Dakhini, the former jāsīdār, had fallen at Panogar. Qāsim was then charged with the capture of Sulaymān Elukoh. In the 3rd year of Awrangzib's reign he was appointed to Mathurā. On the way, he was murdered by a brother of his, who is said to have led a miserable life (1071). The murderer was executed at Awrangzib's order.

227. Mirzā Farīdān, son of Muhammad Qulī Khān Barlas (No. 31).

He has been mentioned above, p. 254. His death took place at Udaipūr in 1023 (*Tuzuk*, p. 131).

228. Yūzaf Khān [Chak], King of Kashmir.

Yūzaf's father was 'Alī Khān Chak, King of Kashmir. He died from a hurt he received during a game at *clauḡin* (p. 293), having been violently thrown on the pommel of the saddle (*paṣh-jala-yi zīn*). On his death, he was raised to the throne (*Al-Burhān*, III, 237). He first surrounded

¹ led by Kalyān, commander of 1,500, eight hundred.—[*J. Asiatic Society Bengal*, 1879, p. 275.]

¹ The list of Jahāngīr's wives on p. 223 may be increased by ten other princesses: (1) Mahitagi Jahān, daughter of Rāwul Bhīm of Jaisalmir. (2) The beautiful daughter of Zayn Koba, mentioned on p. 223. There is a curious discrepancy between *Tuzuk*, p. 8, and *Al-Burhān*, III, 291. Jahāngīr says that Parvātī was his son by Zayn Koba's daughter, and Abū 'Alī Faḥl says that Parvātī's mother was the daughter of Khwājā Hāshim, Zayn Koba's uncle (vide also p. 267); but there is no doubt that Parvātī was born in the 34th year, on the 15th Aḥṡan, 1006, whilst Jahāngīr, only in the 41st year, fell in love with Zayn Koba's daughter (p. 263). It is therefore evident, assuming that Sayyid Ahmad's text of *Tuzuk*, p. 8, be correct, that Jahāngīr had forgotten who among his many wives was mother to a later sultan. (3) Nūr-i-Nāṭ Berum (married in Jumādī, II, 1009, sister of Mirza Mas'ūd Husayn, p. 456. (4) A daughter of the King of Khāndesh. This princess died in the 41st year of Akbar's reign. (5) Saliha Bano, daughter of Qāsim Khān, p. 461. (6) A daughter of Khwājā Jahān-i Kābuli (Dost Muhammad). (7) A daughter of Saḍīd Khān Gakhār. Her daughter, Sīfat Khān, is mentioned, *Al-Burhān*, III, 261a. (8) The mother of Dārāsh. *Al-Burhān*, III, 267. The MSS. does not clearly give the name of the father. (9) A daughter of Mirza Sanjār, son of Khān-i Khān-i Hāshim; Akbar's daughter of Kam Chand Bonda's (No. 218) married in 1018; *Tuzuk*, p. 131. (10) The Saḍīd Khān had first been in the of the Forts of Gāha and Tiranbak.

the palace of his uncle Abdāl, who aimed at the crown, and in the fight which ensued, Abdāl was shot. A hostile party thereupon raised one Sayyid Mubārak to the throne, and in a fight which took place on the *maydān* of Srinagar, where the 'Īd prayer is said, Yūsuf was defeated. Without taking further part in the struggle, he fled, and came, in the 24th year, to Akbar's Court, where he was well received. During his stay at Court, Sayyid Mubārak had been forced to retire, and Lohar Chak, son of Yūsuf's uncle, had been made king. In the 25th year (*Akbarn.*, III, 288) the Emperor ordered several Panjāb nobles to reinstate Yūsuf. When the Imperial army reached Pinjar, the Kashmiris sued for mercy, and Yūsuf, whom they had solicited to come alone, without informing Akbar's commanders, entered Kashmir, seized Lohar Chak without fighting, and commenced to reign.

Some time after, Šālih Diwāna reported to the Emperor how firmly and independently Yūsuf had established himself, and Akbar sent Shaykh Ya'qūb-i Kashmiri, a trusted servant, with his son Haydar to Kashmir, to remind Yūsuf of the obligations under which he lay to the Emperor. In the 29th year, therefore, Yūsuf sent his son Ya'qūb with presents to Akbar, but refused personally to pay his respects, although the Court, in the 30th year, had been transferred to the Panjāb; and Ya'qūb, who had hitherto been with the Emperor, fled from anxiety for his safety. The Emperor then sent Ḥakīm 'Alī (No. 192) and Bahā'u'd-Dīn Kambū to Yūsuf to persuade him to come, or, if he could not himself come, to send again his son. As the embassy was without result, Akbar ordered Shāhrukh Mirzā (No. 7) to invade Kashmir. The Imperial army marched over Pakhli, and was not far from Bārah Mūlah, when Yūsuf submitted and surrendered himself (*Akbarn.*, III, 492).¹ Shāhrukh was on the point of returning, when he received the order to complete the conquest. Yūsuf being kept a prisoner, the Kashmiris raised 'Awlād Ḥusayn, and, soon after, Ya'qūb, Yūsuf's son, to the throne; but he was everywhere defeated. Information of Yūsuf's submission and the defeat of the Kashmiris was sent to Court, and at Srinagar the *khudba* was read, and coins were struck, in Akbar's name. The cultivation of *za'fārān* (p. 89)² and silk, and the right of hunting, were made Imperial monopolies (p. 452). On the approach of the cold season, the

army returned with Yūsuf Khān, and arrived, in the 31st year, at Court. Tōdar Mal was made responsible for Yūsuf's person.

As Ya'qūb Khān and a large party of Kashmiris continued the struggle, Qāsim (No. 59) was ordered to march into Kashmir to put an end to the rebellion. Ya'qūb was again on several occasions defeated.

In the 32nd year Yūsuf was set at liberty, received from Akbar a jāgīr in Bihār (*Akbarn.*, III, 547) and was made a commander of 500. He served in Bengal. In the 37th year, he accompanied Mān-Singh to Orisā, and commanded the detachment which marched over Jhārkand and Kokra¹ (Chutiya Nāgpur) to Mednipūr (*Akbarn.*, III, 641).

Ya'qūb Khān, soon after, submitted, and paid his respects to Akbar, when, in the 34th year, the Court had gone to Kashmir (p. 412).

Yūsuf Khān is not to be confounded with No. 388.

229. Nūr Qulij, son of Āltūn Qulij.

Āltūn or *āltūn* is Turkish, and means "gold"

Nūr Qulij was a relation of Qulij Khān (No. 42). He served under him in the expedition to Īdar, which Akbar had ordered to be made when moving, in the 21st year, from Ajmīr to Gogunda. In the fight with the zamāndār of Īdar, N. Q. was wounded. In the 26th year, he served under Sulṭān Murād against Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. In the 30th year, he again served under Qulij Khān, who had been made governor of Gujrat. He continued to serve there under Khānkhānān (No. 29), and returned with him, in the 32nd year, to Court.

230., Mir 'Abd' 'l-Ḥay, Mir 'Adl.

The *Ṭabaqāt* calls him *Khawāja* 'Abd' 'l-Ḥay, and says that he was an Amīr. He had been mentioned above on pp. 468, 471.

231. Shāh Qulī Khān Nāranjī.

Abū 'l-Faḥl says that Shāh Qulī was a Kurd from near Baghdād. He

¹ Kokra was mentioned above on p. 438. It is the old name of Chutiya Nāgpur, one of the parganas of which is still called Kokra or Khukra, as spelt on the survey maps. The Rāja, Col. Dalton informs me, once resided in Kokra, at a place in lat. 23° 20' and long. 88° 87', nearly, where there is still an old fort. I vide also Vth Report (Madras edition, vol. I, p. 503; old edition, p. 417).

The Rāja of Kokra, who, in the 30th year, succumbed to Shāhbāz Khān (p. 438) is called Mādhi. In the 37th year, Mādhi and Lakhmi Rāy of Kokra, served in Yūsuf Khān's detachment, to which the contingents also of Sangrām Singh Shāh of Kharkpur (p. 446 and Proceedings A.S. Bengal, for May, 1871), and Pūran Māl of Gidhor belonged (*Akbarnāma* III, 641).

Kokra is again mentioned in the *Tuzuk-i Jahāngiri* (pp. 154, 155), where it is defined as a hilly district between south Bihār and the Dakkhin. It was run over in the beginning of 1025, by Ibrāhīm Khān Fath-jang, governor of Bihār, who was dissatisfied with the few diamonds and elephants which the Rājas sent him as tribute. The then Rāja is called Durjun Sāl. He was captured with several of his relations in a cave, and the district was annexed to Bihār.

The *Tuzuk* has (i.e.) a few interesting notes on the diamonds of Kokra.

² The *Akbarnāma* (III, 492) calls the pass near Bārah Mūlah, where Yūsuf surrendered, *Barah Mūlah*. The *Ma'āshir* has *Barah Mūlah*. It is evidently the same pass which the *Tuzuk* (p. 292) calls *Barah Mūlah*. The *Tuzuk* says that Bārah Mūlah means "place of the bear (bārā), which is one of the *avatāra*".

³ Regarding the cultivation of *za'fārān* (saffron) vide also *Tuzuk*, p. 45.

was an old servant of Humāyūn. In the first year of Akbar's reign, he served under Khizr Khān (p. 391, note 1) in the Panjāb. He was much attached to Bayrām. In the 11th year, he was sent to Gadha, when Mahdi Qāsim Khān (No. 36) had left that province without permission for Nakkah.

The *Tabaqāt* calls him a commander of 1,000.

His son, Pādishāh Quli, was a poet, and wrote under the name of *Jaḍī*. A few verses of his are given below in the list of poets.

232. Farrukh Khān, son of Khān-i Kalān (No. 16).

He was mentioned on pp. 338 and 384. According to the *Tabaqāt*, he served, in 1001, in Bengal.

233. Shādmān, son of Khān-i Aḥram Koka (No. 21).

Vide above, p. 346.

234. Ḥakīm 'Ayn' 'l-Mulk, of Shīrāz.

He is not to be confounded with Ḥakīm 'l-Mulk; *vide* below among the Physicians of the Court.

He was a learned man and a clever writer. He traced his origin, on his mother's side, to the renowned logician Muḥaqqiq-i Dawwānī. The historian Badā'oni was a friend of his. Akbar also liked him very much. In the 9th year he was sent as ambassador to Chingiz Khān of Gujrāt. In the 17th year he brought Istimād Khān (No. 67) and Mir Abū Turāb to the Emperor. He also accompanied Akbar on his march to the eastern provinces of the empire. Afterwards, in 983, he was sent to 'Ādil Khān of Bijāpūr, from where, in 985, he returned to Court (*Badā'oni* II, 250). He was then made Fawjdar of Sambhal. In the 26th year, when 'Arab Bahādur and other Bengal rebels created disturbances, he fortified Bareilly, and refusing all offers, held out till the arrival of an Imperial corps, when he defeated the rebels. In the same year he was made Ṣadr of Bengal, and in the 31st year Bakhshī of the *Sūba* of Āgra. He was then attached to the Dakkhin corps of 'Aziz Koka (No. 21), and received Handia as jāgīr. When 'Aziz, for some reason, cancelled his jāgīr, he went without permission to Court (35th year), but was at first refused audience. On inquiry, however, Akbar reinstated him.

He died at Handia on the 27th Zi Ḥijja, 1003 (*Badā'oni* II, 403).

The Mirzā'i Masjid, also called Pādishāhī Masjid, in Old Bareilly, Mirzā'i Mahalla, was built by him. The inscription on it bears the date 987 (24th year), when the Ḥakīm was Fawjdar of Sambhal.

He was also a poet, and wrote under the *taḥalluṣ* of Dawā'i.

235. Jānīsh Bahādur.

Jānīsh Bahādur was mentioned on p. 368. He was at first in the

service of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm king of Kābul. After the death, in the 30th year, of his master, he came with his sons to India. Soon after, he served under Zayn Koka (No. 34) against the Yūsufzāi's, and saved Zayn's life in the Khaybar catastrophe. In the 35th year, he served under the Khānkhānān in Thathah, and returned with him, in the 38th year, to Court. Later, he served in the Dakkhin. He died in the 46th year (1009). He was an excellent soldier.

His son, *Shujā'at Khān Shādī Beg*. He was made, in the 7th year of Shāhjahān's reign, a commander of 1,000, and received the title of Shād Khān. In the 12th year, he was sent as ambassador to Naṣr Muḥammad Khān of Balkh. On his return, in the 14th year, he was made a commander of 1,500, and was appointed governor of Bhakkar, *vide* Shāh Quli Khān. Afterwards, on the death of Ghayrat Khān, he was made governor of Thathah and a commander of 2,000. In the 19th year he was with Prince Murād Bakhsh in Balkh and Badakhshān. In the 21st year he was appointed governor of Kābul, *vice* Siwā Rām, and held, in the following year, an important command under Awrangzib in the Qandahār expedition and the conquest of Bust. In the 23rd year, he was made a commander of 3,000, two thousand five hundred horse, and received the coveted distinction of a flag and a drum. Two years later, in the 25th year, he served again before Qandahār, and was made, on Shāhjahān's arrival in Kābul, a commander of 3,500, three thousand horse, with the title of *Shujā'at Khān*. In the 26th year, he served under Dārā Shikoh before Qandahār, and with Rustam Khān Bahādur at Bust. He died soon after. He had a son of the name of Muḥammad Sa'īd.

236. Mir Tāhir-i Mūsawī.

He is not to be confounded with Nos. 94, 111, and 201. According to the *Tabaqāt*, Mir Tāhir is "the brother of Mirzā Yūsuf Paṣawī (No. 37), and was distinguished for his bravery." It would thus appear that Abū 'l-Faṣl makes no difference between the terms *Paṣawī* and *Mūsawī* (*vide* p. 414, under No. 61).

237. Mirzā 'Alī Beg, 'Alamshāhī.

He is mentioned in the *Albarnāma* among the grandees who accompanied Mun'im to Bengal and Oṣiṣā, and took part in the battle of Takarōi (p. 406). After the outbreak of the Bengal Military revolt, he joined a conspiracy made by Mir Zaki, 'Abdī Kor, Shihāb-i Badakhshī, and Kūyak Yasāwul, to go over to the rebels. The plot, however, was discovered. They were all imprisoned, but Mir Zaki alone was executed. *Albarnāma*, III, 262.

His epithet 'Alamshāhī is not clear to me.

He must not be confounded with the more illustrious

(Mirzā Sālī Begh Akbari 311¹)

He was born in Badakhshān, as he said to have been a highly educated man. When he came to India he received the title of *Alim* Sālī. In the 5th year, he commanded the Akbari on Shāhbāz's expedition to Kashmir (p. 335).

Later, he served under Prince Murād in the Dakkhin. When the prince, after making peace, returned from Almolohar, Shāh Rūm (No. 43) is cup of Malikan. But then distrust arose broke out under the Dakkhin, for the Ashraf Rūm and Ashraf Rūm, a court of Shāh Rūm a court of M. Sālī Begh. He collected fell on them and routed them, carrying off much plunder and many during gulf (see in a letter). In consequence of this defeat, Rūm Rūm and Ashraf Rūm of the Nizamuddin, marched against the Imperials with 10,000 horse, but Shāh Rūm and M. A. B. defeated them. In the 43rd year, M. A. B. took Fort Bihānā (بہانہ) near Daulatābād, after a siege of one month, occupied, in the same year, Patan on the Ganges, and took Fort Lohgola. "Both facts," says the author of the *Makbūrah*, "have, from want of water, become unsatisfactory (مردہ شدہ), and are so to this day." Later, M. A. B. served under Abū'l-Faṭṭḥ, and distinguished himself in the conquest of Almolohar. In the 46th year, he received a drum and a flag, and continued to serve, under the Rūm Rūm, in the Dakkhin.

In the beginning of Jahāngir's reign, he was made a commander of 4,000, pitched in of Sumbhal, and governor of Kashmir. He served in the pursuit of Khawar (Tuzuk, p. 33). Later, he received a *toyūl* in Audh. When Jahāngir went to Ameer, he went to Court. One day, he paid a visit to the tomb of Muṣṭafā 'd-Dīn Chishtī. On seeing the tomb of Shāhbāz Rūm (p. 459), he stooped down, and embracing it, exclaimed: "Oh! He was an old friend of mine." The same moment, he fell forward a corpse, and was buried at the same spot (22nd *Baṭn* I, 1025).

It is said that he kept few soldiers and servants, but paid them well. In his habits he was an epicurean. He was looked upon as a great patron of the learned. He died childless, at the age of seventy-five (Tuzuk, p. 163).

238. Rām Dās, the Kachwāha.

His father was a poor man of the name of Ordāt (اوردات), and lived at Lūnī (or Baṭlī, vide p. 435). Rām Dās was at first in the service of Rāy Sāl Darbārī (No. 106), and was recommended by him to the Emperor.

¹ The *Tuzuk* (p. 11) says he belonged to the *ulūsi Dakhil*, a very doubtful term, as he belonged to Badakhshān. Perhaps we have to read *ulūsi dakhil* (p. 422).

His faithfulness was almost proverbial. In the 17th year, when Todar Mal was ordered to arrest Muṣṭafā in Bihār, he was made his *naṣīb* in the Financial Department, and gained Akbar's favour by his regularity and diligence. He amassed a fortune, and though he had a palace at Agra near Hattiyapūr, he lived in the guard house, "always watching with his 200 Rajpūts, spear in hand."

Immediately before Akbar's death he put his men over the treasures of the palace with a view to preserve them for the lawful heir. Jahāngir, with whom he stood in high favour, sent him, in the 6th year, with Sālī Rūm Rūm to Gujrat and the Dakkhin, and gave him the title of Rāja and a flag, Rantanbhū being assigned to him as jagir (Tuzuk, p. 95). It seems that he received the title of Rāja Karan. After the defeat of the Imperialists, Jahāngir wished to make an example of the Amirs who had brought disgrace on the Imperial arms. He ordered their pictures to be drawn, and taking the portraits one after the other into his hand, abused each Amir right royally. Looking at Rām Dās's portrait, he said: "Now, when thou wert in Rāy Sāl's service, thou hadst a tanka *per diem*; but my father took an interest in thee, and made thee an Amir. Do not Rājputa think slight a disgraceful thing? Alas! thy title, Rāja Karan, ought to have taught thee better. Mayest thou die without the comforts of thy faith." Rām Dās was immediately sent to Bangash, where, in the same year, he died (1022). When Jahāngir heard of his death, he said, "My curse has come true: for the Hindūs believe that a man who dies beyond the Indus, will go straight to hell."

He was a liberal man, and gave rich presents to jesters and singers.

His eldest son, Naman Dās, in the 45th year of Akbar's reign, left the Court without permission, and went home. At the request of his father, Shāh Qulī Khān's men were to bring him back to Court by force. But Naman defied them; a struggle ensued, and he was killed. Rām Dās was so grieved, that Akbar paid him a visit of condolence.

His second son, Dalap Dās, had the same character as his father; but he died young.

In the *Tuzuk* (p. 312) a villa near a spring called Inch (انچ), between Bānpūr¹ and Kākāpūr in Kashmir, is mentioned, which Akbar had given Rām Dās. Vide also *Tuzuk*, p. 39, l. 3.

239. Muhammad Khān Niyāzi.

Abū'l-Faṭṭḥ ranks him among the commanders of 500. Under Jahāngir he rose to a command of 2,000. Like Mirzā Rustam Ṣafawī and Abū

[¹ Panipat?—B.]

"I-Hasan Turbatī, he refused a title; for he said that his name was Muhammad, than which no better name existed.

He served under Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80) in Bengal, and distinguished himself in the fights near the Brahmaputra. It is said that Shāhbāz was so anxious to retain his services, that he gave him a lac of rupees per annum. Later, he served, under the Khānkhānān in the conquest of Thātah, and inflicted the final blow on Mirzā Jāni Beg (No. 47) near Lakbī,¹ where he obtained a signal victory, though far outnumbered by the enemies. From that time, the Khānkhānān was his friend.

Under Jahāngir, he took a leading part in the Dakhin wars, especially in the fights with Malik Ambar near Kharkī, a famous battlefield (vide note to No. 255), and continued to serve there under Prince Shāhjahān.

He died in 1037. The *tārīkh* of his death is *محمد خان اولیا عمر*, "Muhammad Khān, the saint, is dead." He was a man of great piety. His day was carefully divided; religious exercises, the reading of commentaries on the Qur'ān, conversing with holy men, sleeping and eating, each had its fixed time. Nor did he ever depart from his routine except on the march. He never neglected the ablution (*wuḍū*) prescribed by the law. People told many miraculous stories (*khawāriq*) of him.

During his long stay in the Dakhin, he held Āshṭī (in the Warda district) as jāgīr, and made it his home. He adorned the town with several mosques, houses, and gardens. "At present," says the author of the *Ma'āzīr*, "there is only one of his hundred houses left, the store house where his lamps were kept; the whole town and the neighbourhood are deserted, and do not yield a tenth part of the old revenue. Even among his descendants there is none left that may be called a man of worth (*kas-i na-mānd ki rushd-i dāshta bāshad*)."²

¹ Vide Dowson's edition of *Elliot's History*, Vol. I, p. 230.

² "The Emperor Jahāngir gave the Āshṭī, Amner, Paurān, and Tāligaw (Barār) parganas in jāgīr to Muhammad Khān Niyāzī. He restored Āshṭī, and brought the country round under cultivation. A handsome mausoleum was built over his grave in Mughul style. Muhammad Khān was succeeded by Ahmad Khān, who died in 1061. A similar mausoleum was erected over his tomb, but smaller and of inferior workmanship. The two stand side by side within an enclosure, and are the sights of Āshṭī. They are indeed striking monuments of art to find in such a remote spot as this. After the death of Ahmad Khān, the power of the Niyāzīs gradually declined; in time Āshṭī itself passed from their hands into the possession of the Marhatta officials, and now nothing remains to them save a few rent-free fields, sufficient merely for their subsistence. The tombs of their ancestors were already falling into disrepair, owing to the poverty of the family, when they were taken in hand by the district authorities as worthy objects of local interest, and restored from municipal funds. Late, in consideration of the past history of the family, and the local respect which it commands, the Government conferred on Nawāb Wahid Khān, one of its representatives in Āshṭī, the powers of an honorary magistrate."

Karanja. A small octroi town in the Ārvi talsil of the Warda district. It was founded some 260 years by Nawāb Muhammad Khān Niyāzī of Āshṭī." Extracts from C. Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India*, second edition, 1870, pp. 7 and 230.

He was buried in Āshṭī. People often pray at his tomb.

The men of his contingent were mostly Niyāzī Afghāns. If one of them died, he gave a month's pay to his family; or, if he had no children, half a month's pay to his heirs.

His son, Ahmad Khān Niyāzī, was in the 20th year of Shāhjahān's reign a commander of 2,500 (*Pādishāhnāma*, II, 386, 725).

240. Abū 'I-Muzaffar, son of Ashraf Khān (No. 74).

From the *Akbarnāma* (III, 248) we see that in the 24th year (987) he was stationed in Chanderī and Narwar, and was ordered to assist in suppressing the Bihār rebels (III, 273). In the 28th year he served in Gujrāt (III, 423), and *Badā'oni*, II (323). Vide also under No. 74.

241. Khwājagī Muhammad Husayn, Mir Barr.

He is the younger brother of Qasim Khān (No. 59) and had the title of *Mir Barr*, in contradistinction to that of his brother. He came in the 5th year with Mun'im (No. 11) from Kābul to India. When dissensions broke out between Ghānī Khān, Mun'im's son, and Haydar Muhammad Khān Akhtabegī (No. 66), whom Mun'im had left as his *nā'ib*s in Kābul, Haydar was called to Court, and Abū 'I-Fath,¹ son of Mun'im's brother, was sent there to assist Ghānī. Muhammad Husayn accompanied Abū 'I-Fath. He remained a long time in Kābul. After his return to India, he accompanied the Emperor on his march to Kashmīr. His honesty and punctuality made him a favourite with the Emperor, and he was appointed *Mir Bakūwal* (master of the Imperial kitchen) and was also made a commander of 1,000.

In the 5th year of Jahāngir, he officiated for Hāshim (No. 226) as governor of Kashmīr. On Hāshim's arrival he returned to Court, and died in the end of the 7th year (1021; *Tuzuk*, p. 114).

He had no children. The *Tuzuk* says that he was quite bald, and had neither moustache nor beard. His voice was shrill like that of a eunuch.

242. Abū 'I-Qasim, brother of Abdu 'I-Qādir. Akhund.

He is not to be confounded with Nos. 199 and 251. *Badā'oni* (II, 323), calls him a native of Tabriz, and says that his brother was Akbar's teacher (*ākhund*). In 991, Abū 'I-Qasim was made Diwān of Gujrāt.

243. Qamar Khān, son of Mir Abdu 'I-Laṭīf of Qazwīn (No. 161).

He served under Mun'im (No. 11) in Bengal, and was present in the battle of Takarōi (p. 406). In the 22nd year he served under Shihāb

¹ Abū 'I-Fath, who on p. 333, has erroneously been called Abdu 'I-Fath, was the son of Fazlī Beg, Mun'im's brother. *Badā'oni*, II, 56, has *Fazā'il* Beg, but the *Akbarnāma* and the *Ma'āzīr* have *Fazlī*.

formerly to collect tolls there. He then came to the Kālāpāni, and to the Mārgala pass, *mār* meaning "killing" and *gala* "a caravan". "Here ends the country of the Gakkhars. They are a brutish race, always at feud with each other. I asked them to live in peace; but they will not."¹

The *Pādīshāhnāma* (II, 210, 261, 266, 722, 733, 740) mentions several Gakkhar chiefs:—

1. Albar Quli Sulṭān, a commander of 1,500, 1,500 horse, died in the 18th year of Shāhjahān's reign. His son Murād Quli Sulṭān, was under Shāhjahān, a commander of 1,500, 1,000 horse (*Pādīshāhn.*, II, 410, 485, 512, 523, 525, 595, 655, 730).

2. Jabbār Quli (brother of Jalāl Khān),² 1,000, 800 horse.

3. Khūr Sulṭān (son of Naṣar Khān),³ 800, 500 horse, died in the 12th year of Shahj's reign.

The *Pādīshāhnāma* (I, p. 432) mentions these Gakkhars' mules as famous.

The *Ma'āsīr-i 'Ālamgīrī* (p. 155) also mentions Murād Quli and his son Allah Quli. Allah Quli's daughter was married to Prince Muḥammad Akbar, fourth son of Awrangzib, on the 3rd Rajab, 1037.

248. Rām Chand, son of Madhukar [Bundela].

He is also called *Rām Sāh*, and was mentioned on p. 356. He was introduced at court by Šādiq Khān (No. 43), when Akbar was in Kashmir (1000). In the first year of Jahāngīr's reign we find him in rebellion, evidently because his right of succession was rendered doubtful by the predilection of the emperor for Bir Singh Deo, Rām Chand's younger brother. In the end of the first year, he was attacked by 'Abd'ullāh Khān, who moved his jāgīr from Kālpī to Ūdcha. On the 27th Zi Qa'da, 1015, Rām Chand was brought fettered to court; but Jahāngīr had his fetters taken off, gave him a dress of honour, and handed him over to Rājā Bāsū of Dhameṛī. "He never thought that he would be treated so kindly" (*Tuzuk*, p. 42). But Ūdcha was handed over to Bir Singh Deo as a reward for the murder of Abū 'l-Faḍl.

¹ For the geographical details of this passage, I am indebted to Mr. J. G. Delmerick. The *Tuzuk* has *Pila* of *Tila*; *Bhakrā* for *Bhakrāla*, and the Persian word *Khāna* for *Kāhan* (خان), the name of the river near *Bhakrāla*—a most extraordinary mistake; *Kor* for *Kuror* or *Gūrā*, a village near Manlyāla; *Ponhūār* for *Pothuār*. Mr. Delmerick also says that the river near *Hatīār* or *Hāthīār*, is called *Kāsi*, and that near *Rāwālpind* is the *Labi*, which forces a passage through low hills where there is a very deep pool, just before its junction with the *Sohan*. *Sarā'tī* Khārbūza is also called *Sarā'tī* Madhū.

On the same page of Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the *Tuzuk*, we have to read *Khattar* and *Dila-zāl* for *Khar* and *Dila-zāl*. The Khattars occupy the district called *Khāṭar*, and the *Dila-zāls* are found in the Chhāṭ valley of the Indus. [Vide No. 373.—B.]

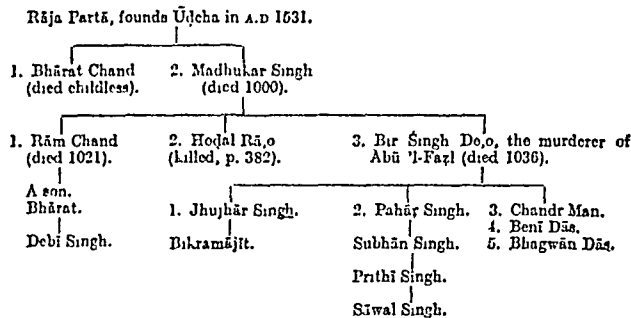
² Pothwār is the country between the Jhelam and the *Sohan*; but Jahāngīr extends it to the Mārgala pass from *Hatya* (30 miles from the Jhelam).

³ So according to Mr. Delmerick.

In the 4th year of his reign (1018), Jahāngīr married Rām Chand's daughter at the request of her father (*vide Tuzuk*, p. 77; and also No. 225, note).

He appears to have died in 1021, and was succeeded by his son Bharat Singh. *Tuzuk*, p. 112.

Muḥammadan historians give the following tree of the Ūdcha Bundelas:—



The *Ma'āsīr* contains biographical notes of nearly all of them. *Vide* also Thornton's *Gazetteer*, under *Oorcha*.

Benī Dās and Bhagwān Dās were killed by a Rājput in the 13th year of Shāhjahān's reign. They held commands of 500, 200 horse, and 1,000, 600 horse, respectively.

Chandr Man was in the 20th year of Sh. a commander of 1,500, 800 horse.

Vide Pādīshāhnāma, I, 172 (where another Bundela of the name of Subh Dev is mentioned), 205, 241, 368, 372, 425; II, 731, 734.

The *Ma'āsīr-i 'Ālamgīrī* mentions several Bundelas, as Satr Sāl, Jāswant Singh, Indarman (*died* 1088) and the rebellious sons of Champat (*l.c.*, pp. 161, 163, 169, 273, 424). *Vide* also under No. 249.

Bir Singh Deo, the murderer of Abū 'l-Faḍl is often called in *bad MSS.* *Nar Singh Deo*. Thus also in the printed editions of the *Tuzuk*, the 1st volume of *Pādīshāhnāma*, the *'Ālamgīrnāma*, etc., and in Elphinstone's *History*. The temples which he built in Mathurā at a cost of 33 lacs of rupees, were destroyed by Awrangzib in 1080. (*Ma'āsīr-i 'Ālamgīrī*, p. 95.)¹

¹ The traveller Do Laet has an interesting passage regarding Abū 'l-Faḍl's *Mogulie*, Leyden, 1631, p. 209). He calls Bir Singh *Radzia*.

Khatib Abū 'l-Fazl of Kāzarūn and Mawlānā 'Imād of Lāristān. In 950, Mubārak settled at Āgra. It is said that he often changed his religious opinions. Under Islam Shāh, he was a Mahdawī, and had to suffer persecution in the beginning of Akbar's reign; he then became a Naqshbandī, then a Hamadānī, and lastly, when the court was full of Persians, he inclined to Shi'ism. But whatever his views may have been, the education which he gave his sons Fayzī and Abū 'l-Fazl, the greatest writers that India has produced, shows that he was a man of comprehensive genius. Shaykh Mubārak wrote a commentary to the Qur'ān, in four volumes, entitled *Mambas*¹ 'l-Suyūn,² and another work of the title of *Jawāmi*³ 'l-Kalām. Towards the end of his life, he suffered from partial blindness, and died at Lāhor, on the 17th Zi Qa'ḍa, 1001, at the age of 90 years. The *tārīkh* of his death will be found in the words *Shaykh-i lāmīl*.

Shaykh Fayzī was born at Āgra in 954. His acquirements in Arabic literature, the art of poetry, and in medicine, were very extensive. He used to treat poor people gratis. One day he appeared with his father before Shaykh 'Abdū 'n-Nabī, the Sadr (p. 232), and applied for a grant of 100 bighas; but he was not only refused, but also turned out of the hall with every contumely on account of his tendencies to Shi'ism. But Fayzī's literary fame reached Akbar's ears, and in the 12th year, when Akbar was on the expedition to Chitor, he was called to court. Fayzī's bigoted enemies in Āgra interpreted the call as a summons before a judge and warned the governor of the town not to let Fayzī escape. He therefore ordered some Mughuls to surround Mubārak's house; but accidentally Fayzī was absent from home. Mubārak was ill treated, and when Fayzī at last came, he was carried off by force. But Akbar received him most favourably, and Fayzī in a short time became the emperor's constant companion and friend. He was instrumental in bringing about the fall of Shaykh Abdū 'n-Nabī.

In the 30th year he planned a *khamṣa*, or collection of five epics, in imitation of the *khamṣa* of Nizāmī. The first, *Markiz*⁴ 'l-adwār, was to consist of 3,000 verses, and was to be a *jawāb* (imitation) of Nizāmī's *Maḥẓan*⁵ 'l-asrār; the *Sulaymān o Bilqīs* and the *Nal Daman* were to consist of 4,000 verses each, and were to be *jawābs* of the *Khusraw* 'Shīrīn and *Layla* 'Majnūn respectively; and the *Haft Kishwar* and the *Albarnāma*, each of 5,000 verses, were to correspond to the *Haft Paykar* and the *Sikandarnāma*. In the 33rd year he was made *Malik*⁶ 'sh-Shu'arā,

or Poet Laureate (*Albarn*, III, 559). Though he had composed portions of the *khamṣa*, the original plan was not carried out, and in the 39th year Akbar urged him to persevere, and recommended the completion of the *Nal Daman*. Fayzī thereupon finished the poem and presented, in the same year, a copy of it to his imperial master.

Fayzī suffered from asthma, and died on the 10th Šafar, 1001 (40th year). The *tārīkh* of his death is *Fayyāz* i *Ājam*. It is said that he composed 101 books. The best known, besides his poetical works, are the *Sawāṭi*⁷ 'l-Ilhām, and the *Mawāriḍ*⁸ 'l-Kalām, regarding which *vide* below the poetical extracts. His fine library, consisting of 4,300 choice MSS, was embodied with the imperial library.

Fayzī had been employed as teacher to the princes; sometimes he also acted as ambassador. Thus, in 1000, he was in the Dakhn, from where he wrote the letter to the historian Badā'onī, who had been in temporary disgrace at court.

Vide also pp. 112, 113, 192, 194, 207, 216, 218; and *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal* for 1869, pp. 137, 142.

254. Hakīm Mīsrī.

According to Badā'onī (III, 165) Hakīm Mīsrī was a very learned man and a clever doctor. He also composed poems. A satire of his is mentioned which he wrote against Khwāja Shams⁹ 'd-Dīn Khawāfī (No. 159). He died in Burhānpūr and was buried there.

Mīsrī is mentioned in the *Albarnāma*, III, p. 629, and p. 843. In the latter passage, Abū 'l-Fazl mentions his death (middle of 1009), and states that he saw his friend on the deathbed. It is impossible to reconcile Abū 'l-Fazl's date with Badā'onī's statement; for Badā'onī died in 1004 (*Journal Asiatic Society Bengal* for 1869, p. 143). But both Abū 'l-Fazl and Badā'onī speak of the Hakīm as a man of a most amiable and unselfish character.

255. Īrij, son of Mirzā Khānkhānān (No. 29).

He was mentioned on p. 339. During the reign of Jahāngīr he was made Šubadār of Barār and Ahmadnagar. He greatly distinguished himself during several fights with Malik 'Ambar, especially as Kharkī.¹

¹ لَحْمِي. Lachmī Narā, in Shafiq, the author of the *Hāṣiṭat* i *Hindūstan*, says that stony. 'a stony place' of 41a² d Dīn Kharkī to Dawlatābād. Its name was *Chakarnahr*, and the *tārīkh* of its completion is *Hayy* i jāri (pr. a running benefit). Later Aurangzib changed the name of Kharkī to Aurangabad, under which name it is now known. Kharkī was the seat of Malik 'Ambar.

² Badā'onī (III, 74) calls it *Mambas* nafa'at 'l-Suyūn.

for which victories he was made a commander of 5,000. In the 12th year he served under Prince Shāh Jahān in the Dakhin.

It is said that he was a good soldier, but stingy and careless in his dress. A daughter of his was married (2nd Ramaẓān, 1026) to Prince Shāh Jahān. The offspring of this marriage, Prince Jahān-afroz, was born at Āgra on the 12th Rajab, 1028, and died at Burhānpūr, at the age of 1 year 9 months (*Padishāhnāma*).

According to Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces* (2nd edition, p. 128), Īrij's tomb is at Burhānpūr. "The tomb was built during his lifetime, and is really a handsome structure." The statement of the *Gazetteer* that Īrij, towards the end of his life, "lived as a recluse" at Burhānpūr, is not borne out by the histories; for according to the *Tuzuk* (p. 270) he died of excessive wine drinking.

At his death (1028) he was only thirty-three years of age. The manṣab of 400, which Ābū 'l-Faẓl assigns him, must therefore have been conferred upon him when he was a mere child.

256. Sakat Singh, son of Rāja Mān Singh (No. 30).

vide above, under No. 244.

257. 'Abd' 'llāh [Sarfarāz *Khān*] son of *Khān-i Aẓam* Mirzā Koka (No. 21).

vide p. 316.

It was stated (p. 316) on the authority of the *Ma'āṣir* that he received the title of *Sardār Khān*, which had become vacant by the death of Takhta Beg (No. 195). But the *Tuzuk* (p. 71) gives him the title of *Sarfarāz Khān*. This is evidently a mistake of the author of the *Ma'āṣir*; for the title of *Sardār Khān* was in the 8th year (1022) conferred on *Khwāja Yādgar*, brother of 'Abd' 'llāh *Khān* Firūz-jang (*Tuzuk*, p. 116) when 'Abd' 'llāh Sarfarāz *Khān* was still alive.

The *Ma'āṣir* also says that 'Abd' 'llāh accompanied his father to Gwālyār (p. 317); but the *Tuzuk* (p. 141) states that he was imprisoned in Rantanbhur, from where, at the request of his father, he was called to court.

358. 'Alī Muhammad Asp.

Badā'onī says (II, p. 57) that "'Alī Muhammad Asp, who is now in the service of the emperor, at the instigation of Jūjak¹ Begum, killed Abū 'l-Fath Beg (p. 333)." In the 9th year he was in the service of Mirzā Muhammad Ḥakīm, king of Kābul. Afterwards, he came to India. In the 26th year (989) he served under Prince Murād against his former

master (*Akbarnāma*, III, 345); in the 30th year (993) he served in Kābul (III, 487, 490). In the 32nd year he distinguished himself under 'Abd' 'l-Maṭlab (No. 83) against the Tārikis (III, p. 541).

In the Lucknow edition of the *Akbarnāma* he is wrongly called 'Alī Muhammad Alif.

259. Mirzā Muhammad.

A. Mirzā Muhammad was mentioned on p. 399.

260. Shaykh Bāyazīd [Mu'azzam *Khān*], grandson of Shaykh Salīm of Fathpūr Sikrī.

Bāyazīd's mother nursed Prince Salīm (Jahāngir) on the day he was born (*Tuzuk*, p. 13). In the 40th year of Akbar's reign B. was a commander of 400 and gradually rose to a command of 2,000. After Jahāngir's accession he received a manṣab of 3,000 and the title of Mu'azzam *Khān*. Soon after he was made Šubahdār of Dihli (i.e., p. 37), and in the 3rd year a commander of 4,000, 2,000 horse. On his death he was buried at Fathpūr Sikrī (i.e., p. 262).

His son Mukarram *Khān* was son-in-law to Islām *Khān* Shaykh 'Alā' 'd-Dīn (another grandson of Shaykh Salīm), under whom he served in Bengal.² He distinguished himself in the expedition to Kūch Hājū, and brought the zamindār Parichhit before the governor.³ At the death of his father-in-law, Muhtashim *Khān* Shaykh Qāsim, brother of Islām *Khān*, was made governor of Bengal, and Mukarram *Khān* continued for one year in his office as governor of Kūch Hājū; but as he could not agree with Qāsim he went to court.

Later, he was made governor of Orīsā, and conquered the province of Khurdah (i.e., pp. 214, 215), for which he was made a commander of 3,000, 2,000 horse. He seems to have remained in Orīsā till the 11th year (1029) when Ḥasan 'Alī Turkmān was sent there as governor (*Tuzuk*, p. 308). In the 16th year M. *Kh.* came to court and was made Šubadār of Dihli and Fawjdār of Mewāt (i.e., p. 352).

¹ Islām *Khān* was married to a sister of Abū 'l-Faẓl, by whom he had a son called Hoshang. Islām *Khān* died as governor of Bengal on the 5th Rajab, 1022 (*Tuzuk*, p. 120).

² The *Padishāhnāma* (II, 64) where Mukarram *Khān*'s expedition is related, distinguishes between Kūch Hājū and Kūch Bihār. The former was in the beginning of Jahāngir's reign under Parichhit, the latter under Lachmi Narāin. Hājū is the name of a famous leader of the Kūch people, who in ethnological works is said to have expelled the Kachāris and founded a dynasty which lasted two hundred years. His descendants still exercise *jura regalia* in Kūch Bihār Proper. Materials for a history of Kūch Bihār will be found in the *Akbarnāma*, III, p. 208, annals of the 41st year; in the *Padishāhnāma*, I, 498; II, 64 to 79, &c. also *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, vol. vii; Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 96; and above, pp. 315, 340, 343.

In the 21st year he was sent to Bengal as governor, where Khwājah Fāris Hattay¹ killed him. On day he ordered his ship to be moved to the bank, as he wished to say the afternoon prayer, when a sudden gale took him, and he and all his attendants were drowned.

231. Ghazālī Fāris, of 3000.

Ghazālī Fāris was in the 13th year of Alā' al-Dīn's reign a commander of 4000 horse sent with the *Pāshā* (the *paṣhā*, 167) to Sindh, and died during the reign of Jalāl al-Dīn and the Khān.

Fāris al-Dīn, *History of Gujarat* (p. 124, 125), called him Ghazālī Fāris and Ghazālī Fāris, and says he was the son of Malik Khwājā Jalāl al-Dīn. Fāris seems to have been killed by the instigation of Sultan Muhammad. The Khwājās in the 13th Muhammad, 114, sent a detachment against Jalāl al-Dīn, and that he was slain in a fierce battle to effect surrender, if such was not his duty to do so. The emperor took compassion on him, and he returned to his native place.

His son Fāris was executed by Jalāl al-Dīn. "When I came to Dihli, I saw Fāris, son of Ghazālī, and Fāris. This wretch had been put to me, after the death of his father, in possession of the Fort and the district of Dihli, but he could do no more. He is a poor man, and was often checked by the nobles of Dihli. He was executed at Dihli, and I regretted with some of his companions his appointment, and I killed him. I regretted the execution of him, and I killed him executed." (Guzar, 1675, Tuzuk, p. 174).

Another son of Ghazālī Fāris is Nishan, who died in the 6th year of Shāhshāh's reign. He was a commander of 200, 300 horse (*Pāshā* 214, 1, b, 312).

Ghazālī Fāris's son Fāris was a commander of 600, 400 horse, and died in the 4th year (*Pāshā* 214, 1, b, 312).

The *Pāshā* (167) (II, 720) mentions also a Mughlī of Jalāl, who in the 2nd year of Shāhshāh's reign was a commander of 800, 600 horse.

262. Khwājā Khwāja, son of Khwājā 'Abd al-Wahid.

The first volume of the *Shāhshāh* (p. 411) mentions a Khwājā Khwāja among the grandees who accompanied Humayūn to India. The third

volume of the same work (p. 470) mentions a Khwājā Khwāja, who in 993 served Ibrāhīm of Qutub Lodhi in Bengal. (Fāris No. 109.

263. Fāris Khān Mughlī.

264. Fāris Khān, son of Muhammad Waḥid.

He appears to be the Fāris Khān mentioned in the *Al-Barnāma* (III, 425) as the *Al-Barnāma* of the emperor. Alā' al-Dīn made him an Amir. For some fault he was sent to the Dabhan, but as he got ill, he was recalled. He recovered and he went on a leave to Mirzā, where he died (1008).

265. Rāy Mandar, son of Rāy Dāran.

Rāy Dāran, son of the Shāhshāh's branch of the Kachhwāhar. He served in the 21st year, under Mirzā Saḥib, against the Rānī, and went in the 22nd year with Rāy Dāran to Durgam, the rainedir of which he had to send to the emperor to Alā' al-Dīn's favor. In the 24th year he served under Toder Mal in Pāshā and in the 24th year under the Khān Khwājā in Gujarat.

His son in the 22nd year, reported to the emperor on his visit to Andher, that in the neighborhood of an old town existed the site of which was called by the people *Wād* of stone. Alā' al-Dīn encouraged him to rebuild it, and he did the work by himself. The new settlement was called *Mol Mandar* (p. 167). In the 49th year he was appointed with Rāy Durpā (No. 167) to pursue Muhammad Husayn Mirzā (p. 516), who was caught by Khwājā Wād.

In the 1st year of Jalāl al-Dīn's reign he served under Prince Parwiz against the Rānī, and was made, in the 2nd year, a commander of 1,500, 600 horse (*Tuzuk*, p. 64). He served long in the Dabhan and died in the 11th year.

His son Fāris Khān received after the death of his father the title of Rāy, and was made a commander of 100, 300 horse (I.e., p. 169).

His son served to Persian service, and was called at court Mirzā Manohar, vide my article, "A Chapter from Muhammadan History," *Calcutta Review*, April, 1871.

266. Khwājā 'Abd al-Farīd, Shirin-qālam (sweet-pen).

He is not to be confounded with No. 353.

Khwājā 'Abd al-Farīd was a Shirīzī. His father Khwājā Nizām

¹ Wholly called in the *Fāris* 1675 a *Shāhshāh* of the *Shāhshāh* (II, 167). Ghazālī Fāris.

Ghazālī Fāris, before Alā' al-Dīn's conquest of Gujarat, as detailed by Fāris (p. 124) includes portions of Sindh and Multān, and from the revenue at least 10 lakhs of rupees, with 7000 horse. This can only have been nominal. Alā' al-Dīn, in his description of Fāris al-Dīn, III, 167, mentions 25 lakhs of rupees, with 2000 horse, as the *jamāat* of Jalāl and Jalāl al-Dīn (p. 167).

¹ The word *Wād*, which occurs in the names of places from Sindh to Mālaya and Central India, is a G. word from *Wād* *rest*. There are many Donors, Donors, Donors, Donors, etc. In India, the word for in Mughlī's times a jungle, whence *Wād* (Western Donors). There also *Wād* (jungle), or jungle, the general name of *Wād* (Wād). The above mentioned Donors are in the N.W. frontier of Gujarat (I.e., III, 169, 170, 472).

² The maps give a Mandarjār south of Andher, also at lat. 27° 20'.

'I-Mulk was Vazir to Shāh Shujāʿ of Shīrāz. Before Humāyūn left Irān he went to Tabriz, where 'Alī-Ḥusayn-Samad paid his respects. He was even at that time known as a painter and calligraphist. Humāyūn invited him to come to him, and though then unable to accompany the emperor, he followed him in 956 to Kābul.

Under Akbar S.A. was a commander of 400; but low as his *manḡah* was, he had great influence at court. In the 22nd year he was in charge of the mint at Faṭhpūr Sikri (*Albarnāma*, III, 195); and in the 31st year, when the officers were redistributed over the several ḡbar, he was appointed Diwān of Multān.

As an instance of his skill it is mentioned that he wrote the *Sūrat* 'Al-*Ḥāq* (Qur'ān, Sur. CXII) on a poppy seed (*dānah-yi Maḥḥāḥ*). *Ibid* p. 114.

For his son, *vide* No. 551.

267. Silhadi, son of Rāja Bihārī Mal (No. 23).

268. Rām Chand Kachhwāha.

Ibid p. 422.

[Rām Chand Chauhan.] The *Ma'diyr* says that he was the son of Badal Singh, and a commander of 500. In the 17th year he served under M. 'Aziz Koka (No. 21) in Gujrat, and in the 26th year under Sultān Murād against M. Muhammad Hakim, king of Kābul. In the 28th year he was under M. Shāhrulā in the Dakhin. In the fight, in which Rāja 'Alī of Khandesh fell, R. Ch. received twenty wounds and fell from his horse. Next day he was found still alive. He died a few days later (41st year, 1005).

269. Bahādur Khān Qūrdār.

He served in the beginning of the 18th year in Gujrat (*Albarnāma*, III, 25), in the 26th in Kābul (i.e., 333) and in the siege of Āsir (1008).

The *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b., pp. 311, 315) mentions Abābakr and 'Usmān, sons of Bahādur Khān Qūrbegī, who seems to be the same officer. They died in the 8th and 9th years of Shāhjahān.

270. Bānkā, the Kachhwāha.

He served in the 26th year in Kābul (*Albarn.*, III, 333). His son Haridī Rām was under Shāhjahān a commander of 1,500, 1,000 horse, and died in the 9th of his reign.

XIX. Commanders of Three Hundred and Fifty.

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| 271. Mirzā Abū Sa'īd | } sons of Sultān Husayn Mirzā. |
| 272. Mirzā Sanjar | |

They were mentioned above on p. 328. Mirzā Sanjar is not to be confounded with the Mirzā Sankar mentioned on p. 533, note 1.

273. 'Alī Mardān Bahādur.

The *Tabaqāt* mentions him as having been in 931 (21st year) at court, from where he was sent to Qulij Khān (No. 42) at Idar, who was to go to Gujrat to see the ships off which under Sultān Khwāja (No. 103) were on the point of leaving for Makkah. Later he served under the Khān Khānān in Sind,¹ and in the 41st year in the Dakhin. Subsequently, he commanded the Talingāna corps. In the 46th year, he marched to Pāthri to assist Sher Khwāja (No. 176) when he heard that Bahādur Khān Gilāni, whom he had left with a small detachment in Talingāna, had been defeated. He returned and attacked the enemies who were much stronger than he; his men fled and he himself was captured. In the same year Abū 'I-Faṭl made peace, and 'Alī Mardān was set at liberty. In the 47th year he served with distinction under Mirzā Irij (No. 255) against Malik 'Ambar.

In the 7th year of Jahāngir's reign he was attached to the corps commanded by 'Abd' 'Ilāh Khān Firūz-jang, who had been ordered to move with the Gujrat army over Nāsik into the Dakhin, in order to co-operate with the second army corps under Khān Jahān Lodī. 'Abd' 'Ilāh entered the hostile territory without meeting the second army, and returned towards Gujrat, now pursued by the enemies. In one of the fights which ensued, 'A. M. was wounded and captured. He was taken before Malik 'Ambar, and though the doctors did everything to save him, he died two days later of his wounds, in 1021 A.H. (*Tuzuk*, p. 108).

His son Karam' 'Ilāh served under Jahāngir (*Tuzuk*, p. 269) and was under Shāhjahān a commander of 1,000, 1,000 horse. He was for some time commandant of Fort Odgir, and died in the 21st year of Shāhj.'s reign.

274. Razā Qulī, son of Khān Jahān (No. 24).

Ibid above, p. 351.

275. Shaykh Khūbū [Qutb' 'd-Dīn Khān-i Chishti] of Faṭhpūr Sikri.

His father was a Shaykhzāda of Badā'on, and his mother a daughter of Shaykh Salīm. Khūbū was a foster-brother of Jahāngir.² When the prince was at Ilāhābād in rebellion against Akbar, he conferred upon Khūbū the title of Qutb' 'd-Dīn Khān, and made him Šubadār of Bihār.

¹ *Ibid* Dowson, *Elliot's Historians*, I, p. 248.

² Jahāngir says that Khūbū's mother was dearer to him than his own mother.

On his accession he made him Šubādār of Bengal, *vice* Mān Singh (9th Jumādā I, 1015; *Tuzuk*, p. 37).

At that time, Sher Afkan 'Alī Qulī Istajlū (*vide* No. 394) was tuyūldār of Bardwān, and as his wife Mihr^u 'n-Nisā [Nūr Jahān] was coveted by the emperor, Quṭb was ordered to send Sher Afkan to court, who however, refused to go. Quṭb, therefore, went to Bardwān, sending Ghiyāsā, son of his sister, before him, to persuade Sher Afkan that no harm would be done to him. When Quṭb arrived, Sher Afkan went to meet him, accompanied by two men. On his approach, Q. lifted up his horse-whip as a sign for his companions to cut down Sher Afkan. "What is all this?" exclaimed Sher. Quṭb waved his hand to call back his men, and advancing towards Sher, upbraided him for his disobedience. His men mistaking Quṭb's signal to withdraw, closed round Sher, who rushed with his sword against Quṭb and gave him a deep wound in the abdomen. Quṭb was a stout man, and seizing the protruding bowels with his hands, called out to his men to cut down the scoundrel. Amba Khān, a Kashmirī noble of royal blood, thereupon charged Sher Afkan, and gave him a sword cut over the head; but he fell at the same time, pierced through by Sher's sword (p. 529, note 1). The men now crowded round him and struck him to the ground. Quṭb^u 'd-Dīn was still on horseback, when he heard that Sher Afkan had been killed, and he sent off Ghiyāsā to bring his effects and his family to Bardwān. He then was removed in a *pālki*. He died whilst being carried away. His corpse was taken to Faṭhpūr Sikrī and buried.

In 1013 he built the Jāmī^c mosque of Badā^uon.

His son, Shaykh Ibrāhīm, was, in 1015, a commander of 1,000, 300 horse, and had the title of *Kishwar Khān*. He was for some time governor of Rohtās, and served in the beginning of 1021 against 'Usmān.

Ilahdiya, son of Kishwar Khān, is mentioned in the *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b., 100, 177, 307; II, 344, 379, 411, 484).

276. Ziyā^u 'l-Mulk, of Kāshān.

The *Akbarnāma* (III, 490, 628) and the *Tuzuk* (p. 11) mention a Ziyā^u 'd-Dīn.

The Hakim Ziyā^u 'd-Dīn of Kāshān, who under Shāhjahān held the title of Raḥmat Khān, can scarcely be the same.

277. Hamza Beg Ghatrāghālī.

He may be the brother of No. 203. The *Akbarnāma* (III, 255) mentions also a Husayn Beg Ghatrāghālī.

278. Mukhtar Beg, son of Āghā Mullā.

Mukhtār Beg served under A'zam Khān Koka (No. 21) in Bihār,

Gaḍha-Rā, isin (*Akbarn.* III, 276, 473), and in the 36th year, under Sulṭān Murād in Mālwa.

Naṣr^u 'llāh, son of Mukhtār Beg, was under Shāhjahān a commander of 700, 150 horse, and died in the 10th year.

Faṭḥ^u 'llāh, son of Naṣr^u 'llāh, was under Shāhjahān a commander of 500, 50 horse (*Pādishāhn.*, I, b., 318; II, 752).

Abū 'l-Faṣl calls Mukhtār Beg the son of Āghā Mullā. This would seem to be the Āghā Mullā Dawātdār, mentioned on p. 398. If so, Mukhtār Beg would be the brother of Ghiyās^u 'd-Dīn 'Alī (No. 126). The Āghā Mullā mentioned below (No. 376), to judge from the *Tuzuk* (p. 27), is the brother of Āṣaf Khān III (No. 98), and had a son of the name of Badī^u 'z-Zamān, who under Shāhjahān was a commander of 500, 100 horse (*Pād.*, I, b., 327; II, 751). In Muhammadan families the name of the grandfather is often given to the grandchild.

279. Haydar 'Alī 'Arab.

He served, in the 32nd year, in Afghānistān (*Akbarn.*, III, 540, 548).

280. Peshraw Khān [Mihtar Sa'ādat].

Mihtar Sa'ādat had been brought up in Tabriz, and was in the service of Shāh Tahmasp, who gave him as a present to Humāyūn. After Humāyūn's death he was promoted and got the title of *Peshraw Khān*. In the 19th year Akbar sent him on a mission to Bihār, where he was caught on the Ganges by Gajpati, the great zamīndār (p. 437, note 2). When Jagdespūr, the stronghold of the Rāja, was conquered, Gajpati ordered several prisoners to be killed, among them Peshraw. The executioner, however, did not kill him, and told another man to do so. But the latter accidentally could not get his sword out of the scabbard, and the Rāja, who was on the point of flying, having no time to lose, ordered him to take P. on his elephant. The elephant was wild and restive, and the man who was in charge of P. fell from the animal and got kicked, when the brute all at once commenced to roar in such a manner that the other elephants ran away frightened. Although P.'s hands were tied, he managed to get to the *kalāwa* (p. 135) of the driver and thus sat firm; but the driver, unable to manage the brute, threw himself to the ground and ran away, leaving P. alone on the elephant. Next morning it got quiet, and P. threw himself down, when he was picked up by a trooper who had been searching for him.

In the 21st year he reported at court the defeat of Gajpati¹ (*Akbarn.*, III, 163). In the 25th year he served in Bengal (I c., p. 289). Later he

¹ Gajpati's brother, Bairī Sāl, had been killed (*Akbarn.*, III 162).

was sent to Niram 'I-Mulk of the Dakhin, and afterwards to Bahādur Khān, son of Rājā 'Alī Khān of Khānlesh. His mission to the latter was in vain, and Akbar marched to Ashr. P. distinguished himself in the siege of Māllesh.

Jahāngir made him a commander of 2,000, and continued him in his office as superintendent of the *Farrūsh-i-Māra* (Quartermaster).

P. died in the 3rd year, on the 1st Rajab, 1017. Jahāngir says (*Tuzuk*, p. 71) "He was an excellent servant, and though ninety years old, he was smarter than many a young man. He had amassed a fortune of 15 laes of rupees. *He is in Egypt as unfit for anything; but for the sake of his father, I put him in charge of half the Farrūsh-i-Māra.*"

281. Qāsi Husayn Qazwini.

In the 32nd year (995) he served in Gujrat (*Albarn*, III, 537, 551, where the Lucknow edition has Qāsi Husayn), and later in the siege of Ashr (*l.c.*, III, 525).

282. Mir Murād-i Juwaynī.

He is not to be confounded with No. 350, but may be the same as mentioned on p. 350.

Juwaynī is the Arabic form of the Persian Gūjān, the name of a small town, in Khurāsān, on the road between Brūm and Nishāpūr. It lies, according to the *Ma'āwar* in the district of Bayhaq, of which Sabzwār is the capital, and is renowned as the birthplace of many learned men and poets.

Mir Murād belongs to the Sayyid-i Juwaynī. As he had been long in the Dakhin, he was also called *Dakhinī*. He was an excellent shot, and Akbar appointed him rifle-instructor to Prince Khurram. He died, in the 46th year, as Bakhshī of Lāhor. He had two sons, Qāsim Khān and Hāshim Khān.

Qāsim Khān was an excellent poet, and rose to distinction under Islām Khān, governor of Bengal, who made him treasurer of the sūba. Later, he married Manija Begum, sister of Nūr Jahān, and thus became a friend of Jahāngir. An example of a happy repartee is given. Once Jahāngir asked for a cup of water. The cup was so thin that it could not bear the weight of the water, and when handed to the emperor it broke. Looking at Qāsim, J. said (metre *Ramal*):—

کاسه نازک بود آب آرام نتوانست کرد
The cup was lovely, so the water lost its rest—

¹ Vide Wüstenfeld's *Yacut*, II, 164

when Qāsim, completing the verse, replied :—

دید حال مرا و چشمش سبب اشک خود نکرد

It saw my love-grief, and could not suppress its tears.

In the end of J.'s reign, he was Subadār of Āgra, and was in charge of the treasures in the fort. When the emperor died, and Shāhjahān left the Dakhin, Qāsim paid his respects in the Bāgh-i Dahra (Āgra), which in honour of Jahāngir had been called *Nūr Manzil*, and was soon after made a commander of 5,000, 500 horse, and appointed governor of Bengal, *vide* Fidā'i Khān.

An Shāhjahān when prince, during his rebellion, had heard of the wicked practices of the Portuguese in Bengal, who converted natives by force to Christianity, he ordered Qāsim to destroy their settlement at Hūgli. In the 5th year, in Sha'abān, 1011, or February, A.D. 1632 (*Pādshāh-nāma*, I, 435, 437), Q. sent a corps under his son 'Ināyat 'Ilāh and Allāh Yār Khān to Hūgli. The Portuguese held out for three months and a half, when the Muhammadans succeeded in laying dry the ditch in front of the Church, dug a mine, and blew up the church. The fort was taken. Ten thousand Portuguese are said to have perished during the siege, and 4,400 were taken prisoners. About 10,000 natives whom they had in their power were liberated. One thousand Musulmāns died as martyrs for their religion.¹

Three days after the conquest of Hūgli, Qāsim died (*l.c.*, p. 444). The Jāmi' Masjid in the Atga Bāzār of Āgrah was built by him.

283. Mir Qāsim Badaakhshī.

He served in the Dakhin (*Albarn*, III, 830).

284. Banda 'Alī Maydānī.

Maydānī is the name of an Afghān clan; *vide* No. 317. Banda 'Alī served in the 9th year with Muhammad Hākīm of Kābul, who was attacked by Mirzā Sulaymān of Badaakhshān (No. 5) and had applied to Akbar for help. In the 30th and 32nd years he served in Kābul (*Albarn*, II, 299; III, 477, 540).

The *Albarnāma* (II, 209) also mentions a Banda 'Alī Qurbegī.

- 285. Khwājagī Fath 'Ilāh, son of Hājī Habib 'Ilāh of Kāshān

He was mentioned above on pp. 386, 516. He served in the 30th year under Mirzā 'Aziz Koka (No. 21). *Albarn*, III, 473.

¹ The siege of Hūgli commenced on the 2nd Zi Hijrah, 1041, or 11th June, 1632 and the town was taken on the 14th Rabi' I, 1042, or 10th September, 1632. The village of Haldipūr, mentioned in the *Pādshāh-nāma* as having for some time been the headquarters of the Mughul army, is called on our maps *Haldipur*, and lies N.W. of Hūgli.

The Portuguese church of Bandel (a corruption of *bandar*?) bears the year 1699 on its keystones.

286. Zāhid
 287. Dost [Muhammad] } sons of Ṣādiq Khān (No. 43).
 288. Yār [Muhammad] }

They have been mentioned above on p. 384. Zāhid, in the end of 1025, served against Dāpat (No. 252).

Regarding Zāhid, *vide* also a passage from the *Tārikh-i Maʿsūmī*, translated Dowson's edition of *Elliot's Historians*, I, 246.

289. ʿIzzat^u 'llāh Ghujduwānī.
 Ghujduwān is a small town in Bukhārā.

The *Akbarnāma* (III, 548) mentions a Qāṣī ʿIzzat^u 'llāh, who, in the 32nd year, served in Afghānistān.

XX. Commanders of Three Hundred.

290. Āltūn Qulij.
 291. Jān Qulij.

Two MSS. have Āltūn Qulij, son of Khān Qulij, which latter name would be an unusual transposition for Qulij Khān. They are not the sons of Qulij Khān (No. 42), *vide* Nos. 292 and 293.

Āltūn Qulij is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* (III, 554) as having served in Baglāna with Bharjī, the Rāja who was hard pressed in Fort Molher by his relations. Bharjī died about the same time (beginning of the 33rd year).

292. Sayf^u 'llāh [Qulij^u 'llāh] } sons of Qulij Khān (No. 42).
 293. Chīn Qulij }

Sayf is Arabic, and means the same as the Turkish *qulij*, a sword. Sayf^u 'llāh was mentioned under No. 203. In the beginning of the 33rd year he served under Ṣādiq Khān (No. 43) in Afghānistān.

Regarding Mirzā Chīn Qulij, the *Maʿāṣir* says that he was an educated, liberal man, well versed in government matters. He had learned under Mullā Muṣṭafā of Jaunpūr, and was for a long time Fawjdār of Jaunpūr and Banāras.

At the death of his father, his younger brother Mirzā Lāhaurī, the spoiled pet son of his father, joined Chīn Qulij in Jaunpūr. He had not been long there when he interfered in government matters and caused disturbances, during which Chīn Qulij lost his life. His immense property escheated to the state; it is said that it took the clerks a whole year to make the inventory.

In 1022, when Jahāngir was in Ajmīr, he who had been the Mirzā's teacher, with the intention

While at court he got acquainted with Mullā Muḥammad of Thathah, a teacher in the employ of Āṣafjāh (or Āṣaf Khān IV; *vide* p. 398), who had scientific discussions with him, and finding him a learned man, interceded on his behalf. Muṣṭafā was let off, went to Makkah and died.

Mirzā Lāhaurī was caught and imprisoned. After some time, he was set at liberty, and received a daily allowance (*yaumiyya*). He had a house in Āgra, near the Jamna, at the end of the Darsan, and trained pigeons. He led a miserable life.

The *Maʿāṣir* mentions a few instances of his wicked behaviour. Once he buried one of his servants alive, as he wished to know something about Munkir and Nakir, the two angels who, according to the belief of the Muhammadans, examine the dead in the grave, beating the corpse with sledge hammers if the dead man is found wanting in belief. When the man was dug out he was found dead. Another time, when with his father, in Lāhor, he disturbed a Hindū wedding-feast and carried off the bride; and when the people complained to his father, he told them to be glad that they were now related to the Ṣūbadār of Lāhor.

The other sons of Qulij Khān, as Qulij^u 'llāh, Chīn, Qulij, Bālū Q., Bayrām Q., and Jān Q., held mostly respectable managabs.

The *Tuzuk-i Jahāngirī* relates the story differently. Both M. Chīn Qulij and M. Lāhaurī are described as wicked men. Chīn Q., after the death of his father, came with his brothers and relations to court (Ṣafar, 1023; *Tuzuk*, p. 127) and received Jaunpūr as jāgīr. As the emperor heard of the wicked doings of M. Lāhaurī, from whom no man was safe, he sent an Aḥādī to Jaunpūr to bring him to court, when Chīn Qulij fled with him to several zamindārs. The men of Janāngir Qulī Khān, governor of Bihār, at last caught him; but before he was taken to the governor, Chīn died, some say, in consequence of an attack of illness, others from wounds he had inflicted on himself. His corpse was taken to Jahāngir Qulī Khān, who sent it with his family and property to Ilāhābād. The greater part of his property had been squandered or given away to zamindārs (1024; *Tuzuk*, p. 148).

294. Abū 'l-Fattāḥ Atālij.

295. Sayyid Bāyazīd of Bārha.

He served in the 33rd year (996) in Gujrāt (*Akbarn.*, III, 553). In the beginning of the 17th year of Jahāngir's reign (1031) he received the title of Muṣṭafā Khān (*Tuzuk*, p. 344).

In the 1st year of Shāhjahān's reign he was made a commander of 2000, 700 horse (*Pād.*, I, 183). His name is not given in the list of the *Pādshāhnāma*.

296. Balbhadra, the Rajpūt.

297. Abd al-Masali, son of Sayyid Muhammad Mir 'Adil (No. 140).

298. Pāṭil Anand.

He was in Bengal at the outbreak of the military revolt. In the 37th year he served under Mān Singh in the expedition to Orīṣā (*Albarn*, III, 277, 611).

299. Bayasid Beg Turkei.

He was at first in Muḥammad's service (*Albarn*, II, 238, 253). The *Albarn* (I, b, 328) mentions Mahmūd Beg, son of Bayasid Beg, Vol. No. 735.

300. Shāykh Dawlat Bahāyār.

301. Hussayn the Pakhlivān.

The story of the origin of his family from the Qīrīqīs under Tīmūr (vide p. 304) is given in the *Tuzuk* (p. 290). "Jahāngīr III," but they do not know who was then their chief. At present they are common Panjābīs (*Lāhūrīyān* mother) and speak Panjābī. This is also the case with Dīnārī (vide No. 392).

Sultān Hussayn, as he called himself, is the son of Sultān Maḥmūd. His rebellion against Akbar has been mentioned above on p. 304. When Jahāngīr in the 14th year (beginning of 1629) paid him a visit, Hussayn was about seventy years old, but still active. He was then a commander of 400, 500 horse, and Jahāngīr promoted him to a command of 600, 700 horse.

Hussayn died in the 18th year (end of 1632; *Tuzuk*, p. 357). His command included the district of Pakhlī, was given to his son Shāhīmān.

Shāhīmān served under Dīnārī Sultān in Qandahār (beginning of 1632) and was in the 20th year of Shāhjīshāh's reign a commander of 1,000, 900 horse. *Pāshāhī* (I, II, 293, 733).

The *Tuzuk* (p. 290) mentions a few places in the district of Pakhlī, and has a remark on the thick strong beer which the inhabitants made from bread and rice.

302. Kesū Dās, son of Jat Mal.

Vide No. 108. One MS. has *Jat Mal*, instead of *Jai Mal*. The *Pādshāh-nāma* (I, b, 310) mentions a Rājā Girdhār, son of Kesū Dās, grandson of Jat Mal of Mīrthā. The *Tuzuk* frequently mentions a Kesū Dās Mārū (*Tuzuk*, pp. 9, 37, 203).

303. Mirza Khān of Nishāpūr. One MS. has *Jān* for *Khān*.

304. Muzaffar, brother of Khān 'Alam (No. 58).

My text edition has wrongly *Khān-i Aṣṣam* for *Khān 'Alam*.

305. Tulai Dās Jādon.

He served in 992 against Sultān Muzaffar of Gujrat (*Albarn*, III, 422).

The *Albarn* (III, 157, 431, 598) mentions another Jādō Rājā Gopāl. He died in the end of the 34th year, and is mentioned in the *Tahqīq* as a commander of 2,000.

306. Rahmat Khān, son of Mairat al-'Alī.

Mairat al-'Alī is an Afghān title, as *Majlis* 'l *Majlis*, *Majlis* al-*Ḥayāt*, etc. It was the title of Fattā Khān, or Fath Khān, a courtier of Iḥām Shāh, who afterwards joined Akbar's service. He served under Hussayn Quli Khān Jalān (No. 24) in 950 against Nagarkot (*Bādā'uni*, II, 161). The *Tahqīq* makes him a commander of 2,000. He seems to be the same Fath Khān whom Sulaymān Karamānī had put in charge of Bolkhān in Bāḥār (*Bād.*, II, 77).

He died in the 34th year in Audh (*Albarn*, III, 599).

A Rahmat Khān served in the 15th year in the Dakhīn. Rahmat Khān's brother, Shāh Muḥammad, is mentioned below, No. 395.

307. Ahmad Qāsim Koka.

He served in 993 against the Yūsufzā'is, and in 996 under Šādiq Khān, against the Tārīkīs (*Albarn*, III, 490, 532).

The *Tuzuk* (p. 159) mentions a Yār Beg, son of A. Q.'s brother.

308. Bahādur Gohlot.

309. Dawlat Khān Lodi.

He was a Lodi Afghān of the Shāhū-khayl clan, and was at first in the service of 'Aziz Koka (No. 21). When 'Abd al-Rahīm (No. 29) married the daughter of 'Aziz, Dawlat Khān was transferred to 'Abd al-Rahīm's service, and 'Aziz, in rendering him to his son-in-law, said, "Take care of this man, and you may yet get the title of your father (*Khān Khānān*)."

Dawlat distinguished himself in the wars in Gujrat (p. 355, l. 24, where for *Dost Khān*, as given in the *Ma'āzīr*, we have to read *Dawlat Khān*), in Thatta and the Dakhīn. His courage was proverbial. In his master's contingent he held a command of 1,000. Sultān Dānyāl won him over, and made him a commander of 2,000.

He died in the end of the 45th year (Sha'abān, 1009) at Ahmadnagar (*Albarn*, III, 816). It is said that Akbar stood in awe of him, and when he heard of his death, he is reported to have said, "To-day Sher Khān Sūr died."

Dawlat Khān's eldest son, whom the *Ma'āzīr* calls Mahmūd, was half mad. In the 46th year, on a hunting tour, he left his companions, got into a quarrel with some Kolis near Pāl, and perished.

Dawlat's second son is the renowned Pir Khān, or Pirū, better known in history under his title Khān Jahān Lodī. If Akbar's presentiments were deceived in the father, they were fulfilled in the son.

Pir Khān, when young, fell out with his father, and fled with his elder brother, whom the *Mo'āssir* here calls Muḥammad Khān, to Bengal, where they were assisted by Mān Singh. Muḥammad Khān died when young.

Like his father, P. Kh. was in the service of Sultān Dānyāl, who treated him like a friend, and called him "son". On the death of the Prince, Pir, then twenty years old, joined Jahāngir's service, was made in the second year a commander of 3,000, and received the title of Ṣalābat Khān (*Tuzuk*, p. 42). He gradually rose to a manṣab of 5,000, and received the title of Khān Jahān, which was looked upon as second in dignity to that of Khān Khānān. Although Jahāngir treated him like an intimate friend rather than a subject, Khān Jahān never got his position and formed no ambitious plans.

When Prince Parwiz, Rāja Mān Singh and Sharif Khān (No. 351) were sent to the Dakhin to reinforce the Khān Khānān and matters took an unfavourable turn, Khān Jahān, in 1018, was sent with 12,000 troopers to their assistance. At the review, Jahāngir came down from the state window, put his turban on Kh. J.'s head, seized his hand, and helped him in mounting. Without delaying in Burhānpūr, Kh. J. moved to Bālāghāt, where the imperial army was. At Mulkāpūr, a great fight took place with Malik 'Ambar, and the imperialists unaccustomed to the warfare of the Dakhinis, lost heavily. The Khān Khānān met him with every respect, and took him to Bālāghāt. According to the original plan, Kh. J. was to lead the Dakhin corps, and 'Abdu 'llāh Khān the Gujrāt army, upon Daulatābād (under No. 273). Malik 'Ambar, afraid of being attacked from two sides, succeeded in gaining over the Khān Khānān, who managed to detain Kh. J. in Zafarnagar; and 'Abdu 'llāh, when marching forward, found no support, and had to retreat with heavy losses. Kh. J. got short of provisions; his horses died off, and the splendid army with which he had set out, returned in a most disorderly state to Burhānpūr.

Kh. J. accused the Khān Khānān of treason, and offered to conquer Bijāpūr in two years, if the emperor would give him 30,000 men and absolute power. This Jahāngir agreed to, and the Khān-i A'zam (No. 21) and Khān 'Ālam (No. 328) were sent to his assistance. But though the Khān Khānān had been removed, the duplicity of the Amīrs remained what it had been before, and matters did not improve. The

was therefore given to the Khān-i A'zam and Kh. J. received Thālner as jāgīr, and was ordered to remain at Īlichpūr. After a year, he returned to court, but was treated by the emperor in as friendly a manner as before.

In the 15th year, when the Persians threatened Qandahār, Kh. J. was made governor of Multān. Two years later, in the 17th year, Shāh 'Abbās took Qandahār after a siege of forty days. Kh. J. was called to court for advice, having been forbidden to attack Shāh 'Abbās, because kings should be opposed by kings. When he came to court, Prince Khurram was appointed to reconquer Qandahār, and Kh. J. was ordered back to Multān to make preparations for the expedition. It is said that the Afghān tribes from near Qandahār came to him in Multān, and declared themselves willing to be the vanguard of the army, if he would only promise every horseman five tankas, and each foot soldier two tankas *per diem* to keep them from starving; they were willing to go with him to Isfahān, and promised to be responsible for the supplies. But Kh. J. refused the proffered assistance, remarking that Jahāngir would kill him if he heard of the attachment of the Afghāns to him.

In the meantime matters changed. Shāhjahān rebelled, and the expedition to Qandahār was not undertaken. The emperor several times ordered Kh. J. to return, and wrote at last himself, adding the curious remark that even Sher Khān Sūr, in spite of his enmity, would after so many requests have obeyed. The delay, it is said, was caused by severe illness. On his arrival at court, Kh. J. was made commandant of Fort 'Āgra, and was put in charge of the treasures.

In the 19th year, on the death of the Khān-i A'zam, he was made governor of Gujrāt, and when Mahābat Khān was sent to Bengal, he was appointed *atā'iq* to Prince Parwiz, whom he joined at Burhānpūr.

In 1035, the 21st year, Parwiz died, and the Dakhin was placed under Kh. J. He moved against Fath Khān, son of Malik 'Ambar, to Bālāghāt. His conduct was now more than suspicious: he accepted proposals made by Hamīd Khān Habshī, the minister of the Nizām Shāh, to cede the conquered districts for an annual payment of three lacs of hūns, though the revenue was 55 kroris of dāms (*Pādishāhn.*, I, 271), and ordered the imperial Fawjdārs and Thānahdārs to give up their places to the agents of the Nizām Shāh and repair to Burhānpūr. Only Sipahdār Khān, who stood in Aḥmadnagar, refused to do so without express orders from the emperor.

Soon after, Mahābat Khān joined Shāhjahān at Junir, and was made with the title of Sipahsālār. On the death of Jahāngir, which

took place immediately afterwards, Shāhjahān sent Jān Nisār Khān to Kh. J. to find out what he intended to do, and confirm him at the same time in his office as Śubadār of the Dakhin; but as he in the meantime had formed other plans, he sent back Jān Nisār without answer. He intended to rebel. It is said that he was misled by Daryā Khān Rohila and Fāril Khān, the Diwān of the Dakhin; Dāwar Bakhsh, they insinuated, had been made emperor by the army, Shahryār had proclaimed himself in Lihor, whilst Shāhj. had offended him by conferring the title of Sipahsālār on Mahābat Khān, who only lately had joined him. he, too, should aim at the crown, as he was a man of great power, and would find numerous adherents.

Shāhj. sent Mahābat to Māndū, where Kh. J.'s family was. Kh. J. renewed friendly relations with the Nisām Shāh, and leaving Sikandar Dutāni in Burhānpūr, he moved with several Amirs to Māndū, and deposed the governor Muzaḥfiar Khān Ma'mūri. But he soon saw how mistaken he was. The Amirs who had come with him, left him and paid their respects to Shāhj., the proclamation of Dāwar Bakhsh proved to be a scheme made by Āṣaf Khān in favour of Shāhj., and Kh. J. sent a vakil to court and presented, after Shāhj.'s accession, a most valuable present. The emperor was willing to overlook past faults, and left him in possession of the government of Mālwah.

In the second year, after punishing Jhujhār Singh, Kh. J. came to court and was treated by the emperor with cold politeness. Their mutual distrust soon showed itself. Shāhj. remarked on the strong contingent which he had brought to Āgra, and several pargannas of his jagirs were transferred to others. One evening, at a darbār, Mīrzā Lashkari, son of Mukhlis Khān, foolishly said to the sons of Kh. J., "He will some of these days imprison your father." Kh. J., on hearing this, shut himself up at home, and when the emperor sent Islām Khān to his house to inquire, he begged the messenger to obtain for him an *amān-nāma*, or letter of safety, as he was hourly expecting the displeasure of his master. Shāhj. was generous enough to send him the guarantee; but though even Āṣaf Khān tried to console him, the old suspicions were never forgotten. In fact it would seem that he only feared the more for his safety, and on the night from the 26th to the 27th Šafar, 1039, after a stay at court of eight months, he fled from Āgra. When passing the Hatyāpūl¹ Darwāza, he humbly threw the reigns of his horse over

his neck, bent his head forward on the saddle, and exclaimed, "O God, thou knowest that I fly for the preservation of my honour; to rebel is not my intention." On the morning before his flight, Āṣaf had been informed of his plan, and reported the rumour to the emperor. But Shāhj. said that he could take no steps to prevent Kh. J. from rebelling; he had given him the guarantee, and could use no force before the crime had actually been committed.

An outline of Kh. J.'s rebellion may be found in Elphinstone's history, where the main facts are given.

When he could no longer hold himself in the Dakhin, he resolved to cut his way to the Panjāb. He entered Mālwah, pursued by 'Abdu 'llāh Khān and Muzaḥfiar Khān Dārha. After capturing at Sironj fifty imperial elephants, he entered the territory of the Bundela Rājah. But Jagrā Bīkrāmājī, son of Jhujhār Singh, fell upon his rear (17th Jumāda, 11, 1040), defeated it, and killed Daryā Khān (a commander of 4,000) and his son, Kh. J.'s best officers (*Pādishāhn.*, I, 339; I, b., 296). On arriving in Bhānder,¹ Kh. J. met Sayyid Muzaḥfiar, and sending off his baggage engaged him with 1,000 men. During the fight Mahmūd Khān, one of Kh. J.'s sons, was killed. On approaching Kālinjar, he was opposed by Sayyid Ahmad, the commandant of the Fort, and in a fight another of his sons, Hasan Khān, was captured. Marching farther, he arrived at the tank of Sehōdā, where he resolved to die. He allowed his men to go away as his cause was hopeless. On the 1st Rajab, 1040, he was again attacked by 'Abdu 'llāh Khān and S. Muzaḥfiar, and was mortally wounded by Mādhu Singh with a spear. Before Muzaḥfiar could come up, the soldiers had cut him and his son 'Aziz to pieces (*Pādishāhn.*, I, 351). Their heads were sent to Shāhjahān at Burhānpūr, fixed for some time to the walls of the city, and then buried in the vault of Dawlat Khān, Kh. J.'s father.

Kh. J. had been a commander of 7,000 (*Pādishāhn.*, I, b., 293).

Several of Kh. J.'s sons, as Husayn 'Azmat, Mahmūd, and Hasan, had perished during the rebellion of their father. Another, Aṣṣalat Khān, a commander of 3,000, died during the rebellion at Dawlatābād, and Muzaḥfiar had left his father and gone to court. Farid and Jān Jahān

¹ The two large stone elephants which stood upon the gate were taken down by Aurangzib in Rajab, 1079, because the Muhammadan law forbids sculpture. *Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri*, p. 77.

¹ So the *Ma'asir*. The Bibl. Ind. Edition of the *Pādishāhnāma*, I, 346, has *Bāndhā*. So likewise for *Salwāni* (*Pād.*, I, 290), the *Ma'asir* has *Lānjhi* (Gondwānah), where Kh. J., after the fight near Dhulpur and his march through the Bundela State, for the first time rested.

Bhānder lies N.E. of Jhānsi. Sehōdā lies N. of Kālinjar, on the Ken.

were captured; 'Alīm and Ahmad had fled, and went after some time to court. "But none of his sons ever prospered."

The historical work entitled *Maḥṣan-i Afḡānī*, or some editions of it, contain a chapter in praise of *Khān Jahān*, after whom the book is sometimes called *Tārīḥ-i Khān Jahān Lodi*.

310. Shāh Muḥammad, son of Quraysh Sultān (No. 178).

311. Ḥasan Khān Miḡāna.

He was at first a servant of Ṣidiq Khān (No. 43), but later he received a *mansab*. He died in the Dakhin wars.

Of his eight sons, the eldest died young (*Tuzuk*, p. 200). The second is *Buhlūl Khān*. He rose to a *mansab* of 1,500 under Jahāngir (i.e., pp. 184, 200), and received the title of *Sarbuland Khān*. He was remarkable for his courage and his external appearance. He served in Gondwāna.

At the accession of Shāhjahān, B. was made a commander of 4,000, 3,000 horse, and *jigirdār* of Bilāspūr. He joined Khān Jahān Lodi on his march from Gondwāna to Bilāghūt. When he saw that Khān Jahān did not succeed, he left him, and entered the service of the Nizām Shāh.

A grandson of Buhlūl, Abū 'l-Muḥammad, came in the 12th year of Aurangzib's reign to court, was made a commander of 5,000, 4,000, and got the title of *Ilāḥī Khān* (*Ma'ās. 'Ālamgīrī*, p. 81).

For other Miḡāna Afḡāns, vide *Pādishāhnā*, I, 241; *Ma'ās. 'Ālamgīrī*, p. 225.

312. Tāhīr Beg, son of the Khān-i Kalān (No. 16).

313. Kishn Dās Tunwar.

He was under Akbar and Jahāngir accountant (*mushrif*) of the elephant and horse stables. In the 7th year of J., he was made a commander of 1,000. A short time before he had received the title of *Rāja* (*Tuzuk*, p. 110).

314. Mān Singh Kachhūwāha.

The *Albarnāma* (III, 333, 335) mentions a Mān Singh Darbārī.

315. Mīr Gadā'ī, son of Mīr Abū Turāb.

Abū Turāb belonged to the Salāmi Sayyids of Shīrūz. His grandfather, Mīr Ghīyāṣ 'd-Dīn, had come to Gujrāt during the reign of Qutb 'd-Dīn, grandson of Sultān Ahmad (the founder of Ahmadābād); but he soon after returned to Persia. The disturbances, however, during the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī obliged him to take again refuge in Gujrāt, where he arrived during the reign of Sultān Mahmūd

Bigarā.¹ He settled with his son Kamāl 'd-Dīn (Abū Turāb's father) in Champānīr-Mahmūdābād, and set up as a teacher and writer of school books (*darsiya kutāb*). Kamāl 'd-Dīn also was a man renowned for his learning.

The family has for a long time been attached to the *Silsila-yi Maḡh-rībyya*, or Maḡhribī (Western) Sect, the "lamp" of which was the saintly Shaykh 'Ahmad-i Khaṭṭū. The name "Salāmi Sayyids" is explained as follows. One of the ancestors of the family had visited the tomb of the Prophet. When coming to the sacred spot, he said the customary *salām*, when a heavenly voice returned his greeting.

Abū Turāb was a highly respected man. He was the first that paid his respects to Akbar on his march to Gujrāt, and distinguished himself by his faithfulness to his new master. Thus he was instrumental in preventing Iṣṭimād Khān (No. 67) from joining, after Akbar's departure for Kambhāyat, the rebel Iḥṭiyār 'l-Mulk. Later, Akbār sent him to Makkah as Mīr Hāj, in which quality he commanded a large party of courtiers and begams. On his return he brought a large stone from Makkah, which bore the footprint of the prophet (*qadam-i sharīf*, or *qadam-i mubārak*), vide p. 207. The "tarikh" of his return is *Khayr 'l-aqdām* (A.H. 987), or "the best of footprints." The stone was said to be the same which Sayyid Jalāl-i Bukhārī at the time of Sultān Firūz had brought to Dihli. Akbar looked upon the whole as a pious farce, and though the stone was received with great *éclat*, Abū Turāb was graciously allowed to keep it in his house.

When Iṣṭimād was made governor of Gujrāt, Abū Turāb followed him as Amin of the Ṣūba, accompanied by his sons Mīr Muḥibb 'Ilāh and Mīr Sharf 'd-Dīn.

Abū Turāb died in 1005, and was buried at Ahmadābād.

His third son Mīr Gadā'ī, though he held a *mansab*, adopted the saintly

¹ بگرا. This word is generally pronounced بگر, and is said to mean having conquered two forts (*garh*) because Mahmūd's army conquered on one day the forts of Champānīr and Jūnāgarh. But Jahāngir in his "Memoirs", says that بگرا means *burūt* = *bargashla*, "having a turned up, or twisted, moustache" which Sultān Mahmūd is said to have had (*Tuzuk*, p. 212).

Champānīr, according to Bird, is also called Mahmūdābād. The *Ma'āsir* has Champānīr-Muḥammadābād.

² Born A.H. 739 died at the age of 111 (lunar) years, on the 10th Shawwāl, 850. Shaykh Ahmad lies buried at Sarkhej near Ahmadābād. The biographical works on Saints give many particulars regarding this personage, and the share which he had, as one of the four Gujrātī Ahmads, in the foundation of Ahmadābād (founded 7th Zī Qaṣda, 813). *Khāsinat* 'l-Aṣfiyā (Lāhor), p. 957.

Khaṭṭu, where Shaykh Ahmad was educated by his adoptive father Shaykh Is-hāq-i Maḡhribī (died A.H. 776) lies east of Nāger.

mode of life which his ancestors had followed. In the 46th year he served in the Dakhin.

316. Qāsim Khwāja, son of Khwāja 'Abd' l-Bārī. Vide No. 320.

317. Nādi 'Alī Maydānī.

In MSS. he is often wrongly called Yād 'Alī.

The word *nād* is an Arabic Imperative, meaning "call". It occurs in the following formula used all over the East for amulets.

Nād' 'Alīyān maẓhar' l-'ajā'ib,

Tajid-hū 'awnān fī kull' l-maṣā'ib.

Kull' hammin wa ghammīn sa-yanjalī

Bi-mubuwatī-ka yā Muḥammad, bi-wilāyiti-ka yā 'Alī.

Yā 'Alī, yā 'Alī, yā 'Alī.

Call upon 'Alī in whom all mysteries reveal themselves,

Thou wilt find it a help in all afflictions.

Every care and every sorrow will surely vanish

Through thy prophetship, O Muḥammad, through thy saintliness,

O 'Alī.

O 'Alī, O 'Alī, O 'Alī!

The beginning of the amulet suggested the name.

In the 26th year Nād' 'Alī served against M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, in 993 (the 30th year) in Kābul, and two years later under Zayn Koka (No. 34) against the Tārikis.

In the 6th year of Jahāngir's reign, he was made a commander of 1,500, chiefly for his services against the Kābul rebel Aḥdād. In the 10th year he served in Bangash, when he was a commander of 1,500, 1,000 horse. He died in the following year (1026); vide *Tuzuk*, p. 172. His sons were provided with manšabs.

His son Bizan (or Bizhan) distinguished himself, in the 15th year, in Bangash, and was made a commander of 1,000, 500 horse (l.c., pp. 307, 309).

The *Pādīshāhnāma* (I, b., 322) mentions a Muḥammad Zamān, son of Nādi 'Alī *Arlāt*, who in the 10th year of Shāhjahān was a commander of 500, 350 horse.

Nādi 'Alī is not to be confounded with the Ḥāfiẓ Nādi 'Alī, who served under Jahāngir as Court Ḥāfiẓ (*Tuzuk*, p. 155, and its *Dibāja*, p. 19), nor with the Nādi 'Alī who served under Shāhjahān (*Pādīshāhn.*, II, 749) as a commander of 500, 200 horse.

318. Nīl Kanth, Zamīndār of Orisā.

319. Ghīyās Beg of Tihṛān [Iṣṭimād' 'd-Dawla]

His real name is Mirzā Ghīyās' 'd-Dīn Muḥammad. In old European histories his name is often spelled Ayās, a corruption of *Ghīyās*, not of Ayāz (اياز).

Ghīyās Beg's father was Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf, who as poet wrote under the assumed name of *Hijrī*. He was Vazīr to Tātār Sultān, son of Muḥammad Khān Sharaf' 'd-Dīn Ughlū Taklū, who held the office of Beglar Begi of Khurāsān. After Tātār Sultān's death, the Khwāja was continued in office by his son Qazāq Khān, and on Qazāq's death, he was made by Shāh Tahmāsp Vazīr of Yazd.¹

Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf is said to have died in A.H. 984. He had two brothers, Khwāja Mirzā Aḥmad, and Khwājagī Khwāja. The son of Kh. Mirzā Aḥmad was the well-known Khwāja Amīn Rāzī (امین رازی), i.e., of the town of Ray of which he was *kalāntar*, or magistrate, who travelled a good deal and composed the excellent work entitled *Haft Iqlīm*, A.H. 1002. Khwājagī Khwāja had a son of the name of Khwāja Shāpūr, who was likewise a literary man.

Ghīyās Beg was married to the daughter of Mirzā 'Alā' 'd-Dawlah, son of² Āghā Mullā. After the death of his father, in consequence of adverse circumstances, Gh. B. fled with his two sons and one daughter from Persia. He was plundered on the way, and had only two mules left, upon which the members of the family alternately rode. On his arrival at Qandahār, his wife gave birth to another daughter, who received the name of Mihr' 'n-Nisā ("the Sun of Women"), a name which her future title of Nūr Jahān has almost brought into oblivion.³ In their misfortune, they found a patron in Malik Mas'ūd, leader of the caravan, who is said to have been known to Akbar. We are left to infer that it was he who directed Ghīyās Beg to India. After his introduction at Court in Faṭhpūr Sikrī,⁴ Gh. rose, up to the rank of a command of 300. In the same year he was made *Liaqat* in Naul, and was in course of time promoted to a manšab of 1,000, and appointed *Divān-i Buyūlāt*.

¹ The *Dibāja* (preface) of the *Tuzuk* (p. 20) and the *Iqbāl-nāma* (p. 54) agree verbatim in Ghīyās Beg's history. They do not mention Qazāq Khān. For Yazd of the Ma'āsir, Sayyid Aḥmad's text of the *Tuzuk* has *Maru*; and the Bibl. Indica edition of the *Iqbāl-nāma* has *Maru*. "he made him his own Vazīr."

² The words *son of* are not in the Ma'āsir, but in the *Tuzuk* and the *Iqbāl-nāma*. Two Āghā Mullās have been mentioned on p. 398, and under Nos. 278, 319, and 376.

³ It is said that Nūr Jahān at her death in 1055 was in her seventy-second year. She would thus have been born in A.H. 984; hence Ghīyās Beg's flight from Persia must have taken place immediately after the death of his father.

⁴ It is well to bear this in mind; for when Nūr Jahān was married by Jahāngir (in 1020), she must have been as old as 34 (solar) years, an age at which women in the East are looked upon as old women.

⁵ Where he had some distant relations, as Jasfar Beg (No. 98).

Regarding Māhā'n-Nūr's marriage, see Ali Qulī, *ibid.* No. 594.

In the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign, he was Bāghavād the title of Pīr Shāh 'd Dāwūd. In the 3rd year, his eldest son, Muḥammad Shāh, joined a conspiracy to take him away from liberty and murder the emperor, but the plot failed, and Shāh was executed, and Muḥammad himself was imprisoned. After a time, he was set off on payment of a fine of two lakhs of rupees. At the death of Shāh 'd Dīn (reigned 275) Māhā'n-Nūr went into the service of the "forth ruler of Qutb 'd Dīn", and was the beloved of Bāghavād Shāh Bāghavād with whom he lived "enrolled (as a slave) and together". In the 6th year (1020) she no longer accepted the emperor's proposals, and the marriage was celebrated with great pomp. She received the title of Nūr Māhā'n, and a short time afterwards that of Nūr Jahān.¹

Gifts in consequence of the marriage, was made *Pol-i-Jul*, or prime minister, and a commander of 100,000 horse. He also received a *Qaghan* (a drum, and was in the 10th year allowed to bear his drum at court, which was a rare privilege. In the 16th year, when J. was on his way to Kandahar, Ghiyās Shāh. The imperial couple were recalled from a visit to Kāngra Fort, and arrived in time to find him dying. Pointing to the emperor, Nūr Jahān asked her father whether he recognized him. He quoted as an answer a verse from Anwārī—

آنکه نامی مایراد اگر حاضر بود در حسن عالم آرایس نه بد مهری
"If one who is blind from birth stood here, he would recognize his majesty by his august forehead."

He died after a few hours. The *Tuzuk* (p. 339) mentions the 17th Bahmān, 1031 (Rabi' I, 1031) as the day of his death, and says that he died broken hearted three months and twenty days after his wife, who had died on the 29th Mīhr, 1029, i.e. 13th Zī Qasda, 1020).

Ghiyās Beg was a poet. He imitated the old classics, which ruling passion, as we saw, showed itself a few hours before he died. He was a clever correspondent, and is said to have written a beautiful *Shikasta* hand. Jahāngīr praises him for his social qualities, and confessed that his society was better than a thousand *musfarrh-i-yūqūt*.² He was generally liked, had no enemies, and was never seen angry. "Chains,

the whip, and abuse, were not found in his house." He protected the wretched, especially such as had been sentenced to death. He never was idle, but wrote a great deal; his official accounts were always in the greatest order. But he liked bribes, and showed much boldness in demanding them.³

His mausoleum near Āgra has often been described.

Nūr Jahān's power over Jahāngīr is sufficiently known from the histories. The emperor said, "Before I married her, I never knew what marriage really meant," and, "I have conferred the duties of government on her; I shall be satisfied if I have a *ser* of wine and half a *ser* of meat *per diem*." With the exception of the *ḥirba* (prayer for the reigning monarch), she possessed all privileges of royalty. Thus her name was invariably mentioned on firmans, and even on coins. The jagirs which she held would have conferred on her the title of a commander of 30,000. A great portion of her zamindārī lay near Ramsar, S.E. of Ajmir (*Tuzuk* p. 169). She provided for all her relations, even her nurse, Dā'ir Dilārām enjoyed much influence, and held the post of "Sadr of the Women" (*sadr-i-dā'ir*), and when she conferred lands as *suyūrglāls*, the grants were confirmed and sealed by the Sadr of the empire. Nūr Jahān is said to have particularly taken care of orphan girls, and the number whom she betrothed or gave outfits to is estimated at five hundred. She gave the tone to fashion, and is said to have invented the *Satr-i-jahāngīrī* (a peculiar kind of rowenwater). She possessed much taste in adorning apartments and arranging feasts. For many gold ornaments she laid down new patterns and elegant designs, and her *dudāmī* for *peshwāz* (gowns), her *pishvolya* for *op'nīs* (veils), her *bādla* (brocade), *lūmārī* (lace), and *forsh-i-chandānī*,⁴ are often mentioned.

Her influence ceased with Jahāngīr's death and the capture of Shahryār, 6th son of the emperor, to whom she had given her daughter (by Sher Afān) Lādli Begum, in marriage. She had no children by Jahāngīr. Shāhjahān allowed her a pension of two lacs per annum.⁵

She died at Lāhor at the age of 72, on the 29th Shawwāl, 1055, and lies buried near her husband in a tomb which she herself had built (*Pādshāhnāma*, II, 475).⁶ She composed occasionally Persian poems, and

¹ Who according to custom had the same name as his grandfather; *ibid.* p. 497, No. 278.

² The *Tuzuk* and the *Iqbalnāma* have Bāghavād Shāh Begum (p. 321). The *Iqbalnāma* (p. 66) has wrongly *دین* for *دین*, *Lea Salina Sultan Begum* (p. 321). The *Iqbalnāma* (p. 66) has wrongly *دین* for *دین*.

³ In accordance with the name of her husband Nūr 'd Dīn Jahāngīr.

⁴ As the diamond when reduced to powder was looked upon in the East as a deadly poison, so was the cornelian (*yūqūt*) [gem-stone—P.] supposed to possess exhilarating properties. *Musfarrh* means an exhilarative.

⁵ So the *Tuzuk* and the *Iqbalnāma*.

⁶ *Dudāmī* weighing two *dāmas*; *pishvolya* weighing five tolas. The latter was mentioned on p. 101. *Farsh-i-chandānī* carpets of sandalwood colour.

⁷ Lapis-stone has by mistake 2 lacs per annum. The highest allowance of Begams on record is that of Mumtāz Mahal, viz. 10 lacs per annum. See *Pādshāhnāma*, I, 90.

⁸ In the *Pādshāhnāma*, Nūr Jahān is again called Nūr Mahal.

like Salima Sultān Begum and Zeb' n-Nisā Begum wrote under the assumed name of *Makhfi*.

Ghiyās Beg's sons. The fate of his eldest son Muḥammad Sharīf has been alluded to. His second son, Mirzā Abū 'l-Ḥasan Āsaf Khān (IV), also called *Āsaf-jāh* or *Āsaf-jāhī*, is the father of Muntāz Maḥall (Tāj Bibi), the favourite wife of Shāhjahān whom European historians occasionally call Nūr Jahān II. He received from Shāhjahān the title of *Yamīn* 'd-Dawla and *Khān Khānān Sipahsālār*, and was a commander of 9,000. He died on the 17th Sha'abān, 1051, and was buried at Lāhor, north of Jahāngīr's tomb. As commander of 9,000 *du-aspa* and *sī-aspa* troopers, his salary was 16 khrs, 20 lacs of *dāms*, or 4,050,000 rupees, and besides, he had jāgīrs yielding a revenue of five millions of rupees. His property at his death, which is said to have been more than double that of his father, was valued at 25 millions of rupees, and consisted of 30 lacs of jewels, 42 lacs of rupees in gold muḥurs, 25 lacs of rupees in silver, 30 lacs of plate, etc., and 23 lacs of other property. His palace in Lāhor which he had built at a cost of 20 lacs, was given to Prince Dārā Shikoh, and 20 lacs of rupees, in cash and valuables, were distributed among his three sons and five daughters. The rest escheated to the State.

Āsaf Khān was married to a daughter of Mirzā Ghiyās' 'd-Dīn 'Alī Āsaf Khān II (p. 398).

His eldest son is the renowned Mirzā Abū Ṭālib Shā'ista Khān, who, as governor of Bengal, is often mentioned in the early history of the E.I Company. Shā'ista was married to a daughter of Irij Shāhnawāz Khān (No. 255), son of 'Abd' r-Raḥīm Khān Khānān, by whom he had, however, no children. He died at Āgra in 1105, the 38th year of Awrangzīb's reign. His eldest son, Abū Ṭālib,¹ had died before him. His second son was Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Khān. One of his daughters was married to Rūḥ' llāh (I), and another to Zū 'l-Faqār Khān Nuṣrat-jang.

Āsaf Khān's second son, Bahmanyār, was in the 20th year of Shāh-j. a commander of 2,000, 200 horse (*Pādishāhn.*, II, 728).

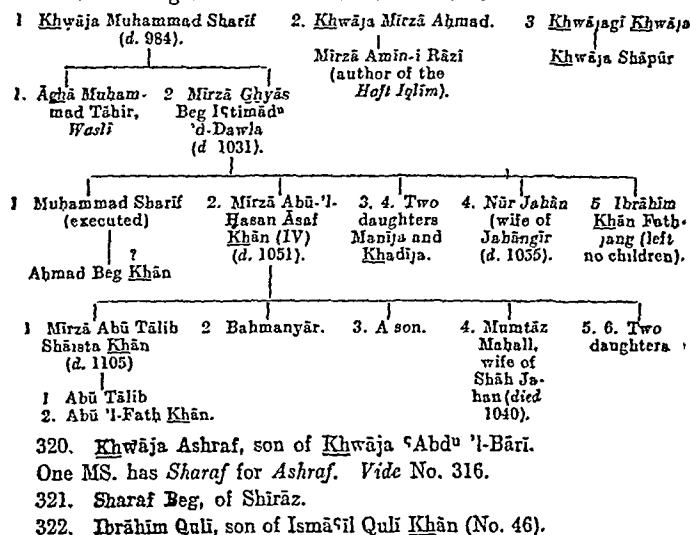
Ghiyās Beg's third son is Ibrāhīm Khān Faṭḥ-jang, who was the governor of Bihār (*vide* note to Kokra under No. 328) and Bengal. He was killed near his son's tomb during Shāhjahān's rebellion. His son had died young and was buried near Rājmaḥall, on the banks of the Ganges (*Tuzuk*, p. 383). Ibrāhīm Khān was married to Hājī Hūr Parwar Khānum, Nūr Jahān's maternal aunt (*khāla*). She lived up to the middle of Awrangzīb's reign, and held Kol Jalālī as *āltamghā*.

An Ahmad Beg Khān is mentioned in the histories as the son of Nī Jahān's brother.¹ He was with Ibrāhīm Faṭḥ-jang in Bengal, an retreated after his death to Dhākā, where he handed over to Shāhjahā 500 elephants, and 45 lacs of rupees (*Tuzuk*, p. 384). On Shāh-j.'s accession he received a high mansab, was made governor of Thathah and Siwistār and later of Multān. He then returned to court, and received as jāgī the Parganas of Jāis and Amethi, where he died. In the 20th year o Shāh-j. he was a commander of 2,000, 1,500 horse (*Pādishāhn.*, II, 727).

A sister of Nūr Jahān Manija Begum was mentioned under No. 282.

A fourth sister, Khadija Begum, was married to Ḥākim Beg, a noble man of Jahāngīr's court.

The following tree will be found serviceable:—



XXI. Commanders of Two Hundred and Fifty.

323. Abū 'l-Faṭḥ, son of Muzaḥfir, the Mughul.

324. Beg Muhammad Toqbā'i.

He served in the end of the 28th year in Gujrāt and was present in the fight near Maisāna, S.E. of Patan, in which Sher Khān Fālsūdī was defeated, and also against Muzaḥfir of Gujrāt (*Akbarn.*, III, 423).

¹ Also called Muḥammad Ṭālib. *Vide Pādishāhn.* II, 248.

¹ It seems therefore that he was the son of Muḥammad Sharīf.

Regarding *Togbā'i*, vide No. 129.

325. *Imām Qulī Shighālī*.

The *Albarnāma* (III, 628) mentions an *Imām Qulī*, who, in the 37th year served under *Sultān Murād* in *Mūlwa*.

The meaning of *Shighālī* is unclear to me. A *Muhammad Qulī Shighālī* played a part in *Badakhshān* history (*Albarn.*, III, 132, 219).

326. *Ṣaḍdar Beg*, son of *Ḥaydar Muḥammad Khān Ākhta Begi* (No. 66).

A *Ṣaḍdar Khān* served, in the 21st year, against *Daudā* of *Bundi* (vide under No. 96).

• 327. *Khwāja Sulaymān* of *Shīrāz*.

He has been mentioned on p. 383 and under No. 172.

328. *Barkhurdār* [*Mirzā Khān Ālam*], son of 'Abd' r-Rahmān *Duldai* (No. 186).

Mirzā Barkhurdār was in the 40th year of *Akbar's* reign a commander of 250. His father (No. 186) had been killed in a fight with the rebel *Dalpat*.¹ This *Bihār Zamindār* was afterwards caught and kept in prison till the 44th year, when, on the payment of a heavy *peskash*, he was allowed to return to his home. But B. wished to avenge the death of his father, and lay in ambush for *Dalpat*, who, however, managed to escape. *Akbar* was so annoyed at this breach of peace that he gave orders to hand over B. to *Dalpat*; but at the intercession of several countries, B. was imprisoned.

As *Jahāngir* was fond of him, he released him after his accession,² and made him *Qushbegī*, or superintendent of the aviary.³ In the fourth

¹ *Dalpat* is called in the *Albarnāma* *اچھ*, *Ujjainiya*, for which the MSS. have various readings, *اچھ*, *اچھ*, etc. Under *Shihābān*, *Dalpat's* successor was *Rāja Pratāb*, who in the 1st year received a *mansab* of 1,500, 1,000 horse (*Pādīshāhn.*, I, 221). From the same work we see that the residence of the *Ujjainiya Rājas* was *Bhojpūr*, west of *Āra* and north of *Bhāsrām* (*Sasseram*), a pargana in *Sarkar, Rohās, Bihār*. *Pratāb* rebelled in the 10th jaug besieged and conquere at *Shāhī's* order executed grandson. The particulars pp. 271 to 274).

The maps show a small place of the name of *Pratāb* near *Bhojpūr*. It is said that the *Bhojpūr Rājas* call themselves *Ujjainiyas*, because they claim descent from the ancient *Rājas* of *Ujjain* in *Mūlwa*.

In the 17th year of *Shihābān*, *Dharmidhar Ujjainiya* is mentioned to have several in the second expedition against *Palāmau*. *Journal As. Soc. Bengal* for 1871, No. II, p. 123.

² If we can trust the Lucknow edition of the *Albarnāma*, B. could not have been imprisoned for a long time; for in the end of the 44th year of *Akbar's* reign he served again at court (*Albarn.*, III, 825).

³ Grand Falconer or superintendent of the *qūsh khāna* or mews.—P.]

year (beginning of 1018), B. received the title of *Khān Ṣalam* (*Tuzuk*, p. 74). Two years later, in 1020, *Shāh Ṣabbās* of *Persia* sent *Yādgar ṢAlī Sultān Ṭālish* as ambassador to *Āgra*, and B. was selected to accompany him on his return to *Persia*. The suite consisted of about twelve hundred men, and was, according to the testimony of the *Ṣālamūrā-i Sikandarī*, the most splendid embassy that had ever appeared in *Persia*. In consequence of a long delay at *Hirāt* and *Qum*, caused by the absence of the *Shāh* in *Āzarbājan* on an expedition against the *Turks*, nearly one-half of the suite were sent back. In 1027 the *Shāh* returned to *Qazvin* and received the numerous presents, chiefly elephants and other animals, which B. had brought from *India*. The embassy returned in 1029 (end of the 14th year), and B. met the emperor at *Kalānūr* on his way to *Kashmir*. *Jahāngir* was so pleased that he kept B. for two days in his sleeping apartment, and made him a commander of 5,000, 3,000 horse.

The author of the *Pādīshāhnāma* (I, 427), however, remarks that B. did not possess the skill and tact of an ambassador, though he had not stated his reasons or the source of his information.

On *Shāhjahān's* accession, B. was made a commander of 6,000, 5,000 horse, received a flag and a drum, and was appointed governor of *Bihār*. vide *M. Rustam Ṣafawī*. But as he was given to *koknār* (opium and hemp), he neglected his duties, and was deposed before the first year had elapsed. In the fifth year (end of 1041), when *Shāh* returned from *Burhānpūr* to *Āgra*, B. was pensioned off, as he was old and given to opium and received an annual pension of one lac of rupees (*Pādīshāhn.*, I, 426). He died a natural death at *Āgra*. He had no children.

B. is not to be confounded with *Khwāja Barkhurdār*, a brother of 'Abd' ilah *Khān Firūz-jang*.

B.'s brother *Mirzā 'Abd' 's-Subhān* (No. 349) was *Fawjdar* of *Ilāhābād*. He was then sent to *Kābul*, where he was killed, in 1025, in a fight with the *Āfridis* (*Tuzuk*, beginning of the 11th year, p. 158).

'Abd' 's-Subhān's son, *Sherzād Khān Bahādūr*, was killed in the last fight with *Khān Jehān Lodi* at *Shōdah* (vide under No. 309). *Pādīshāhn.*, I, 349.

329. *Mir Maṣṣūm* of *Bhakkar*.

Mir Maṣṣūm belongs to a family of *Tirmizī Sayyids*, who two or three generations before him had left *Tirmiz* in *Bukhārā*, and settled at *Qandahār*, where his ancestors were *mutawallis* (trustees) of the shrine of *Bābā Sher Qalandar*.

His father, *Mir Sayyid Ṣafā'i*, settled in *Bhakkar*, and received favours from *Sultān Maḥmūd* (vide under No. 47). He was related by marriage to

the Sayyids of کهاہروت in Siwistān.¹ Mir Ma'sūm and his two brothers were born at Bhakkar.

After the death of his father, M. M. studied under Mullā Muhammad al Kīngī کنگی, S.W. of Bhakkar, and soon distinguished himself by his learning. But poverty compelled him to leave for Gujrāt, where Shaykh Is-hāq-i Fārūqī of Bhakkar introduced him to Khwāja Nizām 'a-Dīn Ahmad, then Diwān of Gujrāt. Nizām was just engaged in writing his historical work, entitled *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, and soon became the friend of M. M., who was likewise well versed in history. He was also introduced to Shihāb Khān (No. 26), the governor of the province, and was at last recommended to Akbar for a manjīb. In the 40th year he was a commander of 270. Akbar became very fond of him and sent him in 1012 as ambassador to Irān, where he was received with distinction by Shāh 'Abbās.

On his return from Irān, in 1015, Jahāngīr sent him as Amīn to Bhakkar, where he died. It is said that he reached under Akbar a command of 1,000.

From the *Ālbarnāma* (III, 416, 423, 516) and Bird's *History of Gujrāt* (p. 426) we see that M. M. served in 992 (end of the 28th year) in Gujrāt, was present in the fight of Maisina, and in the final expedition against Muzaffar in Kachh.

M. M. is well known as a poet and historian. He wrote under the poetical name of Nāmī. He composed a Diwān, a Masnawī entitled *Ma'sdan* 'I-*afshār* in the metre of Nizāmī's *Makhzan*, the *Tārīkh-i Sindh*, dedicated to his son, and a short medical work called *Mufridāt-i Ma'sūmī*. The author of the *Riyāz* 'sh-Shu'arā says that he composed a *Khamsa*, and the Tarkīn by Taqī (vide under No. 352) says the same, viz., one masnawī corresponding to the *Makhzan*, the *Husn o Nāz* to the Yūsuf Zulaikha, the *Parī Śūrat* to the Laili Majnūn, and two others in imitation of the *Haft Paikar* and *Sikandarnāma*. Badī'oni (died 1001) only alludes to the *Husn o Nāz*, though he gives no title (III, 366).

M. M. was also skilled as a composer and tracer of inscriptions, and the *Riyāz* 'sh-Shu'arā says that on his travels he was always accompanied by sculptors. From India to Isfahān and Tabriz, where he was presented to Shāh 'Abbās, there are numerous mosques and public buildings which he adorned with metrical inscriptions. Thus the inscriptions over the gate of the Fort of Agra, on the Jāmī Mosque of Fathpūr Sikrī, in Fort Māndū (vide under No. 52 and *Tuzuk*, p. 189) are all by him. Sayyid Ahmad in his edition of the *Tuzuk* (Dibāja, p. 4, note) gives in full the inscription which he wrote on the

side of the entrance to Salim-i Chishtī's shrine at Fathpūr Sikrī, the last words of which are:—"Said and written by Muhammad Ma'sūm poetically styled Nāmī, son of Sayyid Šafā'ī of Tirmiz, born at Bhakkar, descended from Sayyid Sher Qalandar, son of Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl, who was born at Sabzavār and settled at Qandahār." Dowson, in his edition of *Elliot's Historians*, mentions Kirmān as the residence of Sayyid Šafā'ī, and gives (I, 239) a few particulars from the *Tārīkh-i Sindh*, regarding the saint Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl, who lived under Mirrā Shāhrukh, son of Timūr. The town of Ḥasan Abdāl in the Panjāb, east of Atak, is called after him.

M. M. built also several public edifices, especially in Sakhar opposite to Bhakkar, and in the midst of the branch of the Indus which flows round Bhakkar he built a dome, to which he gave the name of Satyāsūr (ستایسر). "It is one of the wonders of the world, and its *Tārīkh* is contained in the words گنجد دریائی," water-dome, which gives A.H. 1007.

He was a pious man and exceedingly liberal; he often sent presents to all the people of Bhakkar, great and small. But when he retired, he discontinued his presents, and the people even felt for some cause oppressed (*mutaazz*). It is especially mentioned of him that on his jāgīr lands he laid out forests for hunting.

His eldest son, for whose instruction he wrote the *Tārīkh-i Sindh*, was Mir Buzurg. He was captured in full armour on the day Prince Khusrav's rebellion was suppressed, but he denied having had a share in it. Jahāngīr asked him why he had his armour on. "My father," replied he, "advised me to dress in full armour when on guard," and as the *Chaukīnawīs*, or guard writer, proved that he had been on guard that day, he was let off.

On the death of his father, Jahāngīr is said to have left Mir Buzurg in possession of his father's property. He was for a long time Bakhshī of Qandahār, but he was haughty and could never agree with the Šubahdārs. He spent the 30 or 40 lacs of rupees which he had inherited from his father. His contingent was numerous and well mounted. He subsequently served in the Dakhīn; but as his jāgīr did not cover his expenses, he resigned and retired to Bhakkar, contenting himself with the landed property which he had inherited. He died in 1044. Some of his children settled in Multān.

330. Khwaja Malik 'Alī, Mir Shab.

His title of Mir Shab implies that he was in charge of the illuminations and the games and animal fights held at night (p. 232).

331. Rāy Rām Dās Diwān. Vide No. 238.

352. Sāib Mahmūd, son of Sā'id Khān, the Gakkhar.

For his rebellion, see under No. 247.

353. Bakht Qalān, son of Hāshim Jalān (No. 24).

354. Esar Beg, Yarkand 144.

Nasim Beg, son of Shah Y. is mentioned in the *Al-Barnāma* (III, 623)

XXII. *Contenders of Two Houses.*

355. Muḥṣar Beg, son of Ḥaydar Beg (No. 269).

He was slain in the year 1067 *Al-Barnā*, III, 594.

356. Ḥaṣīb Qashghar, son of Ḥajj Blamān Beg (No. 27).

He was mentioned under No. 19.

357. Ḥusayn Khān Qarwīl. *Ibid.* No. 28.

358. Tāḥṣir Ḥusayn, son of Qāsim Khān (No. 157).

He was mentioned under No. 157. In the 51st year he served under Qāsim Khān in Herat. The Muḥṣar Ḥusayn mentioned in the *Tuzuk* (p. 149) may be the same. He accompanied him in the 10th year of Jahāngīr's reign, to a command of 700, 500 horses, for his services in the Dakḥin. *Vide also* *Ḥaṣīb Qashghar, I, p. 5, l. 2 from below.*

He is not to be confused with Khwāja Yūdār, a brother of ʿAbd Ḥāshim Beg (p. 1).

359. Ḥāshim Beg of Qashghar.

He served in the 37th year (997) in Gujrāt and Kachh against Fath Khān, the younger son of Arslān Khān Ghorī and Muzaffar, and in the 39th year against Muzaffar and the Jūn. *Al-Barnā*, III, 553, 621.

360. Mahmūd Khān Turkman.

361. Nisām ʿAbd ʿAlī Ahmad, son of Shāh Muhammad Khān (No. 95). He is not to be confused with the author of the *Tabaṭṭaʿāt*.

362. Bakht Singh, son of Rājā Mān Singh (No. 50).

Ibid. No. 156.

363. ʿImād ʿAbd Mulk.

The *Al-Barnāma* mentions a Qāsim ʿImād ʿAbd Mulk, who in the end of 981 (21st year) accompanied a party of courtiers to Makkah.

364. Sharīf Sarmad.

He was a poet. *Vide* below, among the poets of Akbar's reign.

365. Qarā Bahr, son of Qarātāq.

Qarātāq, whose name in the *Al-Barnāma* is spelled Qarātāq, was killed by Gajpatī in the same fight in which Farhang Khān, son of Farhat Khān (No. 145), was slain (No. 145).

366. Tātar Beg, son of ʿAlī Muhammad Arp. (No. 258).

367. Khawāja Muhibb ʿAlī of Khawāf.

Vide No. 159, note.

368. Hakim [Jalāl ʿAbd Dīn] Muzaffar of Arslān tān.

Arslān is a Persian town which lies between Kāshān and Isfahān. He was at first a doctor at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp, and emigrated when young to India, where he was looked upon as a very experienced doctor, though his theoretical reading is said to have been limited. *Ishtihārī* (III, 169) and the *Tuzuk* (p. 59) praise the purity of his character and walk of life.

He served in 988 (25th year) in Bengal, returned in the end of the 28th year with Mirzā ʿAriz (No. 21) to court, and served subsequently under him in Gujrāt and Kachh. *Al-Barnā*, III, 283, 418, 620. Under Jahāngīr he was made a commander of 3,000, 1,000 horse (*Tuzuk*, p. 37). The emperor was fond of him, as he had been with him in Hāshābād, when as prince he had rebelled against Akbar. The news of the Hakim's death reached him on the 22nd Jumād I, 1016. For about twenty years before his death, he had suffered from *qarḥa-yi shush*, or disease of the lungs, but his uniform mode of living (*yūzʿāfī*) prolonged his life. His cheeks and eyes often got quite red, and when he got older, his complexion turned bluish. He was accidentally poisoned by his compounder.

369. ʿAbd ʿAz Subhān, son of ʿAbd ʿAr Rahmān, Duldai (No. 186).

He was mentioned under No. 328.

370. Qāsim Beg of Tābriz.

He served in the 36th year under Sultān Murād in Mālwa, and died on the 23rd ʿĀbān (end of) 1007, *vide* *Al-Barnā*, III, 628, 803. *Vide* below under the learned men of Akbar's reign.

371. Sharīf (Amīr ʿAbd ʿUmar), son of Khawāja ʿAbd ʿAz Samad (No. 266).

Muhammad Sharīf was the school companion of Prince Salim, who was much attached to him. When the prince had occupied Hāshābād in rebellion against Akbar, Sharīf was sent to him to advise him; but he only widened the breach between the prince and his father, and gained such an ascendancy over Salim, that he made the rash promise to give him half the kingdom should he obtain the throne. When a reconciliation had been effected between Salim and Akbar, Sh. had to fly for his life, and concealed himself in the hills and jungles. He was reduced to starvation, when he heard of Akbar's death. He went at once to court,

and Jahāngīr, true to his promise, made him Amīr 'l-Umarā, Vakīl, entrusted him with the great seal (*ūzūk*) and allowed him to select his jāgīr lands. The emperor says in his Memoirs, "He is at once my brother, my friend, my son, my companion. When he came back, I felt as if I had received new life. I am now emperor, but consider no title sufficiently high to reward him for his excellent qualities, though I can do no more than make him Amīr 'l-Umarā and a commander of 5,000. My father never did more."

Sharif seems to have advised the emperor to drive all Afghāns from India; but the Khān-i Aṣṣam (No. 21) warned Jahāngīr against so unwise a step. Though Sh.'s position at court was higher than that of Mirzā 'Aziz, the latter treated him contemptuously as a mean upstart, and Sh. recommended the emperor to kill 'Aziz for the part he had played in Khusrāw's rebellion. But 'Aziz was pardoned, and advised to make it up with Sharif, and invite him to his house. The Khān-i Aṣṣam did so, and invited him and the other Amīrs. At the feast, however, he said to him, in the blandest way, "I say, Nawāb, you do not seem to be my friend. Now your father Abd' 's-Samad, the *Mullā*, was much attached to me. He was the man that painted the very walls of the room we sit in." Khān Jahān (*vide* under 309) and Mahābat Khān could not stand this insolent remark, and left the hall; and when Jahāngīr heard of it, he said to Sh., "The Khān cannot bridle his tongue; but don't fall out with him."

In the second year, Sh. accompanied the emperor on his tour to Kābul, but fell so ill that he had to be left in Lāhor, Āṣaf Khān (No. 98) being appointed to officiate for him. On his recovery, he was sent to the Dakhīn, but was soon afterwards called to court, as he could not agree with the Khān Khānān (No. 29). It is said that illness deprived him of the faculty of memory, and Jahāngīr was on the point of making him retire, when Khān Jahān interceded on his behalf. He was again sent to the Dakhīn, and died there a natural death.

Like his father, Sh. was a good painter. He also made himself known as a poet, and composed a *Dīwān*. His *takhalluṣ* is *Fārisī* (*Badā'oni*, III, 310).

Sh.'s eldest son, Shāhbāz Khāb, died when young. A Sarāfi near Lakhnau, about a *kos* from the town, bears his name.

His two younger sons, Mirzā Gul and Mirzā Jār' 'llāh used to play with Jahāngīr at chess and *nard*; but this ceased at the death of their father. M. Jār' 'llāh was married to Miṣri Begam, a daughter of Āṣaf Khān (No. 98); but from a certain aversion, the marriage was never consummated. At Āṣaf's death, Jahāngīr made him divorce his wife,

and married her to Mirzā Lashkarī (No. 375), son of Mirzā Yūsuf Khān (under No. 35).

Both brothers followed Mahābat Khān to Kābul, where they died.

352. Taqīyā of Shustar.

Taqīyā is the Īrānī from for Taqī. The *Tabaqāt* calls him Taqī Muḥammad. *Badā'oni* (III, 206) has Taqīy' 'd-Dīn and says that he was a good poet and a well-educated man. At Akbar's order he undertook a prose version of the *Shāhnāma*. He is represented as a "murīd" or disciple of Akbar's Divine Faith.

He was still alive in the 3rd year of Jahāngīr's reign (1017) when he received for his attainments the title of *Mu'arrikh Khān* (*Tuzuk*, p. 69, where in Sayyid Aḥmad's edition we have to read *Shushtari* for the meaningless *Shamsherī*).

Taqīyā is not to be confounded with the more illustrious Taqīyā of Balbān (a village near Isfahān), who, according to the *Mīr'āt* 'l-'*Alam*, came in the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign to India. He is the author of the rare *Tazkira*, or Lives of Poets, entitled *'Arafāt o 'Araṣāt*, and of the Dictionary entitled *Surma-yi Sulaymānī*, which the lexicographer Muḥammad Ḥusayn used for his *Burhān-i Qāṭi*.

353. Khwāja 'Abd' 's-Samad of Kāshān.

354. Ḥakīm Luṭf' 'ullāh, son of Mullā 'Abd' 'r-Razzāq of Gilān.

He is the brother of Nos. 112 and 205, and arrived in India after his brothers. *Badā'oni* (III, 169) calls him a very learned doctor.

355. Sher Afkan

356. Amān' 'llāh } sons of Sayf Khān Koka (No. 38).

Amān' 'llāh died in the 45th year of Akbar's reign at Burhānpūr. "He was an excellent young man, but fell a victim to the vice of the age, and died from excessive wine-drinking." *Akbarnāma*, III, 835.

357. Salīm Qulī

358. Khālīl Qulī } sons of Ismā'īl Qulī Khān (No. 46).

359. Wālī Beg, son of Pāyanda Khān (No. 68).

He served under Qāsim Khān (No. 59) in the conquest of Kashmīr.

360. Beg Muḥammad Uighūr.

361. Mīr Khān Yasāwul.

When Akbar during the first Gujrātī war (p. 480, note 2) had left Pataṇ for Chotāna (Rajab, 980) it was reported that Muṣaffar of Gujrāt had fled from Sher Khān Fūlādī and was concealed in the neighbourhood; *vide* under No. 67. Akbar therefore sent Mīr Khān the Yasāwul and Farīd the Qarāwul, and afterwards Abū 'l-Qāsim Namakīn (No. 199) and Karam 'Alī, in search of him. Mīr Khān had not gone far when he

found the *chair* and *sāyabān* (p. 53) which Muzaḥfir had dropped, and soon after captured Muzaḥfir himself in a field. Mir Khān took him to Akbar.

362. Sarmast Khān, son of Dastam Khān (No. 79).

363. Sayyid Abū 'l-Ḥasan, son of Sayyid Muḥammad Mir 'Adl (No. 140).

364. Sayyid 'Abd' 'l-Wāhid, son of the Mir 'Adl's brother.

365. Khwāja Beg Mirzā, son of Ma'sūm Beg.

366. Sakrā, brother of Rānā Pratāb.

Sakrā is the son of Rānā Udai Singh, son of Rānā Sānkā (*died* A.N. 934). When his brother Pratāb, also called Rānā Kikā, was attacked by Akbar, he paid his respects at court, and was made a commander of 200.

In the 1st year of Jahāngir's reign he got a present of 12,000 rupees, and joined the expedition led by Prince Parwiz against Rānā Amrā, Pratāb's successor. In the end of the same year he served against Dalpat (*vide* under No. 44), and was in the 2nd year made a commander of 2,500, 1,000 horse. He received, in the 11th year, a manṣab of 3,000, 2,000 horse.

The *Akbarnāma* mentions another son of Udai Singh, of the name of *Sakat Singh*, who in the 12th year of Akbar's reign was at court. The emperor had just returned from the last war with Khān Zamān when he heard that Udai Singh had assisted the rebellious Mirzās. He therefore resolved to punish the Rānā, and on a hunting tour in Pargana Bārī told Sakat Singh of his intentions, and expressed a hope that he would accompany him. Sakat, however, fled to his father, and told him of Akbar's intentions. This determined the emperor to carry out his plan without delay. Udaipūr was invaded, and Chitor surrendered.

367. Shādī Be Uzbek } sons of Nazar Be (No. 169).
368. Bāqī Be Uzbek }

They have been mentioned above. From the *Akbarnāma* (III, 628) we see that Nazar Be received a jāgīr in Handia, where he rebelled and perished (36th year).

369. Yūnān Beg, brother of Murād Khān (No. 54).

Some MSS. have *Mīrzā Khān* for *Murād Khān*.

370. Shaykh Kabīr 'l-r Chishtī [Shujā'at Khān, Rustam-i Zamān].³

³ He is not to be confounded with another Shaykh Kabīr, who in the 25th year served in Bengal at the outbreak of the military revolt; in the 20th year, in Kabul; and in the 32nd year, against the Tārits under Matlab Khān (No. 83). He died in the 30th year, in the war with the Jām and Muzaffar of Gujrāt (*Akbarn.*, III, 283, 408, 541, 621, where the Lucknow edition calls him the son of *Mukammal Khān*).

⁴ Khāfi Khān calls him wrongly (I, 273) *Shujā'at Khān* and *Rustam Khān*.

The *Ma'aṣir* calls him "an inhabitant of Mau". He was a relation of Islām Khān-i Chishtī, and received the title of Shujā'at Khān from Prince Salīm, who on his accession made him a commander of 1,000 (*Tuzuk*, p. 12). He served under Khān Jahān (*vide* under No. 309) in the Dakhin as *harāwal*, an office which the Sayyids of Bārḥā claimed as hereditary in their clan. Afterwards he went to Bengal, and commanded the imperialists in the last war with 'Uṣmān. During the fight he wounded 'U.'s elephant, when the Afghān chief received a bullet, of which he died the night after the battle. The day being lost, Walī Khān, 'Uṣmān's brother, and Mamrez Khān, 'Uṣmān's son, retreated to a fort with the dead body of their relation, and being hotly pursued by Shaykh Kabīr, they submitted with their families and received his promise of protection. The 49 elephants which they surrendered were taken by Sh. K. to Islām Khān in Jahnāgirangar (Dhūkā), 6th Ṣafar, 1021 (*Tuzuk*, p. 104).

Jahāngir gave him for his bravery the title of *Rustam-i Zamān*. The *Ma'aṣir* says that Islām Khān did not approve of the promise of protection which Sh. K. had given the Afghāns, and sent them prisoners to court. On the road they were executed by 'Abd' 'llāh Khān at the emperor's orders. Sh. K., annoyed at this breach of faith, left Bengal. While on the way he received an appointment as governor of Bihār. At his entry in Patna he sat upon a female elephant, when another elephant suddenly came up against his. Sh. K. jumped down and broke his neck.

The *Tuzuk* tells the story differently, and says that Islām Khān appointed Sh. K. to Orisā, and that on his way to that province the accident took place. Nothing is said about 'Uṣmān's relations.

Note on the death of 'Uṣmān Lohānī.

There are few events in Indian history so confused as the details attending the death of 'Uṣmān. Khwāja 'Uṣmān, according to the *Makhzan-i Afghānī*, was the second son of Miyan 'Isā Khān Lohānī, who after the death of Qutlū Khān was the leader of the Afghāns in Orisā and Southern Bengal. Qutlū left three sons—Naṣīb Shāh, Lodi Khān, Jamāl Khān. 'Isā Khān left five sons, Khwāja, Sulaymān, 'Uṣmān, Walī, Ibrāhīm. Stewart makes 'Uṣmān a son of Qutlū (*History of Bengal*, p. 133). Sulaymān "reigned" for a short time. He killed in a fight with the imperialists, Himmat Singh, son of Rāja Mān Singh (*vide* No. 244) held lands near the Brāhmaputra, and subjected the Rājās of the adjacent countries. 'Uṣmān succeeded him, and received from Mān Singh lands in Orisā and Sātḡāw, and later in Eastern Bengal,

with a revenue of 5 to 6 lacs *per annum*. His residence is described to have been in the *Kohistān-i Dhākā*, or "hills of Dhākā" (Tipārah ?), the *vilāyat-i Dhākā*, or District of Dhākā, and Dhākā itself. The fight with ʿUsmān took place on Sunday, 9th Muharram, 1021, or 2nd March, 1612,¹ at a distance of 100 *fos* from Dhākā. My MS. of the *Makhzan* calls the place of the battle *Nek Ujyāl*.² Stewart (p. 131) places the battle "on the banks of the Subarnrikhā river" in Orisā, which is impossible, as Shujāʿat Khān arrived again in Dhākā on the 6th Šafar, or 26 days after the battle. According to the *Tuzuk*, Islām Khān was in Dhākā when the fight took place, and Wali Khān submitted to Shujāʿat, who had been strengthened by a corps under ʿAbd al-Salām, son of Muʿazzam Khān (No. 260), but the *Makhzan* says that Islām besieged Wali in the Mahalls where ʿUsmān used to live, between the battlefield and Dhākā, and afterwards in the Fort of Dhākā itself. Wali, on his submission, was sent to court with 7 lacs of rupees and 300 elephants taken from ʿUsmān, received a title of jūgir, and was made a commander of 1,000, after which he lived comfortably. According to the *Maʿāzīr*, as said above, he was murdered before he came to court. The *Tuzuk* says nothing about him.

Stewart says (p. 136) that he was taken to court by Hoshang, Islām Khān's son; but the *Tuzuk*, p. 115, though it has a long passage on the Mugs which he brought with him, does not mention the Afghān prisoners.

The *Makhzan* also says that ʿUsmān, after receiving his wound at the time when the battle was nearly decided in his favour, was carried off by Wali in a litter and buried on the road. When Shujāʿat came up to the place where he had been buried, he had ʿUsmān's corpse taken out, cut off the head, and sent it to court.

ʿUsmān is said to have been so stout that he was obliged to travel on an elephant. At his death he was forty-two years of age.

The Dutch traveller De Laet (p. 488, note) has the following interesting passage: *Rez* (Jahāngīr) *eadem tempore misit Tzeziad ghanum Chicch zaden* (Shujāʿat Khān Shaykhzāda) *ad Tzalanghanum* (Islām Khān) *qui Bengalae praerat, ut illum in praefecturam Odiac* (Orisā) *mitteret. Sed Osmanchanus Palanensis, qui jam aliquot annis regionem quae Odiam et Daek* (between Orisā and Dhākā, i.e., the Sunderban) *interjacet, tenuerat et limites regni incursaverat, cum potentissimo exercitu advenit, Daek oppugnaturus. Tzalanchanus autem praemisit adversus ipsum*

(ʿUsmān) *Tzeziad chanum, una cum Mirza Ifflager et Ethaman chano* (Istikhār Khān and Ihtimām Khān) *et aliis multis Omerauvis, cum reliquis copiis X aut XV cosarum intervallo subsequens, ut suis laborantibus subsideo esset. Orto dein certamine inter utrumque exercitum, Efflager et Micrick Zilaier* (Mirak Jalāir—not in the *Tuzuk*) *tam acrem impressionem decerunt, ut hostes loco moverent; sed Osman inter haec ferocissimum elephantum in illos emisit, ita ut regii vicissim cedere cogerentur, et Efflager caderetur; Tzeziad ganus autem et ipse elephanto insidens, ut impetum ferocientis belluae, declinaret, se e suo deiecit, et crus prefregit, ita ut aegre a suis e certamine subduceretur, et regii passim fugam capescerent; actumque fuisset de regis, nisi inopinatus casus proelium restituisset; miles quidem saucius humi jacens, casu Osmano, qui elephanto vehabatur, oculum globo trajecit, e quo vulnere paulo post expiravit, cujus morte milites illius ita fuerunt consternati, ut statim de fuga cogitarent. Regii vero ordinibus sensim restitutis, eventum proelii Tzalanchano perscribere: qui biduo post ad locum venit ubi pugnatum fuerat, et Tzedziatgano e vulnere defuncto, magnis itineribus fratrem* (Wali Khān) *et biduum atque liberos Osmanis asscetus, viros cepit, eosque cum elephantis et omnibus thesauris defuncti, postquam Daek Bengalae metropolim est reversus, misit ad regem Anno . . .* (the year is left out).

De Laet says that Shujāʿat Khān died from a fall from his elephant during the battle; but the accident took place some time later. The *Maʿāzīr* says that he was on horseback when ʿUsmān's elephant, whom the *Tuzuk* calls *Gajpati*, and Stewart *Bukhta* (?), knocked him over, but Sh. quickly disentangled himself and stuck his dagger into the animal's trunk.

The *Makhzan* says that the plunder amounted to 7 lacs of rupees and 300 elephants.

371. Mirzā Khwāja, son of Mirzā Asad^u ʿUlāh. *Vide* No. 116.

372. Mirzā Sharif, son of Mirzā ʿAlā^u ʿd-Dīn.

373. Shukr^u ʿUlāh (Zafar Khān), son of Zayn Khān Koka (No. 34).

He was mentioned above on p. 369. On the death of his father, he was made a commander of 700, and appears to have received, at the end of Akbar's reign, the title of Zafar Khān.

¹ According to Prinsep's Useful Tables, the 9th Muharram was a Monday, not a Sunday, *Tuzuk*, p. 102.

² There are several Ujyāls mentioned below among the Parganas of Sirkār Mahmūdābād (Bosnah) and Sirkār Bāzūhā (Mymensing-Bogra).

¹ The *Tuzuk* (p. 102) mentions Kishwar Khān (p. 497). Istikhār Khān, Sayyid Ādam Barhā, Shaykh Achhe, brother's son of Muqarrab Khān, Maʿtamid Khān, and Ihtimām Khān, as under. . . . Ādam (the *Tuzuk*, p. 132, l. 4 from below, has wrongly Sa . . . Shaykh Achhe were killed. Later, ʿAbd al-Salām, son of . . . joined and pursued ʿUsmān.

As his sister was married to Jahāngir (*vide* under No. 37, and note 2, to No. 225) Z. Kh. was rapidly promoted. When the emperor, in the second year of his reign, left Lāhor for Kābul, he halted at Mawṣā' Ahro¹, near Fort Aṣak, the inhabitants of which complained of the insecurity of the district arising from the predatory habits of the Khatar (p. 506, note 2) and Dilshāz (note to No. 217). Zafar was appointed to Aṣak, vice Ahmad Beg Khān (No. 191), and was ordered to remove the tribes to Lāhor, keep their chiefs imprisoned, and restore all plunder to the rightful owners. On Jahāngir's return from Kābul, he joined the emperor, and was in the following year promoted to a manṣab of 2,000, 1,000 horse. In the 7th year he was made a commander of 3,000, 2,000 horse, and governor of Bihār. In the 10th year he was removed, went back to court, where he received an increase of 500 horse, and then served in Bangash. "Nothing else is known of him." *Ma'āzīr*.

From the *Tuzuk* (p. 343) we see that Zafar Khān died in the beginning of 1031, when Jahāngir made his son Sa'adat a commander of 800, 400 horse.

Sa'adat Khān, his son. He served in Kābul, and was at the end of Jahāngir's reign a commander of 1,500, 700 horse. In the 5th year after Shāhjahān's accession, he was made a commander of 1,500, 1,000 horse, and was promoted up to the 25th year to a full command of 3,000 horse. He again served in Kābul, and under Murād Balḥ in Balkh and Badakhshān, was made commandant of Tirmiz and distinguished himself in repelling a formidable night attack made by Subhān Quli Khān, ruler of Bukhārā (19th year). Later he served in the Qandahār wars, was in the 29th year Fawjdar of Upper and Lower Bangash, and two years later commandant of Fort Kābul.

In 1069, the second year of Awrangzib's reign, he was killed by his son Sherullāh. Mahābat Khān, Shāhādār of Kābul, imprisoned the murderer.

374. Mir 'Abd' 'l-Mūmin, son of Mir Samargandī.

Mir Samargandī was a learned man who came during Bayrām's regency of Āgra. *Badā'onī*, III, 149.

375. Lashkarī, son of Mirzā Yūsuf Khān (No. 35).

Vide above, p. 405, and for his wife under No. 351.

376. Āgha Mullā Qazwīnī. *Vide* No. 278.

377. Muhammad 'Alī of Jām.

Jām is a place in *Khurāsān*, famous for its *Bābā Shaykhī* melons. It has given name to the two poets Pūr Bahā and the renowned 'Abdu r'-Rahmān Jāmī.

378. Mathurā Dās, the Khatrī.

379. Sathurā Dās, his son.

The latter served in the 26th year (989) under Sulṭān Murād in Kābul. *Albarn.*, III, 333.

380. Mīr Murād, brother of Shāh Beg Kolabī (No. 148). *Vide* No. 282.

381. Kallā, the Kachhwāha.

He served in 989 under Prince Murād in Kābul.

382. Sayyid Darwish, son of Shams-i Bukhārī.

383. Junayd Maral.

A Shaykh Junayd served under Shihāb Khān (No. 26) in Gujrat. He was killed in the *Khair* catastrophe (*Albarn.*, III, 190, 498).

384. Sayyid Abū Is-hāq, son of Mirzā Rafī' 'd-Dīn-i Ṣafawī.

He was mentioned under No. 149. In the 36th year he served against the Jām and Muzaffar of Gujrat.

His father Rafī' 'd-Dīn was a learned man of saintly habits, and died at Āgra in 951 or 957. One of his ancestors was Muṣin 'd-Dīn, author of a commentary to the Qur'ān entitled *Tafsīr-i Maṣānī*.

385. Fath Khān, superintendent of the leopards.

In 985, Akbar cured his sore eyes by blood letting, which Abū 'l-Faṣl describes, according to his custom, as a miracle. F. K. was in charge of the hunting leopards.

There is some confusion in the histories regarding the Fath Khān of Akbar's reign. First, there is Fattū Khān Afghān. *Fattū* is the same as *Fath*. His title is *Masnad-i 'Alī*, and his son was mentioned above, No. 306. Secondly, Fath Khān Fīlān, who when young was Akbar's elephant driver (*fīlān*). He was subsequently made Amīr, and according to my two MSS. of the *Ṭabaqāt*, died in 990. But *Badā'onī* (II, 352) mentions Fath Khān Fīlān as alive in 994, when he accompanied Qāsim Khān (No. 59) on his march to Kashmīr; but the *Akbarnāma*, in the corresponding passage (III, 512) calls him *Fath Khān Masnad-i 'Alī*. Dowson's edition of *Elliot's Historians* (I, 244, 250) mentions a Fath Khān Bahādur. A Fath Khān Taghluq was mentioned under No. 187.

386. Shujā'at Khān, son of Shujā'at Khān (No. 51).

He served in the 46th year in the Dakhīn.

¹ The *Ma'āzīr* has اهروی; the *Tuzuk*, p. 43, اهروی. I cannot find it on the maps. It is described as a green flat spot. The *Khatar* and *Dilshāz* are estimated in the *Tuzuk* at 7 to 8,000 families.

The *Albarnāma* (III, 865) calls him the *eldest* son of Rāja Bir Bar. Vide under 85.

388. Yūsuf-i Kashmiri. Vide No. 228.

389. Habi Yasāwul.

Habi is an abbreviation of *Habīb*.

390. Haydar Dost, brother of Qāsim 'Alī Khān (No. 187).

391. Dost Muhammad, son of Bābā Dost.

392. Shāhrukh Dantūr.

Dantūr, Dhantūr or Dhantūwar, is a district near the Kashmir¹ frontier. The *Tuzuk* (pp. 287, 291) says that Dhantūr, during Akbar's reign, was ruled over by Shāhrukh, but now (in 1029, 14th year of Jahāngir's) by his son Bahādūr. Bahādūr was a commander of 200, 100 horse, and served under Mahābat in Bangash.

393. Sher Muhammad.

He served in 993 in the Dakhin. *Albarn.*, III, 472.

A *Sher Muhammad Dīwāna* was mentioned on p. 332. He had at first been in the service of Khwāja Mu'azzam, brother of Akbar's mother. When Akbar, in the 10th year, was at Jaunpūr, engaged with the rebellion of Khān Zamān, Sher Muhammad Dīwāna plundered several places in Pargana Samāna, the sawjdar of which was Mullā Nūr 'd-Dīn Tarikhān. The Mullā had left his vakīl Mir Dost Muhammad in Samāna. Sh. M. D. invited him and treacherously murdered him at the feast. Plundering several places he went to Māler, when he was surprised by the Mullā at a place called Dhanūri in Samāna. Sh. M. D. fled, but his horse ran against the trunk of a tree and threw him down. He was captured and executed, A.H. 973, *Albarn.*, II, 332.

394. 'Alī Qulī [Beg, Istajlū, Sher Afkan Khān].

He was the *safarchī*, or table-attendant of Ismā'īl II, king of Persia. After his death he went over Qandahār to India, and met at Multān, the Khān Khānān (No. 29), who was on his march to Thatha. At his recommendation, he received a *mansab*. During the war he rendered distinguished services. Soon after his arrival at court, Akbar married him to Mihr^a 'n-Nisā (the future Nūr Jahān), daughter of Mirzā Ghiyās Ṭahrānī (No. 319). Ghiyās's wife had accession to the imperial harem, and was on her visits often accompanied by her daughter. Prince Salīm saw her, and fell in love with her, and Akbar, to avoid scandal, married her quickly to 'Alī Qulī.

'Alī Qulī accompanied the prince on his expedition against the Rānā, and received from him the title of Sher Afkan Khān. On his accession, he received Bardwān as *tuyal*. His hostile encounter with Shaykh Khūbū (No. 275) was related on p. 551. The *Ma'āsir* says that when he went to meet the Šūbahdār, his mother put a helmet (*dubalgha*) on his head, and said, "My son make his mother cry, before he makes your mother weep," then kissed him, and let him go.

'Alī Q.'s daughter, who, like her mother, had the name of Mihr^a 'n-Nisā, was later married to Prince Shahrīār, Jahāngir's fifth son.

Jahāngir, in the *Tuzuk*, expresses his joy at 'A. Q.'s death, and hopes that "the blackfaced wretch will for ever remain in hell". Khāfi Khān (I, p. 267) mentions an extraordinary circumstance, said to have been related by Nūr Jahān's mother. According to her, Sher Afkan was not killed by Qutb^a 'd-Dīn's men, but, wounded as he was, managed to get to the door of his house, with the intention of killing his wife, whom he did not wish to fall into the emperor's hands. But her mother would not let him enter, and told him to mind his wounds, especially as Mihr^a 'n-Nisā had committed suicide by throwing herself into a well. "Having heard the sad news, Sher Afkan went to the heavenly mansions."

His body was buried in the shrine of the poet Bahrām Saqqā (vide below among the poets); the place is pointed out to this day at Bardwān.

A verse is often mentioned by Muhammadans in allusion to four tigers which Nūr Jahān killed with a musket. The tigers had been caught (*Tuzuk*, p. 186) and Nūr Jahān requested Jahāngir to let her shoot them. She killed two with one ball each, and the other two with two bullets, without missing, for which the emperor gave her a present of one thousand Ashrafis. One of the courtiers said on the spur of the moment:—

نورجیان گرچه بصورت زن است درصف مردان زن شیرانکن است

"Though Nūr Jahān is a woman she is in the array of men a *zan-i sher afkan*," i.e., either the wife of Sher Afkan, or a woman who throws down (*afkan*) tigers (*sher*).

395. Shāh Muhammad, son of Masnad-i 'Alī.

Vide Nos. 306 and 385.

396. Sanwaldās Jādon.

He accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan and Aḥmadābād (p. 458, note) and served in 989 under Prince Murād in Kābul. In 992 he was assaulted and dangerously wounded by some Bhātī. Akbar visited him, as he was given up by the doctors; but he recovered after an illness of three years.

¹ Vide Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India*, p. 131. It lies on the Dor River, near Nawshahra.

He was the son of Rāja Gopāl Jādon's brother (*vide* No. 305) and Abū l-Faḍl calls him a personal attendant of the emperor. *Akbarn.*, III, 24, 333, 435.

397. *Khawāja Zahīr* 'd-Dīn, son of Shaykh *Khalīl* 'llāh.

He served in the 31st year under Qāsim *Khān* (No. 59) in the conquest of Kashmir, and in the 46th year in the Dakhin.

His father is also called *Shāh Khalīl* 'llāh. He served in the 10th year against *Khān* Zamān, and under Muḥṣim *Khān* in Bengal and Orīṣā, and died in 983 at Gaur of fever (p. 407).

Father and son are not to be confounded with the more illustrious Mir *Khalīl* 'llāh of Yazd and his son Mir *Zahīr* 'd-Dīn, who in the 2nd year of Jahāngīr came as fugitives from Persia to Lāhor. The history of this noble family is given in the *Ma'āṣir*.

398. Mir Abū 'l-Qāsim of Nishāpūr.

399. Hājī Muḥammad Ardistanī.

400. Muḥammad *Khān*, son of Tarson *Khān*'s sister (No. 32).

401. *Khawāja* Muqīm, son of *Khawāja* Mirakī.

He served under 'Aziz Koka in Bengal, and returned with him to court in the 29th year. In 993 he served again in Bengal, and was besieged, together with Tāhir Sayf 'l-Mulūk (No. 201) in Fort Ghorāghāt by several Bengal rebels. In the end of the 35th year (beginning of 999), he was made *Bakhshī*. *Akbarn.*, III, 418, 470, 610.

Vide Dowson's edition of *Elliot's Historians*, I, pp. 248, 251.

402. Qādir Qulī, foster brother of Mirzā Shāhrukh (No. 7).

He served in the 36th year in Gujrāt. *Akbarn.*, III, 621.

403. Firūza, a slave of the emperor Humāyūn.

Badā'onī (III, 297) says that he was captured, when a child, by a soldier in one of the wars with India, and was taken to Humāyūn, who brought him up with Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother. He played several musical instruments and composed poems. He came to India with Ghāzi *Khān*-i Badakhshī (No. 144).

Badā'onī also says that he was a Langā.

404. Tāj *Khān* Khatriya. *Vide* No. 172.

405. Zayn 'd-Dīn 'Alī.

He served in the 25th year (end of 988) under Mān Singh against M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm.

406. Mir Sharīf of Kolāb.

407. Pahār *Khān*, the Balūch.

He served in the 21st year against Daudā, son of Surjan Hādā (No. 96),

and afterwards in Bengal. In 989, the 26th year, he was *tuyūldār* of Ghāzipūr, and hunted down Maḥṣūm *Khān* Faranḡhūdī, after the latter had plundered Muḥammadābād (*vide* under No. 175). In the 28th year he served in Gujrāt, and commanded the centre in the fight at Maisānā, S.E. of Patan, in which Sher *Khān* Fulādī was defeated. *Akbarn.*, III, 160, 355, 416.

Dr. Wilton Oldham, C.S., states in his "Memoir of the Ghazepoor District" (p. 80) that Fawjdār Pahār *Khān* is still remembered in Ghāzipūr, and that his tank and tomb are still objects of local interest.

408. Keshū Dās, the Rāthor.

In the beginning of 993 (end of the 29th year) he served in Gujrāt. A daughter of his was married to Prince Salīm (*vide* under No. 4). From the *Akbarnāma*, III, 623, it appears that he is the son of Rāy Rāy Singh's brother (No. 44) and perished, in the 36th year, in a private quarrel.

409. Sayyid Lād Bārha.

In 993, Sayyid Lād served with the preceding in Gujrāt, and in the 46th year, in the Dakhin.

410. Nasir Ma'in.

Ma'in (منجی) or Munj, is the name of a subdivision of Ranghar Rājputs, chiefly inhabiting Sarhind and the Bahat Du'āb. "The only famous man which this tribe has produced is 'Isā *Khān* Ma'in. He served under Bahādūr Shāh and Jahāndār Shāh." *Ma'āṣir*.

411. Sānga, the Pūwar.

412. Qābil, son of 'Atīq.

413. Adwand }
414. Sundar } Zamindārs of Orīṣā.

415. Nūram, foster-brother of Mirzā Ibrāhīm.

He served in the 31st year against the Afghāns on Mount Terāh, and in 1000, under Mān Singh in the expedition to Orīṣā. *Akbarn.*, III, 532, 642.

Mirzā Ibrāhīm was Akbar's youngest brother, who died as an infant.

The above list of grandees includes the names of such Maṣabdārs above the rank of commanders of Five Hundred as were alive and dead in the 40th year of his Majesty's reign, in which this book was completed; but the list of the commanders from Five hundred to Two hundred, only contains such as were alive in that year. Of those who hold a lower rank and are now alive, I shall merely give the number. There are at present:—

of Commanders of 150	53
Do. 120	1
Do. 100, or <i>Yūzbāshis</i>	250
Do. 80	91
Do. 60	204
Do. 50	16
Do. 40	260
Do. 30, or <i>Tarkashbands</i>	39
Do. 20	250
Do. 10	224

[Total, 1,388 *Manṣabdārs* below the rank of a Commander of 200.]

Scarcely a day passes away on which qualified and zealous men are not appointed to *manṣabs* or promoted to higher dignities. Many Arabians and Persians also come from distant countries, and are honoured with commissions in the army, whereby they obtain the object of their desires. A large number again, both of old and young servants, receive their discharge, and are rewarded by his Majesty with daily allowances or grants of land, that render them independent.

As I have mentioned the *Grandeess* of the state, both such as are still alive and such as have gone to their rest, I shall also give the names of those who have been employed in the administration of the government, and thus confer upon them everlasting renown.

The following have been *Vakils*, or prime-ministers ¹ :—

Bayrām *Khān* (No. 10); Mun'im *Khān* (No. 11); Atga *Khān* (No. 15); Bahādūr *Khān* (No. 22); *Khawāja* Jahān (No. 110); *Khān* *Khānān* Mirzā *Khān* (No. 29); *Khān*-i Aṣṣam Mirzā 'Koka (No. 21).

The following have been *Vazirs* or ministers of finances :—

Mir 'Aziz' 'Ilāh Turbatī; *Khawāja* Jalāl' 'd-Dīn Maḥmūd ² of *Khurāsān* (No. 65); *Khawāja* Muṣ'īn' 'd-Dīn Farankhūdī (No. 128); *Khawāja* 'Abdu' 'l-Majid Aṣṣaf *Khān* (No. 49); Vazir *Khān* (No. 41); Muzaffar *Khān* (No. 37); Rāja Todar Mal (No. 39); *Khawāja* Shāh Maṣṣūr of Shirāz (No. 122); Qulij *Khān* (No. 42); *Khawāja* Shams' 'd-Dīn *Khawāfi* (No. 159).

The following have been *Bakhshis* :—

Khawāja Jahān (No. 110); *Khawāja* Tāhir of Sijistān (No. 111); Mawlānā Ḥabī Bihzādī,³ Mawlānā Darwish Muḥammad of Mashhad;

Mawlānā 'Ishqī,¹ Muqīm of *Khurāsān* (No. 410); Sultān Maḥmūd of Badakhshān; Lashkar *Khān* (No. 90); Shāhbāz *Khān* (No. 80); Rāy Purukhotam; Shaykh Farid-i Bukhārī (No. 99); Qāzī 'Ali of Baghād; Ja'far Beg 'Aṣaf *Khān* (No. 98); *Khawāja* Nizām' 'd-Dīn Aḥmad;² *Khawājagi* Fathu' 'Ilāh (No. 258).

The following have been *Ṣadr* ³ :—

Mir Fathu' 'Ilāh; Shaykh Gadā'i, son of Shaykh Jamāl-i Kambū; *Khawājagi* Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, descendant in the third generation from *Khawāja* 'Abdu' 'Ilāh Marwārid; Mawlānā 'Abdu' 'l-Bāqī; Shaykh 'Abdu' 'n-Nabī; Sultān *Khawāja* (No. 108); Ṣadr Jahān (No. 194).

Concluding Note by the Translator of Akbar's *Manṣabdārs*.

The principal facts which Abū 'l-Faḥr's list of *Grandeess* discloses are, first, that there were very few Hindūstānī Musulmāns in the higher ranks of the army and the civil service, most of the officers being foreigners, especially Persians and Afghāns; secondly, that there was a very fair sprinkling of Hindū Amīrs, as among the 415 *Manṣabdārs* there are 51 Hindūs.

The *Manṣabdārs* who had fallen into disgrace, or had rebelled, have mostly been excluded. Thus we miss the names of Mir Shāh Abū 'l-Ma'ālī; *Khawāja* Ma'azzam, brother of Akbar's mother; Bābā *Khān* Qāqshāl; Ma'ṣūm-i Kābulī (p. 476, note); 'Arab Bahādūr; Jabārī, etc. But there are also several left out, as *Khizir* *Khawāja* (p. 394, note 2), Sultān Husayn Jalāl'ir (vide under No. 64), Kamāl *Khān* the Gakkhar (vide p. 507), Mir Gesū (p. 464), Nawrang *Khān*, son of Qutb' 'd-Dīn *Khān* (No. 28), Mirzā Qulī (p. 418), Rāja Askaran (under No. 174), and others, for whose omission it is difficult to assign reasons.

Comparing Abū 'l-Faḥr's list with that in the *Ṭabaqāt*, or the careful lists of Shāhjahān's *grandeess* in the *Pādishāhnāma*, we observe that Abū 'l-Faḥr has only given the *manṣab*, but not the actual commands, which would have shown the strength of the contingents (*tābinān*). In other words, Abū 'l-Faḥr has merely given the *zāfi* rank (p. 251). This will partly account for the discrepancies in rank between his list and that by Nizām' 'd-Dīn in the *Ṭabaqāt*, which may advantageously be given here. Nizām gives only *manṣabdārs* of higher rank, viz. :—

¹ Abū 'l-Faḥr's list is neither complete, nor chronologically arranged

² The MSS. and my text have wrong *Ma'ṣūd* for *Maḥmūd*.

³ Some MSS. have *Hai* instead of *Ḥabī* (an abbreviation for *Habīb*).

¹ Regarding him vide *Akbarnāma*, III, 210. He was of Ghazni.

² The Historian.

³ Vide pp. 280 to 285. Regarding Mawlānā 'Abdu' 'l-Bāqī, who was *Ṣadr* in the 15th year, vide *Akbarnāma*, II, 143.

In the *Tabaqāt*¹

	No.	In <i>Abū 'l-Faṣl's</i> list.
1. <u>Khān Khānān</u> Bayrām <u>Khān</u>	No. 10	Maṅṣab, 5,000. ²
2. <u>Mirzā Shāhrūkh</u> , 5,000	" 7;	5,000.
3. <u>Tardī Beg Khān</u>	" 12;	do.
4. <u>Mun'im Khān</u>	" 11;	do.
5. <u>Mirzā Rustam</u> , 5,000	" 9,	do.
6. <u>Mirzā Khān Khānān</u>	" 29;	do.
7. <u>ʿAlī Qulī Khān Zamān</u>	" 13;	do.
8. <u>Adham Khān</u>	" 19;	do.
9. <u>Mirzā Sharaf</u> 'd-Dīn <u>Husayn</u>	" 17;	do.
10. <u>Shams</u> 'd-Dīn <u>Muḥammad Atga Khān</u>	" 15;	do.
11. <u>Muḥammad ʿAzīz Kokultāsh</u> , 5,000	" 21;	do.
12. <u>Khizr Khwāja</u>	not in the <i>Ā'in</i> ;	<i>vide p. 394.</i>
13. <u>Bahādur Khān</u> , 5,000	No. 22;	5,000
14. <u>Mir Muḥammad Khān Atga</u>	" 16;	do.
15. <u>Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās</u> ²	" 31;	do.
16. <u>Khān Jahān</u> , 5,000	" 24;	do.
17. <u>Shihāb</u> 'd-Dīn <u>Aḥmad Khān</u> , 5,000	" 26;	do.
18. <u>Saʿīd Khān</u> , 5,000	" 25;	do.
19. <u>Pir Muḥammad Khān</u>	" 20;	do.
20. <u>Rāja Bihārā Mal</u> ²	" 23;	do.
21. <u>Rāja Bhagwān Dās</u> , 5,000	" 27;	do.
22. <u>Mān Singh</u> , 5,000	" 30;	do.
23. <u>Khwāja ʿAbd</u> 'l-Majīd <u>Āṣaf Khān</u> , maintained 20,000 horse	" 49;	3,000.
24. <u>Sikandar Khān Uzbek</u> ²	" 48;	3,000.
25. <u>ʿAbd</u> 'l-lāh <u>Khān Uzbek</u>	" 14;	5,000.
26. <u>Qiyā Khān Gung</u> ²	" 33;	5,000.
27. <u>Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān Koka</u> , 5,000	" 18;	5,000.
28. <u>Zayn Khān Koka</u> , 5,000	" 34;	4,500.
29. <u>Shujāʿāt Khān</u> , 5,000	" 51;	3,000.

In the *Tabaqāt*.In *Abū 'l-Faṣl's* list.

	No.	
30. <u>Shāh Budāgh Khān</u>	No. 52;	3,000.
31. <u>Ibrāhīm Khān Uzbek</u> , 4,000	" 64;	2,500.
32. <u>Tarsū Muḥammad Khān</u> , 5,000	" 32;	5,000.
33. <u>Vazīr Khān</u> , 5,000	" 41;	4,000.
34. <u>Muḥammad Murād Khān</u> ¹	" 54;	3,000.
35. <u>Ashraf Khān</u> ¹	" 74;	2,000.
36. <u>Mahdī Qāsim Khān</u> ²	" 36;	4,000.
37. <u>Muḥammad Qāsim Khān</u>	" 40;	4,000.
38. <u>Khwāja Sultān ʿAlī</u>	" 56;	3,000.
39. <u>Rāja Todar Mal</u> , 4,000	" 39;	4,000.
40. <u>Mirzā Yūsuf Khān Raḥawī</u> , 4,000	" 35;	4,500.
41. <u>Mirzā Qulī Khān</u> ¹	not in the <i>Ā'in</i> ;	<i>vide p. 418.</i>
42. <u>Muzaffar Khān</u>	No. 37;	4,000.
43. <u>Haydar Muḥammad Khān</u> , 2,000	" 66;	2,500.
44. <u>Shāham Khān Jalāʿir</u> , 2,000	" 97;	2,000.
45. <u>Ismāʿīl Sultān Duldāy</u>	" 72;	2,000.
46. <u>Muḥammad Khān Jalāʿir</u> ²	not in the <i>Ā'in</i> .	
47. <u>Khān-i ʿĀlam</u> , 3,000	No. 58;	3,000.
48. <u>Qutb</u> 'd-Dīn <u>Muḥammad Khān</u> , maintained 5,000 horse	" 28;	5,000.
49. <u>Muhibb ʿAlī Khān</u> , 4,000	" 107;	1,000.
50. <u>Qulij Khān</u> , 4,000	" 42;	4,000.
51. <u>Muḥammad Ṣādiq Khān</u> , 4,000	" 43;	4,000.
52. <u>Mirzā Jānī Beg</u> , 3,000	" 47;	3,000.
53. <u>Ismāʿīl Qulī Khān</u> , 3,000 ²	" 46;	3,500.
54. <u>Iʿtimād Khān Gujrātī</u> , 4,000	" 67;	2,500.
55. <u>Rāja Rāy Singh</u> , of <u>Bikanēr</u> and <u>Nagor</u> , 4,000	" 44;	4,000.
56. <u>Sharīf Muḥammad Khān</u> , 3,000	" 63;	3,000.
57. <u>Shāh Faḥr</u> 'd-Dīn, <u>Naqābat Khān</u> , 1,000	" 88;	2,000.
58. <u>Ḥabīb ʿAlī Khān</u>	" 133;	1,000.
59. <u>Shāh Qulī Mahram</u> , 1,000	" 45;	3,500.

¹ According to MS. No. 87, of the Library of the As. Soc., Bengal, and my own MS. The occasional differences in the names are mostly traceable to Akbar's hatred, which *Abū 'l-Faṣl* shared, of the names "Muḥammad", "Aḥmad".

² Mentioned in the *Tabaqāt* as belonging to the *Umarāʾ-i kibār*, "the great Amīrs," i.e. probably, the commanders of 5,000.

¹ Mentioned in the *Tabaqāt* as belonging to the *Umarāʾ-i Lūār*, "the great Amīrs," i.e., probably the commanders of 5,000.

² He got insane. *Tabaqāt*.

³ MS., 1,000.

In the Tabaqāt.

60. Muhibb 'Alī Khān Rahtāsi, 4,000 . . . not in the Ā'in; vide p. 466.
 61. Muṣīn^u 'd-Dīn Ahmad . . . No. 128; 1,000.
 62. Istimād Khān Khwājāsārā . . . " 119; 1,000.
 63. Dastam¹ Khān . . . " 79; 2,000.
 64. Kamāl Khān, the Gakkhar, 5,000 . . . not in the Ā'in; vide p. 507, and under No. 247.
 65. Tāhir Khān Mir Farāghat, 2,000 . . . No. 91; 2,000.
 66. Sayyid Hāmid of Bulhārā, 2,000 . . . " 78; 2,000.
 67. Sayyid Maḥmūd Khān, Bārha, 4,000 . . . " 75; 2,000.
 68. Sayyid Ahmad Khān, Bārha, 3,000 . . . " 91; 2,000.
 69. Qarā Bahādur Khān,² 4,000 (?) . . . " 179; 700.
 70. Bāqī Muḥammad Khān Koka, 4,000 . . . " 60; 3,000.
 71. Sayyid Muḥammad Mir 'Adl . . . " 140; 1,000.
 72. Ma'ṣūm Khān Farankhūdi, 2,000 . . . " 157; 1,000.
 73. Navrang Khān, 4,000 . . . not in the Ā'in; vide p. 351.
 74. Shāh Muḥammad Khān Atga, younger brother of Shams^u d'Dīn Atgah² . . . not in the Ā'in.
 75. Maṭlab Khān, 2,000 . . . No. 83; 2,000.
 76. Shaykh Ibrāhīm, 2,000 . . . " 82; 2,000.
 77. 'Alī Qulī Khān, 2,000 . . . " 124; 1,000.
 78. Tolak Khān Qūchin, 2,000 . . . " 158; 1,000.
 79. Shāh Beg Khān Kābuli, 3,000 . . . " 57; 3,000.
 80. Fattū Khān Afghān, 2,000 . . . not in the Ā'in; vide No. 385.
 81. Fath Khān Filbān, 2,000 . . . not in the Ā'in; vide under '
 82. Samānji Khān Mughul, 2,000 . . . No. 100; 1,500. [No. 385.
 83. Bābū Mankli, 1,000 . . . " 202; 700.
 84. Darwīsh Muḥammad Uzbek, 2,000 . . . " 81; 2,000.
 85. Shāhbāz Khān Kambū, 2,000 . . . " 80; 2,000.
 86. Khwāja Jahān Khurāsānī . . . " 110; 1,000.

*In the Tabaqāt.**In Abū 'l-Faḍl's list.*

87. Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl, kept 5,000 horse . . . No. 50; 3,000.
 88. Muḥammad Qāsim Khān,¹ 3,000 . . . " 40; 4,000.
 89. Muzaḥfir Husayn Mirzā, 1,000 . . . " 180; 700.
 90. Rāja Jagannāth, 3,000 . . . " 69; 2,500.
 91. Rāja Āskaran, 3,000 . . . not in the Ā'in; vide No. 174.
 92. Rāy Lonkaran, 2,000 . . . not in the Ā'in; vide No. 265.
 93. Mādhu Singh, "brother of R. Mān Singh," 2,000 . . . No. 101; 1,500.
 94. Sayf Khān Koka . . . " 38; 4,000.
 95. Ghiyāṣ^u 'd-Dīn 'Alī Āṣaf Khān . . . " 126; 1,000.
 96. Pāyanda Khān Mughul, 2,000 . . . " 68; 2,500.
 97. Mubārak Khān, the Gakkhar, 1,000 . . . " 171; 1,000.
 98. Bāz Bahādur Afghān, 2,000 . . . " 120; 1,000.
 99. Mirak Khān Jinkjank (?) . . . not in the Ā'in.
 100. Sayyid Qāsim Bārha, 2,000 . . . No. 105; 1,500.
 101. Rāja Kangār, 2,000 . . . not in the Ā'in; vide under No. 134.
 102. Muḥammad Husayn Lashkar Khān, kept 2,000 horse . . . No. 90; 2,000.
 103. Husayn Khān Tukriyah, 2,000 . . . " 53; 3,000.
 104. Jalāl Khān, the Gakkhar, 1,500 . . . " 170; 1,000.
 105. Sa'īd Khān, the Gakkhar, 1,500 . . . not in the Ā'in; vide p. 508, and under No. 247.
 106. Istibār Khān, Eunuch, 2,000 . . . No. 84; 2,000.
 107. Khwājah Tāhir Muḥammad Tātār Khān . . . " 111; 1,000.
 108. Moth Rāja, 1,500 . . . " 121; 1,000.
 109. Mihtar Khān Khāṣa Khayl, 2,000 . . . " 102; 1,500.
 110. Ṣafidar Khān, Khāṣa Khayl, 2,000¹ . . . not in the Ā'in.
 111. Bahār Khān, Khāṣa Khayl, 2,000 . . . No. 87 (?); 2,000.

¹ The MSS. of the *Tabaqāt* also have wrongly Rustam Khān.² MS. Bahādur Khān.³ This is probably a mistake of the author of the *Tabaqāt*.¹ The same as No. 37 on p. 598?

In the *Tabaqāt*.

112. Farhat <u>Khān Khāsa Khayl</u> , 2,000	No. 145; 1,000.
113. Rāy Sāl Darbārī, 2,000	106; 1,250.
114. Rāy Durgā, 1,500 ¹	103; 1,500.
115. Mirak <u>Khān Bahādūr</u> , ² 2,000	208; 500.
116. Shāh Muḥammad Qalāti	95; 2,000.
117. Maqsūd 'Alī Kor	136; 1,000.
118. Ikhlās <u>Khān</u> , the Eunuch, 1,000	86; 2,000.
119. Mihr 'Alī Sildozi, 1,500	130; 1,000.
120. <u>Khudāwand Khān</u> Dakhinī, 1,500	151; 1,000.
121. Mir Murtazā Dakhinī, 1,000	162; 1,000.
122. Hasan <u>Khān</u> , a Batanī Afghān, 1,000	220; 500.
123. Nazar Beg, son of Sa'īd, the Ghakkhar, 1,000	247; 500.
124. Rāja Gopāl, 2,000	not in the <i>Ā'in</i> ; vide under No. 305.
125. Qiyā <u>Khān</u> , 1,000	No. 184; 700.
126. Sayyid Hāshim Bārha, 2,000	143; 1,000.
127. Razawī <u>Khān</u> , 2,000	141; 1,000.
128. Rāja Bīr Bal, 2,000	85; 2,000.
129. Shaykh Farīd-i Bukhārī, 1,500	99; 1,500.
130. Rāja Surjan, 2,000	96; 2,000.
131. Ja'far Beg, Āsaf <u>Khān</u> , 2,000	98; 2,000.
132. Rāja Rūpsi Bairāgi, 1,500	118; 1,000.
133. Fāzil <u>Khān</u> , 1,500	156; 1,000.
134. Shāh Qulī <u>Khān</u> Nāranjī, 1,000	231; 500.
135. Shaykh Muḥammad <u>Khān</u> Bukh- ārī, 2,000	77; 2,000.
136. Lāl <u>Khān</u> Badakhshī	209; 500.
137. <u>Khānjar</u> Beg Chaghtā ³	not in the <i>Ā'in</i> .
138. Maḥsūs <u>Khān</u> , 2,500	No. 70; 2,500.
139. Sāni <u>Khān</u> Arlāt	216; 500.

¹ MS., 1,000.² He died in the explosion of a mine before Chitor.³ "He belongs to the old Amirs of the present dynasty. He was an accomplished man, excelled in music, and composed poems. There exists a well-known Masnawī by him, *dar bāb-i akhārā*, on the subject of dancing girls." *Ṭabaqāt*. Vide *Akbarnāma*, II, 82.In the *Tabaqāt*.In *Abū 'l-Faẓl's list*.

140. Mirzā Husayn <u>Khān</u>	No. 149; 1,000.
141. Jagat Singh, 1,500	160; 1,000.
142. Mirzā Najāt <u>Khān</u>	142; 1,000.
143. 'Alī Dost <u>Khān</u> , 1,000 ¹	not in the <i>Ā'in</i> .
144. Sulṭān Husayn <u>Khān</u>	not in the <i>Ā'in</i> .
145. Khwāja Shāh Maṣṣūr Shirāzi	No. 122; 1,000.
146. Salim <u>Khān</u> , 1,000	132; 1,000.
147. Sayyid Chhajhū Bārha	221; 500.
148. Darbār <u>Khān</u> , 1,000	185; 700.
149. Hāji Muḥammad Sistāni, 1,000 (?)	55; 3,000.
150. Muḥammad Zamān ²	not in the <i>Ā'in</i> .
151. <u>Khurram Khān</u> , 2,000 ³	not in the <i>Ā'in</i> .
152. Muḥammad Qulī Toqḥāy, 1,000	No. 129; 1,000.
153. Mujaḥhid <u>Khān</u> , 1,000 ⁴	not in the <i>Ā'in</i> .
154. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Awbahī ⁵	not in the <i>Ā'in</i> .
155. Shāh Ghāzi <u>Khān</u> Turkṡmān	not in the <i>Ā'in</i> .
156. Sheroya, 1,000	No. 168; 1,000.
157. Kākar 'Alī <u>Khān</u> , 1,000	92; 2,000.
158. Naqīb <u>Khān</u> , 1,000	161; 1,000.
159. Beg Nūrin <u>Khān</u> , 1,000	212; 500.
160. Qutlū Qadam <u>Khān</u> , 1,000	123; 1,000.
161. Jalāl <u>Khān</u> Qurchī, 1,000	213; 500.
162. Shimāl <u>Khān</u> Qurchī, 1,000	154; 1,000.
163. Mirzāda 'Alī <u>Khān</u>	152; 1,000.
164. Sayyid 'Abdu 'llāh <u>Khān</u>	189; 700.
165. Mir Sharif-i Āmulī, 1,000	No. 166; 1,000.
166. Farrukh <u>Khān</u>	232; 500.
167. Dost <u>Khān</u> ⁶	not in the <i>Ā'in</i> .
168. Ja'far <u>Khān</u> Turkṡmān, 1,000	No. 114; 1,000.

¹ "He was a servant of Humāyūn. In Akbar's service he rose to a command of 1,000, and died at Lāhor." One MS. calls him 'Alī Dost Khān Nāranjī, the other has *Bārbegī*, an unusual title for the Mughul period.² "Muḥammad Zamān is the brother of Mirzā Yūsuf Khān (No. 35). He belonged to the commanders of 1,000, and was killed in Gadhā." *Ṭabaqāt*.³ According to the *Ṭabaqāt*, he was dead in 1000. Vide *Akbarnāma*, II, 98, 103, 200, 284, 287.He is not to be confounded with Mirzā Khurram (No. 177).⁴ Mujaḥhid Khān was the son of Muṣāḥib Khān, one of Humāyūn's courtiers. He was killed at Konbhalmir. *Akbarnāma*, III, 146, 168.⁵ He was the *lāl*, or maternal uncle, of the author of the *Ṭabaqāt*, and distinguished himself in leading a successful expedition into Kamā'n.⁶ One MS. calls him *جباري*, the other *جباري*. "He belonged to the commanders of 1,000, and is now (A.H. 1001) dead."

*In the Tabaqāt.**In Abū 'l-Faḡl's list.*

169. Rāy Manohar	No. 265 ; 400.
170. Shaykh 'Abd' 'r-Rahīm of Lakhnau	197 ; 700.
171. Mirzā Abū 'l-Muḡaffar	210 ; 500.
172. Rāy Singh, son of Rāja Āskaran	171 ; 1,000.
173. Rāy Patr Dās	196 ; 700.
174. Jāmsh Bihādur	235 ; 500.
175. Muhammad Khān Niyāri	239 ; 500.
176. Rām Dās Kachhwāha	238 ; 500.
177. Mir Abū 'l-Qāsim	251 ; 500.
178. Khwāja 'Abd' 'l-Hay, Mir 'Adl	230 ; 500.
179. Shams' 'd-Dīn Husayn, son of Aḡram Khān	163 ; 1,000.
180. Khwāja Shams' 'd-Dīn Khawāfi	159 ; 1,000.
181. Mir Jamal' 'd-Dīn Husayn Injū, 1,000	161 ; 1,000.
182. Shaykh 'Abd' 'llāh Khān, son of Muhammad Ghawg, 1,000	173 ; 1,000.
183. Sayyid Rājū Bārha, 1,000	165 ; 1,000.
184. Medni Rāy Chaubān, 1,000	198 ; 700.
185. Mir Tāhir Razawī, brother of M. Yūsuf Khān	236 ; 500.
186. Tāsh Beg Kābuli	172 ; 1,000.
187. Ahmad Beg Kābuli, keeps 700 horse	191 ; 700.
188. Sher Khwāja	176 ; 800.
189. Muhammad Quli Turkman	203 ; 600.
190. Mirzā 'Alī Alamshāhi ¹	237 ; 500.
191. Wazīr Jamil	200 ; 700.
192. Rāy Bhoj, 1,000	175 ; 1,000.
193. Bakhtyār Beg Turkman	204 ; 600.
194. Mir Šadr Jahān	191 ; 700.
195. Hasan Beg Shaykh 'Umarī	167 ; 1,000.
196. Shādmān, son of 'Azīz Koka	233 ; 500.
197. Rāja Mukatmān Bhadaurya	249 ; 500.
198. Bāqī Safarchī, son of Tāhir Khān Farāghat	not in the Ā'in ; vide No. 94.

*In the Tabaqāt.**In Abū 'l-Faḡl's list.*

199. Faridūn Barlās	No. 227 ; 500.
200. Bahādur Khān Qurdār, a Tarīn Afghān	269 ; 400.
201. Shaykh Bāyazid-i Chishtī	260 ; 400.

In this above list, a few grantees are mentioned whom Abū 'l-Faḡl classes among the commanders of 400. Nizām, however, adds the following note to his own list—"Let it be known that the title of *Amīr* is given to all such as hold *Manḡabs* from 500 upwards. *None of those whom I have enumerated holds a less rank.*"

The Historian Badā'oni has not given a list of *Amīrs*, but has compiled instead a very valuable list of the poets, doctors, learned men, and saints of Akbar's reign, together with biographical notices, which make up the third volume of the edition printed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. With his usual animus he says (III, 1)—"I shall not give the names of the *Amīrs*, as Nizām has given them in the end of his work, and *besides most of them have died without having obtained the pardon of God.*

I have seen none that is faithful in this generation ;

If thou knowest one, give him my blessing."

Of the *Manḡabdārs* whose names Abū 'l-Faḡl has not given, because the *Ā'in* list refers to the period prior to the 40th year of Akbar's reign, the most famous are Mahābat Khān, Khān Jahān Lodi (vide under No. 309), and 'Abd' 'llāh Khān Firūz-jang.

We have no complete list of the grantees of Jahāngīr's reign ; but the Dutch traveller De Laët, in his work on India (p. 151) has a valuable note on the numerical strength of Jahāngīr's *Manḡabdārs*, which may be compared with the lists in the *Ā'in* and the *Pādīshāhnāma* (II, 717). Leaving out the princes, whose *manḡabs* were above 5,000, we have :—

Commanders of	Under Akbar. (Ā'in)	Under Jahāngīr. (De Laët)	Under Shāhjahān (Pādīshāhnāma)
5,000	30	8	20
4,500	2	9	0
4,000	9	25	20
3,500	2	30	0
3,000	17	36	44
2,500	8	42	11
2,000	27	45	51
1,500	7	51	52
1,250	1	0	0

¹ "He is the brother of 'Alamshāh, a courageous man, skilful in the use of arms." *Tabaqāt*. This remark is scarcely in harmony with the facts recorded under No. 237.

Commanders of	Under Akbar. (Ā'in)	Under Jahāngīr. (De Laët)	Under Shāhjahān (Pādīshāhnāma)
1,000 . . .	31 . . .	55 . . .	97 . . .
900 . . .	38 . . .	0 . . .	23 . . .
800 . . .	2 . . .	0 . . .	40 . . .
700 . . .	25 . . .	58 . . .	61 . . .
600 . . .	4 . . .	0 . . .	30 . . .
500 . . .	46 . . .	80 . . .	114 . . .
Total . . .	249 . . .	439 . . .	563 . . .

400 . . .	18 . . .	73 . . .	
350 . . .	19 . . .	58 . . .	
300 . . .	33 . . .	72 . . .	
250 . . .	12 . . .	85 . . .	not specified.
200 . . .	81 . . .	150 . . .	
Total . . .	163 . . .	438 . . .	

150 . . .	53 . . .	242 . . .	
120 . . .	1 . . .	0 . . .	
100 . . .	250 . . .	300 . . .	
80 . . .	91 . . .	245 . . .	not specified.
60 . . .	204 . . .	397 . . .	
50 . . .	16 . . .	0 . . .	
40 . . .	260 . . .	298 . . .	
30 . . .	39 . . .	240 . . .	
20 . . .	250 . . .	232 . . .	
10 . . .	224 . . .	110 . . .	
Total . . .	1,388 . . .	2,064 . . .	

The number of Ahadis under Jahāngīr, De Laët fixes as follows :—

Chahāraspas . . .	741
Sihaspas . . .	1,322
Duaspas . . .	1,428
Yakaspas . . .	950
	4,441 Ahadis.

Under Shāhjahān, 17 Grandees were promoted, up to the 20th year of his reign, to manṣabs above 5,000. There is no Hindū among them.

De Laët has not mentioned how many of the Amīrs were Hindūs. But we may compare the lists of the *Ā'in* and the *Pādīshāhnāma*.

We find under Akbar :—

among 252 manṣabdārs from 5,000 to 500 . . . 32 Hindūs.

among 163 manṣabdārs from 400 to 200 . . . 25 „

Under Shāhjahān (20th year of his reign), we have :—

among 12 manṣabdārs above 5,000 . . . no Hindūs.

among 580 manṣabdārs from 5,000 to 500 . . . 110 Hindūs.

The names of commanders below 500 are not given in the *Pādīshāhnāma*. Regarding other facts connected with the relative position of Hindūs and Muhammadans at the Mughul court, I would refer the reader to my "Chapter from Muhammadan History," *Calcutta Review*, April, 1871.

Ā'in 30 (continued).

THE LEARNED MEN OF THE TIME.

I shall now speak of the sages of the period and classify them according to their knowledge, casting aside all differences of creed. His Majesty, who is himself the leader of the material and the ideal worlds, and the sovereign over the external and the internal, honours five classes of sages as worthy of attention. And yet all five, according to their light, are struck with his Majesty's perfection, the ornament of the world. The *first* class, in the lustre of their star, perceive the mysteries of the external and the internal, and in their understanding and the breadth of their views, fully comprehend both realms of thought, and acknowledge to have received their spiritual power from the throne of his Majesty. The *second* class pay less attention to the external world ; but in the light of their hearts they acquire vast knowledge. The *third* class do not step beyond the arena of observation (*nazar*) and possess a certain knowledge of what rests on testimony. The *fourth* class look upon testimony as something filled with the dust of suspicion, and handle nothing without proof. The *fifth* class are bigoted, and cannot pass beyond the narrow sphere of revealed testimony. Each class has many subdivisions.

I do not wish to set up as a judge and hold forth the faults of people. The mere classification was repugnant to my feelings ; but truthfulness helps on the pen.

First Class.—Such as understand the mysteries of both worlds.

1. Shaykh Mubārak of Nāgor.¹

Vide under No. 253. The *Ṭabaqāt* also mentions a Shaykh Mubārak of Alwar, and a Sayyid Mubārak of Gwālyār.

2. Shaykh Nizām.

Abū 'l-Faḥl either means the renowned Nizām 'd-Dīn of Amethi, near Lakhnau, of the Chishtī sect, who died A.H. 979; or Nizām 'd-Dīn of Nārnaul, of the same sect, who died in 997.

3. Shaykh Adhan.

He also belonged to the Chishtīs, and died at Jaunpūr in 970.

4. Miyān Wajih 'd-Dīn.

Died at Aḥmadābād in 998. The *Ṭabaqāt* mentions a contemporary, Shaykh Wajih 'd-Dīn Gujrātī, who died in 995.

5. Shaykh Rukn 'd-Dīn.

He was the son of Shaykh 'Abd 'l-Quddūs of Gango. Badā'oni saw him at Dihli at the time of Bayrām's fall.

6. Shaykh Abd 'l-Aziz (of Dihli).

7. Shaykh Jalāl 'd-Dīn.

He belongs to Thanesar, and was the pupil and spiritual successor (*khalīfa*) of 'Abd 'l-Quddūs of Gango. Died 989.

8. Shaykh Ilāhdiya.

Ilāhdiya is Hindūstānī for the Persian *Ilāhdād*, "given (*diyā*) by God," "Theodore." He lived at Khayrābād and died in 993.

9. Mawlānā Ḥusām 'd-Dīn.

"Mawlānā Ḥusām 'd-Dīn Surkh of Lāhor. He differed from the learned of Lāhor, and studied theology and philosophy. He was very pious." *Ṭabaqāt*.

10. Shaykh 'Abd 'l-Ghafūr.

He belongs to Aḥẓampūr in Sambhal, and was the pupil of 'Abd 'l-Quddūs. Died in 995.

11. Shaykh Panjū.

He was wrongly called Bechū on p. 110, note 3. He died in 989. *Badā'oni*, II, 53.

12. Mawlānā Ismā'il.

He was an Arabian, and the friend of Shaykh Ḥusayn, who taught in Humāyūn's Madrasa at Dihli. He was a rich man, and was killed by some burglars that had broken into his house.

13. Madhū Sarsuti.

18. Rāmīrth.

14. Madhūsūdan.

19. Nar Sing.

15. Nārāyṇ Asram.

20. Parmindar.

16. Harijī Sūr.

21. Ādit.

17. Damūdar Bhat.

Second Class.—Such as understand the mysteries of the heart.

22. Shaykh Rukn 'd-Dīn Maḥmūd¹ Kamāngar (the bow maker).

23. Shaykh Amān 'llāh.

24. Khwāja 'Abd 'sh-Shahid.

He is the son of Khwājagān Khwāja, son of the renowned Khwāja Aḥrār. *Vide* No. 17 and No. 108. He died in 982, and was buried at Samarqand. He had been for twenty years in India, and held a jāgīr in Pargana جماري, in the Bāri Duāb, where he maintained two thousand poor.

25. Shaykh Mūsā.

He was a smith (*āhangar*), and performed many miracles. He died in the beginning of Akbar's reign, and was buried at Lāhor. The elder brother of Shaykh Salīm-i Chishtī also was called Shaykh Mūsā; *vide* under No. 82. *Vide* also below, No. 102.

26. Bābā Balās.

27. Shaykh 'Alā 'd-Dīn Majzūb. *Vide* *Badā'oni*, III, 61.

28. Shaykh Yūsuf Harkun.

The *Ṭabaqāt* calls him Shaykh Yūsuf Harkun Majzūb of Lāhor.

29. Shaykh Burhān.

He lived as a recluse in Kālpī, and subsisted on milk and sweetmeats, denying himself water. He knew no Arabic, and yet explained the Qurān. He was a Mahdawī. He died in 970 at the age of one hundred years, and was buried in his cell.

30. Bābā Kipūr.

Shaykh Kipūr Majzūb of Gwālyār, a Ḥusaynī Sayyid, was at first a soldier, then turned a *bihishtī*, and supplied widows and the poor with water. He died in 979 from a fall from his gate.

31. Shaykh Abū Is-hāq Firang. *Vide* *Badā'oni*, III, 48.

32. Shaykh Dā'ūd.

He is called Jhannīwāl from Jhannī near Lāhor. His ancestors had come from Arabia and settled at Sitpūr in Multān, where Dā'ūd was born. *Badā'oni* (III, p. 28) devotes eleven pages to his biography. He died in 982.

¹ The notes are taken from the *Ṭabaqāt*, the third volume of *Badā'oni*, and the *Mir'at 'l-Ālam*.

¹ *Badā'oni* (III, p. 151) mentions a Zayn 'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Kamāngar.

33. Shaykh Salim-i Chishtī.

He was a descendant of Shaykh Farid-i Shakarganj, and lived in Fathpūr Sikrī highly honoured by Akbar. Jahāngir was called after him Salim. He died in 979. Several of his relations have been mentioned above.

34. Shaykh Muḥammad Ghaws of Gwālyār.

Vide No. 173.

35. Rām Bhadr.

36. Jadrūp.

Third Class.—Such as know philosophy and theology.¹

37. Mir Fath^u 'llāh of Shirāz.

Vide pp. 34, 110, 208, 284. His brother was a poet and wrote under the *takhalluṣ* of *Fārighī*; vide *Badā'onī*, III, 292. His two sons were Mir Taqī and Mir Sharif.

38. Mir Murtazā.

He is not to be confounded with Mir Murtazā, No. 162. Mir Murtazā Sharif of Shirāz died in 974 at Dihli, and was buried at the side of the poet *Khusrāw*, from where his body was taken to Mashhad. He had studied the Ḥadīs under the renowned Ibn Ḥajar in Makkah, and then came over the Dakhn to Āgra. Vide *Akbarnāma*, II, 278, 337.

39. Mawlānā Sa'īd, of Turkistān.

He came in 968 from Māwara 'n-nahr to Āgra. *Bad.*, II, 49. He died in Kābul in 970; *i.e.*, III, 152.

40. Ḥāfiẓ of Tāshkand.

He is also called Ḥāfiẓ Kumakī. He came in 977 from Tāshkand to India, and was looked upon in Māwara 'n-nahr as a most learned man. He had something of a soldier in him, and used to travel about, like all Turks, with the quiver tied to his waist. He went over Gujrāt to Makkah, and from there to Constantinople, where he refused a vazirship. Afterwards he returned to his country, where he died. Vide *Badā'onī*, II, 187.

41. Mawlānā Shāh Muḥammad.

Vide p. 112; *Bad.*, II, 295, *ll.*

42. Mawlānā Alā' 'd-Dīn.

He came from Lāristān, and is hence called *Lārī*. He was the son of Mawlānā Kamāl^u 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn and studied under Mawlānā Jalāl Dawwānī Shāfi'i. He was for some time Akbar's teacher. Once at a darbār he placed himself before the *Khān-i A'ẓam*, when the Mir Tozak

told him to go back. "Why should not a learned man stand in front of fools," said he, and left the hall, and never came again. He got 4,000 bighas as sayūrghāl in Sambhal, where he died.

43. Ḥakīm Miṣrī. Vide No. 254.

44. Mawlānā Shaykh Husayn (of Ajmīr).

He was said to be a descendant of the great Indian saint Muṣīn-i Chishtī of Ajmīr, was once banished to Makkah, and had to suffer, in common with other learned men whom Akbar despised, various persecutions. *Badā'onī*, III, 87.

45. Mawlānā Mir Kalān.

He died in 981, and was buried at Āgra. He was Jahāngir's first teacher. *Bad.*, II, 170.

46. Ghāzi Khān. Vide No. 144.

47. Mawlānā Ṣadiq.

He was born in Samarqand, came to India, and then went to Kābul, where he was for some time the teacher of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother. He then went back to his home, where he was alive in 1001. The *Tabaqāt* calls him Mullā Ṣadiq Ḥalwā'i. *Badā'onī* (III, 255, where the Ed. Bibl. India has wrongly *Halwānī*) puts him among the poets.

48. Mawlānā Shāh Muḥammad.

Vide No. 41. This seems to be a mere repetition. Other Histories only mention one Mawlānā of that name.

Fourth Class.—Such as know philosophy (ṣaqlī kalām).¹

49. Mawlānā Pīr Muḥammad. Vide No. 20.

50. Mawlānā 'Abd^u 'l-Bāqī.

He was a Ṣadr; vide pp. 282, 528 [and *Akbarnāma*, II, 143].

51. Mirzā Muḥlis.

He was an Uzbek, came from Māwarā 'n-nahr to India, and taught for some time in the Jāmī' Masjid of Muṣīn^u 'd-Dīn Faranḡhūdī (vide No. 128) at Āgra. He died in Makkah at the age of seventy. Vide *Bad.*, II, 187.

52. Mawlānāzāda Shukr.

53. Mawlānā Muḥammad.

He lived at Lāhor and was in 1004 nearly ninety years old. *Badā'onī* (III, 154) calls him Mawlānā Muḥammad Muftī.

¹ *Maṣgūl* o *manḡūl*, pr. that which is based on reason (*ṣaql*) and traditional testimony (*naql*).

¹ This means chiefly religious testimony based on human reason, not on revelation. Abū 'l-Faẓl evidently takes it in a wider sense, as he includes the doctors in this class.

87 Ḥakīm Niṣmat^u 'Ilāh.

88 Ḥakīm Dawā'ī.

Dawā'ī was also the *takhalluṣ* of No. 85.

89. Ḥakīm Ṭalab 'Alī.

90. Ḥakīm 'Abd^u 'r-Raḥīm.

91. Ḥakīm Rūḥ^u 'Ilāh.

92. Ḥakīm Fakhr^u 'd-Dīn 'Alī.

93. Ḥakīm Is-ḥāq.

94. Shaykh Ḥasan, and 95. Shaykh Binā.

Shaykh Ḥasan of Pānīpat, and his son Shaykh Binā were renowned surgeons. Instead of "Binā", the MSS. have various readings. The *Ma'āṣir* has *Phaniyā*, the *Tabaqāt Bhaniyā*.

Shaykh Binā's son is the well-known Shaykh Ḥasan, or Hassū, who under Jahāngīr's rose to great honours, and received the title of *Muqarrab Khān*. Father and son, in the 41st year, succeeded in curing a bad wound which Akbar had received from a buck at a deer-fight. Hassū was physician to Prince Salīm, who was much attached to him. After his accession, he was made a commander of 5,000 and governor of Gujrāt, in which capacity he came in contact with the English at Sūrāt. He gave no satisfaction, and was recalled. In the 13th year (1027) he was made governor of Bihār, and in the 16th, governor of Āgra. In the beginning of Shāhjahān's reign, he was pensioned off, and received the Pargana of Kayrāna, his birthplace, as jāgīr. He constructed a mausoleum near the tomb of the renowned Saint Sharaf^u 'd-Dīn of Pānīpat, and died at the age of ninety. In Kayrāna, he built many edifices, and laid out a beautiful garden with an immense tank. He obtained excellent fruit-trees from all parts of India, and the Kayrāna mangoes, according to the *Ma'āṣir*, have since been famous in Dihlī.

Muqarrab's son, Rizq^u 'Ilāh, was a doctor under Shāhjahān, and a commander of 800. Awrangzeb made him a *Khān*. He died in the 10th year of Awrangzeb.

Muqarrab's adopted son is Masihā-i Kairānawī. His real name was Sa'ad^u 'Ilāh. He was a poet, and composed an epic on the story of Sitā. Rāmchandra's wife.

96. Mahādev.

98. Nārāyīn.

97. Bhīm Nāth.

99. Sīwajī.¹

Fifth Class.—Such as understand sciences resting on testimony (naql).²

100. Miyān Hātim.

He lived at Sambhal. The historian Badā'onī, when twelve years old, learned under him in 960. Hātim died in 969.

101. Miyān Jamāl Khān.

He was Mufti of Dihlī and died more than ninety years old in 981. He was a Kambū.

102. Mawlānā 'Abd^u 'l-Qādir.

He was the pupil of Shaykh Ḥamid Qādiri (buried at Hāmidpūr, near Multān), and was at enmity with his own younger brother Shaykh Mūsā, regarding the right of succession. 'Abd^u 'l-Qādir used to say the *nafl*-prayers³ in the audience-hall of Fathpūr Sikrī, and when asked by Akbar to say them at home, he said, "My king, this is not your kingdom that you should pass orders." Akbar called him a fool, and cancelled his grant of land, whereupon 'Abd^u 'l-Qādir went back to Uchh. Shaykh Mūsā did better; he joined the army, and became a commander of 500. *Vide* below, Nos. 109, 131.

The *Mir'āt* mentions a Mawlānā 'Abd^u 'l-Qādir of Sirhind as one of the most learned of Akbar's age.

103. Shaykh Ahmad.

The *Tabaqāt* mentions a Shaykh Hājī Ahmad of Lihor, and a Shaykh Ahmad Hājī Pulādī Majzūb of Sind.

104. Maḥdūm^u 'l-Mulk. *Vide* p. 181.

This is the title of Mawlānā 'Abd^u 'Ilāh of Sultānpūr, author of the *Ṣiṣmat-i Anbiyā*, and a commentary to the *Shamā'il*⁴ 'n-Nabī. Humāyūn gave him the titles of Maḥdūm^u 'l-Mulk and Shaykh^u 'l-Islām. He was a bigoted Sunni, and looked upon Abū 'l-Faḍl from the beginning as a dangerous man. He died in 990 in Gujrāt after his return from Makkah.

105. Mawlānā 'Abd^u 's-Salām.

The *Tabaqāt* says, he lived at Lihor and was a learned man.

The *Mir'āt* mentions another Mawlānā 'Abd^u 's-Salām of Lihor, who was a great lawyer (*faqīh*) and wrote a commentary to Banjawī. He died more than ninety years old in the first year of Shāhjahān's reign.

106. Qāzī Ṣadr^u 'd-Dīn.

Qāzī Ṣadr^u 'd-Dīn Qurayshī 'Abbāsī of Jālandhar was the pupil of Maḥdūm^u 'l-Mulk (No. 104). He was proverbial for his memory. He was attached to dervishes and held such broad views, that he was looked upon by common people as a heretic. When the learned were driven

¹ The *Tabaqāt* mentions a few other Hindī doctors of distinction who lived during Akbar's reign, viz. Bhrāra, Durgā Māl, Chandra Sen ("an excellent surgeon"), and Illi (see MS. see Abū).

² As religious law, Hadīṣ, history, etc.

³ Voluntary prayers.

from court, he was sent as Qāzī to Bharūch, where he died. His son, Shaykh Muhammad, succeeded him. His family remained in Gujrat.

107. Mawlānā Saʿādū 'llāh

He lived at Bivana, and was looked upon as the best grammarian of the age. He was simple in his mode of life, but liberal to others. Towards the end of his life he got silent, and shut himself out from all intercourse with men, even his own children. He died in 989.

108. Mawlānā Isḥāq.

He was the son of Shaykh Kākū, and lived at Lāhor. Shaykh Saʿādū 'llāh Shaykh Munawwar, and many others, were his pupils. He died more than a hundred years old in 996.

109. Mir Saʿādū 'l-Latif. *Vide* No. 161, p. 196

110. Mir Nūrū 'llāh.

He came from Shustar and was introduced to Akbar by Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Faṭḥ. He was a Shiʿah, but practised *taqiya* among Sunnis, and was even well acquainted with the law of Abū Ḥanifa. When Shaykh Muṣṭafī Qāzī of Lāhor retired, he was appointed his successor, and gave every satisfaction. After Jahāngīr's accession, he was recalled. Once he offended the emperor by a hasty word and was executed.

111. Mawlānā Saʿādū 'l-Qādir.

He was Akbar's teacher (*ālī-khān*). *Vide* No. 212, p. 512.

112. Qāzī Abdu 'l-Samī.

He was a Miyānkālī,¹ and according to *Badāʾunī* (II, 311) played chess for money and drank wine. Akbar made him in 990, Qāziyū 'l-Quzāt, in place of Qāzī Jalālū 'd-Dīn Multānī (No. 122). *Vide* *Albarnāma*, III, 593.

113. Mawlānā Qāsim.

The *Ṭabaqāt* mentions a Mullā Qāsim of Qandahār.

114. Qāzī Ḥasan. *Vide* No. 281, p. 539

115. Mullā Kamāl.

The *Ṭabaqāt* mentions a Shaykh Kamāl of Alwar, the successor and relative of Shaykh Salīm.

116. Shaykh Yaʿqūb (of Kashmir). *Vide* below among the poets.

117. Mullā ʿĀlam. *Vide* p. 167, note.

He died in 991, and wrote a book entitled *Fawāʾih* 'l-Wilāyat *Bad*, II, 337.

118. Shaykh Abdu 'n-Nabī. *Vide* pp. 182, 186, 195, 197, 519, 616, note.

He was the son of Shaykh Aḥmad, son of Shaykh Saʿādū 'l-Quddūs

of Gango, and was several times in Makkah, where he studied the Ḥadīṣ. When he held the office of Ṣadr he is said to have been arbitrary, but liberal. The execution of a Brāhman, the details of which are related in *Badāʾunī* (III, 80) led to the Shaykh's deposal.

Badāʾunī (III, 83) places his death in 991, the *Mirʿāt* in 992. Saʿādū 'n-Nabī's family traced their descent from Abū Ḥanifa.

119. Shaykh Bhik.

The *Ṭabaqāt* has also "Bhik", while *Badāʾunī* (III, 24) has "Bhikan". Shaykh Bhik lived in Kākor near Lakhnau. He was as learned as he was pious. He died in 991.

120. Shaykh Abū 'l-Faṭḥ.

Shaykh Abū 'l-Faṭḥ of Gujrat was the son-in-law of Mir Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpur, the great Mahdawī. He was in Āgra at the time of Bayrām Khān.

121. Shaykh Bahāṣū 'd-Dīn Muftī.

He lived at Āgra, and was a learned and pious man.

122. Qāzī Jalālū 'd-Dīn Multānī. *Vide* pp. 183, 195.

He comes from near Bhakkar and was at first a merchant. He then took to law. In 990, he was banished and sent to the Dakhin, from where he went to Makkah. He died there.

123. Shaykh Ziyāṣū 'd-Dīn.

It looks as if Shaykh Ziyāṣū 'llāh were intended; *vide* No. 173.

124. Shaykh Saʿādū 'l-Wahhāb.

125. Shaykh ʿUmar.

126. Mir Sayyid Muḥammad Mir Adl. *Vide* No. 140, p. 485, and No. 251, p. 518.

127. Mawlānā Jamāl.

The *Ṭabaqāt* has a Mullā Jamāl, a learned man of Multān. *Badāʾunī* (III, 108) mentions a Mawlānā Jamāl of al-, which is said to be a Maḥall of Lāhor.

128. Shaykh Aḥmadī.

Shaykh Aḥmadī Fayyāz of Amethī, a learned man, contemporary of the saint Nizāmū 'd-Dīn of Amethī (p. 607).

129. Shaykh Abdu 'l-Ghanī.¹

He was born at Badāʾun and lived afterwards in Dihli a retired life. The Khān Khānān visited him in 1003.

130. Shaykh Saʿādū 'l-Wahid.

¹ Sayyid Aḥmad's edition of the *Tuzuk* (p. 91, l. 11 from below) mentions that Jahāngīr, when a child read the Ḥadīṣ under "Shaykh Saʿādū 'l-Ghanī, whose fate is related in the *Albarnāma*." This is a mistake for Saʿādū 'n-Nabī (No. 118).

¹ Miyānkāl is the name of the hilly tract between Samargand and Bukhārā.

He was born in Bilgrām, and is the author of a commentary to the *Nuzhat* 'l-*Itrūh*, and several treatises on the technical terms (*istilāhāt*) of the Ṣūfis, one of which goes by the name of *Sanābil*.

131. Ṣadr-i Jahān. *Vide* No. 191, p. 522.

132. Mawlānā Ismā'īl. *Vide* above, No. 12.

The *Ṭabaqāt* mentions a Mullā Ismā'īl Muftī of Lāhor, and a Mullā Ismā'īl of Awadh.

133. Mullā Abdū 'l-Qādir.

This is the historian Badā'onī. Abū 'l-Faṣl also calls him Mullā in the *Albarnāma*.

134. Mawlānā Ṣadr Jahān.

This seems a repetition of No. 131.

135. Shaykh Jawhār.

136. Shaykh Munawwar.

Vide p. 112. He was born at Lāhor, and was noted for his memory and learning. He is the author of commentaries to the *Mashāriq* 'l-*anwār* (Ḥadīṣ), the *Badī'at* 'l-*bayān*, the *Irshād-i Qāṣī*, etc. When the learned were banished from court, he was imprisoned in Gwāliyar, where he died in 1011.

His son, Shaykh Kabīr, was also renowned for his learning. He died in 1026, in Aḥmadābād, and was buried in the mausoleum of the great Aḥmadābādī saint Shāh 'Alām. *Mīr'āt*.

137. Qāṣī Ibrāhīm.

Vide pp. 181, 183, 193. Badā'onī and the *Ṭabaqāt* mention a Ḥājī Ibrāhīm of Āgra, a teacher of the Ḥadīṣ.

138. Mawlānā Jamāl. *Vide* above, No. 127.

139. Bijai Sen Sūr.

140. Bhān Chand.

Ā'in 30 (continued).

THE POETS OF THE AGE.

I have now come to this distinguished class of men and think it right to say a few words about them. Poets strike out a road to the inaccessible realm of thought, and divine grace beams forth in their genius. But many of them do not recognize the high value of their talent, and barter it away from a wish to possess inferior store: they pass their time in praising the mean-minded, or soil their language with invectives against the wise. If it were not so, the joining of words were wonderful indeed; for by this means lofty ideas are understood.

*He who joins words to words, gives away a drop from the blood of his heart*¹

*Every one who strings words to words, performs, if no miracle, yet a wonderful action*²

I do not mean a mere external union. Truth and falsehood, wisdom and foolishness, pearls and common shells, though far distant from each other, have a superficial similarity. I mean a spiritual union, and this is only possible in the harmonious, and to recognize it is difficult, and to weigh it still more so.

For this reason his Majesty does not care for poets; he attaches no weight to a handful of imagination. Fools think that he does not care for poetry, and that for this reason he turns his heart from the poets. Notwithstanding this circumstance, thousands of poets are continually at court, and many among them have completed a *diwān*, or have written a *masnauī*. I shall now enumerate the best among them.

1. Shaykh Abū 'l-Fayz-i Fayzī.

(*Vide* p. 518)

He was a man of cheerful disposition, liberal, active, an early riser. He was a disciple of the emperor, and was thus at peace with the whole world. His Majesty understood the value of his genius, and conferred upon him the title of *Mahī*, "sh-shuṣarā" or king of the poets³. He wrote for nearly forty years under the name of *Fayzī*, which he afterwards, under divine inspiration, changed to *Fayyāzī*, as he himself says in his "Nal Daman" —

Before this, whenever I issued anything,

The writing on my signet was "Fayzī"

But as I am now chastened by spiritual love,

I am the "Fayyāzī" of the Ocean of Superabundance (God's love)⁴

His excellent manners and habits cast a lustre on his genius. He was

¹ i.e. gives men something valuable.

² Saints perform wonderful actions (*karamāt*), prophets perform miracles (*muṣṭajizāt*). Both in miracles, but the *karamāt* are less in degree than the *muṣṭajizāt*. Whenever the emperor spoke, the courtiers used to lift up their hands, and cry "karamat, karamat". "a miracle, a miracle, he has spoken!" *De Laet*.

³ Ghazālī of Mashhad (*vide* below, the fifth poet) was the first that obtained this title. After his death, Fayzī got it. Under Jahāngīr Tālib of Āmul was *mahī* "sh-shuṣarā", and under Shāhjahān, Muhammad Jān Qudsi and, after him, Abū Tālib Kalīm. Awrangzib hated poetry as much as he hated history and music.

⁴ *Fayz* is an Arabic word meaning "abundance"; *Fayzī* would be a man who has abundance or gives abundantly. *Fayyāzī* is the intensive form of *Fayzī*, giving superabundantly. *Fayyāzī*, originally, is the abstract noun "the act of giving superabundantly" and then becomes a title.

The form of *fayyāzī* agrees with the form of 'Alāmi Abū 'l-Faṣl's *takhallūs*, and some historians, as Badā'onī, have maintained that the mere form suggested the change of *Fayzī* to *Fayyāzī*.

eminently distinguished in several branches. He composed many works in Persian and Arabic. Among others he wrote the *Sawāqīṣ* 'l-*ilḥām* ' ("rays of inspiration"), which is a commentary to the *Qur'ān* in Arabic, in which he only employed such letters as have no dots. The words of the *Sūrat* 'l-*ikhḥlās* ' contain the date of its completion.

He looked upon wealth as the means of engendering poverty,² and adversity of fortune was in his eyes an ornament to cheerfulness. The door of his house was open to relations and strangers, friends, and foes; and the poor were comforted in his dwelling. As he was difficult to please, he gave no publicity to his works, and never put the hand of request to the forehead⁴ of loftiness. He cast no admiring glance on himself. Genius as he was, he did not care much for poetry, and did not frequent the society of wits. He was profound in philosophy; what he had read with his eyes was nourishment for the heart. He studied medicine deeply, and gave poor people advice gratis.

The gems of thought in his poems will never be forgotten. Should leisure permit, and my heart turn to worldly occupations, I would collect some of the excellent writings of this unrivalled author of the age, and gather, with the eye of a jealous critic, yet with the hand of a friend, some of his verses⁵. But now it is brotherly love—a love which does

¹ I have not seen a copy of this work. It is often confounded with the *Mawārid* 'l-*ilām*, because the latter also is written *be nuṣṣ*, without the use of dotted letters. The *Mawārid* was printed at Calcutta in A.H. 1241, by the professors of the Madrasa and Maulawi Muhammad 'Alī of Rāmpūr. It contains sentences, often pithy, on the words *islām*, *salām*, *ḡilm*, 'l-*ilām*, *ilām*, *Muḥammad*, *ilām*, 'l-*ilāh*, etc., and possesses little interest. Fayzi displays in it his lexicographical abilities.

² This is the 112th chapter of the *Qur'ān*, which commences with the words *Qul huwa allāh* *akad*. The letters added give 1002; Fayzi, therefore, wrote the book two years before his death. This clever *tarīkh* was found out by *Mīr Haydar Muḥammad* 'l-*Qāshān* poetically styled *Rafīqī*. Vide below the 31st poet.

³ i.e. the more he had the more he gave away and thus he became poor or, he considered that riches make a man poor in a spiritual sense.

⁴ *Tarak*, properly the crown of the head. Putting the hand upon the crown of the head is an old form of the *salām*. Abū 'l-Faḡl wishes to say that Fayzi was never mean enough to ask for favours or presents.

⁵ Abū 'l-Faḡl kept his promise, and collected two years after Fayzi's death, the stray leaves of the *Makāṣid* 'l-*adwār* (p. 549) regarding which the curious will find a notice by Abū 'l-Faḡl in the 3rd book of his *Makṭūbāt*. The same book contains an elegy on Fayzi's death.

MSS. of Fayzi's *Nal Daman* are very numerous. His *Diwān*, exclusive of the *Qasā'id*, was lithographed at Dibrui in A.H. 1261, but has been long out of print. It ends with a *Rubā'i* (by Fayzi) which shows that the words *Diwān* 'l-Fayzi contain the *tarīkh* i.e. A.H. 971, much too early a date, as he was only born in 954. The *Makāṣid* 'l-*adwār* says that Fayzi composed 101 books. Badā'i' overestimates his verses at 20,000, and Abū 'l-Faḡl at 60,000. The *Atṭar-nāma* (40th year) contains numerous extracts from Fayzi's works. Dāghustānīsays in his *Ḥiyāṭ* *sh-shuḡarā* that Fayzi was a pupil of Khwāja Husayn Sanā'i of Mashhad, and it seems that Abū 'l-Faḡl has for this reason placed Sanā'i immediately after Fayzi. The same writer remarks that Fayzi is in Persia often wrongly called *Fayzi* *bi* *Dakḥinī*.

Many of the extracts given below are neither found in printed editions nor in MSS. of Fayzi's works.

not travel along the road of critical nicety—that commands me to write down some of his verses.

Extracts from Fayzi's *Qasīdas* (Odes).

1. O Thou, who existest from eternity and abidest for ever, sight cannot bear Thy light, praise cannot express Thy perfection.

2. Thy light melts the understanding, and Thy glory baffles wisdom; to think of Thee destroys reason, Thy essence confounds thought.

3. Thy holiness pronounces that the blood drops of human meditation are shed in vain in search of Thy knowledge: human understanding is but an atom of dust.

4. Thy jealousy, the guard of Thy door, stuns human thought by a blow in the face, and gives human ignorance a slap on the nape of the neck.

5. Science is like blinding desert sand on the road to Thy perfection; the town of literature is a mere hamlet compared with the world of Thy knowledge.

6. My foot has no power to travel on this path which misleads sages; I have no power to bear the odour of this wine, it confounds my knowledge.

7. The tablet of Thy holiness is too pure for the (black) tricklings of the human pen; the dross of human understanding is unfit to be used as the philosopher's stone.

8. Man's so-called foresight and guiding reason wander about bewildered in the streets of the city of Thy glory.

9. Human knowledge and thought combined can only spell the first letter of the alphabet of Thy love.

10. Whatever our tongue can say, and our pen can write, of Thy Being, is all empty sound and deceiving scribble.

11. Mere beginners and such as are far advanced in knowledge are both eager for union with Thee; but the beginners are tattlers, and those that are advanced are triflers.

12. Each brain is full of the thought of grasping Thee; the brow of Plato even burned with the fever heat of this hopeless thought.

13. How shall a thoughtless man like me succeed when Thy jealousy strikes down with a fatal blow the thoughts¹ of saints?

14. O that Thy grace would cleanse my brain; for if not, my restlessness (*qutrub*)² will end in madness.

¹ Literally, strikes a dagger into the livers of thy saints.

² My text has *fīrat*; but several MSS. of Fayzi's *Qasīdas* have *qutrub*, which signifies incipient madness, restlessness of thought.

15. For him who travels barefooted on the path towards Thy glory, even the mouths of dragons would be as it were a protection for his feet (*lit.* greaves).¹

16. Compared with Thy favour, the nine metals of earth are but as half a handful of dust; compared with the table of Thy mercies, the seven oceans are a bowl of broth.

17. To bow down the head upon the dust of Thy threshold and then to look up, is neither correct in faith, nor permitted by truth.

18. Alas, the stomach of my worldliness takes in impure food like a hungry dog, although Love, the doctor,² bade me abstain from it.

1. O man, thou coin bearing the double stamp of body and spirit, I do not know what thy nature is; for thou art higher than heaven and lower than earth.

2. Do not be cast down, because thou art a mixture of the four elements; do not be self-complacent, because thou art the mirror of the seven realms (the earth).

3. Thy frame contains the image of the heavenly and the lower regions, be either heavenly or earthly, thou art at liberty to choose.

4. Those that veil their faces in Heaven [the angels] love thee; thou, misguiding the wise, are the fond petted one of the solar system (*lit.* the seven planets).

5. Be attentive, weigh thy coin, for thou art a correct balance (*i.e.*, thou hast the power of correctly knowing thyself), sift thy atoms well; for thou art the philosopher's stone (*اكسير اكری*).

6. Learn to understand thy value; for the heaven buys (*mushārī*)³ thy light, in order to bestow it upon the planets.

7. Do not act against thy reason, for it is a trustworthy counsellor; set not thy heart on illusions, for it (the heart) is a lying fool.

8. Why art thou an enemy to thyself, that from want of perfection thou shouldst weary thy better nature and cherish thy senses (or tongue)?

9. The heart of time sheds its blood on thy account (*i.e.*, the world is dissatisfied with thee); for in thy hypocrisy thou art in speech like balm, but in deeds like a lancet.

10. Be ashamed of thy appearance; for thou pridest thyself on the title of "sum total", and art yet but a marginal note.

¹ *i.e.*, the terror of the mouths of dragons is even a protection compared with the difficulties on the road to the understanding of God's glory.

² *Literally*, Hippocrates.

³ This is a pun. *Mushārī* also means Jupiter, one of the planets.

11. If such be the charm of thy being, thou hadst better die; for the eye of the world regards thee as an optical illusion (*mukarrar*).

12. O careless man, why art thou so inattentive to thy loss and thy gain; thou sellest thy good luck and bargainest for misfortunes.

13. If on this hunting-ground thou wouldst but unfold the wing of resolution, thou wouldst be able to catch even the phoenix with sparrow feathers.¹

14. Do not be proud (*farbīh*) because thou art the centre of the body of the world. Dost thou not know that people praise a waist (*miyān*) when it is thin?²

15. Thou oughtest to be ashamed of thyself, when thou seest the doings of such as from zeal wander barefooted on the field of love; since thou ridest upon a swift camel [*i.e.*, as thou hast not yet reached the higher degree of zeal, that is, of walking barefooted] thou shouldst not count thy steps [*i.e.*, thou shouldst not be proud].

16. If thou wishest to understand the secret meaning of the phrase "to prefer the welfare of others to thy own", treat thyself with poison and others with sugar.

17. Accept misfortune with a joyful look, if thou art in the service of Him whom people serve.

18. Place thy face, with the humble mien of a beggar, upon the threshold of truth, looking with a smile of contempt upon worldly riches;—

19. Not with the (self-complacent) smirk which thou assumest³ in private, whilst thy worldliness flies to the east and the west.

20. Guard thine eye well; for like a nimble-handed thief it takes by force the jewel out of the hand of the jeweller.

21. Those who hold in their hand the lamp of guidance often plunder caravans on the high road.

22. My dear son, consider how short the time is that the star of good fortune revolves according to thy wish; fate shows no friendship.

23. ⁴ There is no one that understands me; for were I understood,

¹ *i.e.*, thou wouldst perform great deeds.

² *Proud*, in Persian *farbīh*, *pr. fat*. In the East the idea of pride is suggested by stoutness and portliness. The Pun on *farbīh* and *miyān* cannot be translated.

³ As a hypocrite does.

⁴ The next verses are *fahriya* (boastful). All Persian poets write encomiums on themselves.

Wonderful stories are told about the mirror of Alexander the Great. He ordered his friend, the philosopher Balīnās, to erect in Alexandria a tower 360 yards high. A mirror was then placed on the top of it, 7 yards in diameter, and above 21 in circumference. The mirror reflected everything that happened in the world, even as far as Constantinople.

I would continually cleave my heart and draw from it the wonderful mirrors of Alexander.

24. My heart is the world, and its *Hindūstān* is initiated in the rites of idolatry and the rules of idol making [i.e., my heart contains wonderful things].

25 This [poem] is the masterpiece of the Greece of my mind; read it again and again; its strain is not easy.

26 Plunged into the wisdom of Greece, it [my mind] rose again from the deep in the land of Hind; be thou as if thou hadst fallen into this deep abyss [of my knowledge, i.e., learn from me].

1 The companion of my loneliness is my comprehensive genius; the scratching of my pen is harmony for my ear.

2. If people would withdraw the veil from the face of my knowledge, they would find that what those who are far advanced in knowledge call certainty, is with me (as it were) the faintest dawn of thought.

3 If people would take the screen from the eye of my knowledge, they would find that what is revelation (ecstatic knowledge) for the wise is but drunken madness for me.

4 If I were to bring forth what is in my mind, I wonder whether the spirit of the age could bear it.

5 On account of the regulated condition of my mind, I look upon myself as the system of the universe, and heaven and earth are the result of my motion and my rest.

6 My vessel need not require the wine of the friendship of time; my own blood is the basis of the wine of my enthusiasm [i.e., I require no one's assistance]

7. Why should I wish for the adulation of mean people? My pen bows down its head and performs the *sidja* in adoration of my knowledge.

Extracts from Fayzī's Ghazals.

1. Rise and ask, in this auspicious moment, a favour at my throne; in noble aspirations I excel any army.

2. Expect in my arena the victory of both worlds; the banner of royalty weighs down the shoulder of my love.

3 When I cast a favourable glance upon those that sit in the dust, even the ant from my good fortune becomes possessed of the brain of Sulaymān.¹

¹ The insignificance of the ant is often opposed to the greatness of Solomon. Once when all animals brought Solomon their presents, the ant offered him the leg of a locust as her only treasure.

4. The keepers of my door have their swords drawn; where is the desire that dares intrude on my seclusion?

5. Although I have buried my head in my hood, yet I can see both worlds; it may be that Love has woven my garment from the threads of my contemplation.

6. My eye is open and waits for the manifestation of truth; the spirit of the Universe flees before the insignia of my ecstatic bewilderment.

7. I am the simple Fayzī; if you do not believe it, look into my heart through the glass of my external form.

1. The flame from my broken heart rises upwards; to-day a fiery surge rages in my breast.

2. In the beginning of things, each being received the slate of learning [i.e., it is the appointed duty of each to learn something]; but Love has learned something from looking at me, the duties of a handmaid.

3. May the eye of him who betrays a word regarding my broken heart be filled with the blood of his own heart!

4. O Fayzī, thou dost not possess what people call gold; but yet the alchemist knows how to extract gold from thy pale cheek

It were better if I melted my heart, and laid the foundation for a new one: I have too often patiently patched up my torn heart.

1. From the time that love stepped into my heart, nothing has oozed from my veins and my wounds but the beloved¹

2 The wings of angels have melted in the heat of my wine. Woe to the world, if a flash of lightning should some day leap from my jar [i.e., the world would come to an end, if the secret of my love were disclosed]!

¹ The beloved has taken entire possession of the poet. He has no blood left in him; for blood is the seat of life, and he only lives in the beloved who has taken the place of his blood. The close union of the lover and the beloved is well described in the following couplet by Khusrāw:—

من تو شدم تو من شدم
من تو شدم تو من شدم
تا کی بگردد بعد از آن
من و تو در یکدیگر

*I have become thou, and thou hast become I,
I am the body and thou art the soul.
Let no one hitherforth say
That I am distinct from thee and thou from me.*

Two difficulties have befallen me on the path of love; I am accused of bloodshed, but it is the beloved who is the murderer.

O travellers on the right road, do not leave me behind! I see far, my eye spies the resting place.

walk on a path [the path of love], where every footstep is concealed; walk in a place where every sigh is concealed.²

Although life far from thee is an approach to death, yet to stand at a distance is a sign of politeness.

In this world there are sweethearts who mix salt with wine, and they are intoxicated.

The nightingale vainly pretends to be a true lover; the birds on meadow melt away in love and are yet silent.²

My travelling companions say, "O friend, be watchful; for we are attacked suddenly."

I answer, "I am not careless, but alas! what help is there against others that attack a watchful heart?"

A serene countenance and a vacant mind are required, when thou art stricken by fate with stripes from God's hand.³

The cupbearers have laid hold of the goblet of clear wine, they are Khizr thirst for this fiery fountain.

What wine could it have been that the cupbearer poured into the cup? Even Masih and Khizr are envious (of me) and struggle with each other to possess it.⁴

A sigh indicates that a man is in love; hence if the sigh is a stranger (i.e., does not reveal), the love will remain a secret. Eastern poets frequently say that love loses its value and value, if it becomes known. The true lover bears the pangs of love, and is not the weak lover alone betrays his secret. Hence the nightingale is often found with it; it pours forth its plaintive songs to the rose, it babbles the whole night, and of silently fixing its eye on the beauty of the rose, and dying without a murmur. Salt is an antidote against drunkenness. "Wine" stands for beauty, "salt" for love. The nightingale is in love with the rose, but sings in order to lighten its heart; birds of the meadows, however, which are in love with the nightingale, show a deeper as they remain silent and hide their love grief. Love is compared to robbers. The woe of love ought to be endured as a visitation of providence.

Masih (the "Messiah") and Khizr (Elias) tasted the water of life (âb i hayât). Wine is a water of life, and the wine given to the poet by the pretty boy who acts as cupbearer is so reviving that even Masih and Khizr would fight for it.

Ask not to know the components of the antidote against love: they put fragments of diamonds into a deadly poison.¹

For me there is no difference between the ocean (of love) and the shore (of safety); the water of life (love) is for me the same as a dreadful poison.

I, Fayzi, have not quite left the caravan of the pilgrims, who go to the Ka'ba; indeed, I am a step in advance of them.²

1. How can I complain that my travelling companions have left me behind, since they travel along with Love, the caravan chief?

2. O, that a thousand deserts were full of such unkind friends! They have cleared the howdah of my heart of its burden.³

1. I am the man in whose ear melodies attain their perfection, in whose mouth wine obtains its proper temper.

2. I show no inclination to be beside myself; but what shall I do, I feel annoyed to be myself.

1. Do not ask how lovers have reached the heavens; for they place the foot on the battlement of the heart and leap upwards.

2. Call together all in the universe that are anxious to see a sight - they have erected triumphal arches with my heart-blood in the town of Beauty.

1. Those who have not closed the door on existence and non-existence reap no advantage from the calm of this world and the world to come.

2. Break the spell which guards thy treasures; for men who really know what good luck is have never tried their good fortune with golden chains.⁴

¹ Vide, p. 573, note 4. Fragments of diamonds when swallowed tear the liver and thus cause death. Hence poison mixed with diamond dust is sure to kill. This is the case with every antidote against love: it does not heal, it kills.

² Fayzi is ahead of his co-religionists.

³ The beloved boy of the poet has been carried off. Fayzi tries to console himself with the thought that his heart will now be free. But his jealousy is ill-concealed; for he calls the people unkind that have carried off his beloved.

⁴ To the true Sûfi existence and non-existence are indifferent: he finds rest in Him. But none can find this rest unless he gives away his riches.

The bright sun knows the black drops of my pen, for I have carried my book (*bayāz*) to the white dawn of morn.¹

O Fayzī, is there anyone in this world that possesses more patience and strength than he who can twice walk down his street? ²

Desires are not to be found within my dwelling-place; when thou comest, come with a content heart.

Renounce love; for love is an affair which cannot be satisfactorily terminated. Neither fate nor the beloved will ever submit to thy wishes.

1. Come, let us turn towards a pulpit of light, let us lay the foundation of a new Ka'ba with stones from Mount Sinai!

2. The wall (*haṣīm*) of the Ka'ba is broken, and the basis of the *qibla* is gone, let us build a faultless fortress on a new foundation! ³

1. Where is Love, that we might melt the chain of the door of the Ka'ba, in order to make a few idols for the sake of worship.

2. We might throw down this Ka'ba which Hajjāj has erected, in order to raise a foundation for a (Christian) monastery.⁴

1. How long shall I fetter my heart with the coquettishness of beautiful boys? I will burn this heart and make a new, another heart.

2. O Fayzī, thy hand is empty, and the way of love lies before thee, then pawn the only thing that is left thee, thy poems, for the sake of obtaining the two worlds.

How can I approve of the blame which certain people attach to

¹ Observe the pun in the text on *sarāid*, *bayāz*, and *musawwada*.

² The street where the lovely boy lives. Can anyone walk in the street of love, without losing his patience?

³ If the *laṣba* (the temple of Makkah) were pulled down, Islām would be pulled down; for Muhammadans would have no *qibla* left, i.e., no place where to turn the face in prayer.

⁴ When a man is in love, he loses his faith, and becomes a *kāfir*. Thus Khuraw says—*Kāfir-i ḡisqam, marā musulmāni dardār nist*, etc., "I am in love and have become an infidel—what do I want with Islām?" So Fayzī is in love, and has turned such an infidel, that he would make holy furniture into idols, or build a cloister on the ground of the holy temple.

Zulaykhā? It would have been well if the backbiting tongues of her slanderers had been cut instead of their hands.¹

I cannot show ungratefulness to Love. Has he not overwhelmed me with—sadness and sadness?

I cannot understand the juggler trick which love performed: it introduced Thy form through an aperture so small as the pupil of my eye into the large space of my heart, and yet my heart cannot contain it.

Flee, fate is the raiser of battle-fields; the behaviour of the companions is in the spirit of (the proverb) "hold it (the jug) oblique, but do not spill (the contents)." ²

My intention is not to leave my comrades behind. What shall I do with those whose feet are wounded, whilst the caravan travels fast onwards?

This night thou tookest no notice of me, and didst pass by;
Thou receivedst no blessing from my eyes, and didst pass by.
The tears, which would have caused thy hyacinths to bloom,
Thou didst not accept from my moistened eye, but didst pass by.

1. On the field of desire, a man need not fear animals wild or tame: in this path thy misfortunes arise from thyself.

2. O Love, am I permitted to take the banner of thy grandeur from off the shoulder of heaven, and put it on my own?

1. O Fayzī, I am so high-minded that fate finds the arm of my thought leaning against the thigh of the seventh heaven.

¹ When Zulaykhā, wife of Potiphar, had fallen in love with Yūsuf (Joseph), she became the talk of the whole town. To take revenge, she invited the women who had spoken ill of her to a feast, and laid a sharp knife at the side of each plate. While the women were eating, she summoned Yūsuf. They saw his beauty and exclaimed, "*Ma huwa basar*," "He is no man (but an angel)!" and they suddenly grew so incontinent, that from lust they made cuts into their hands with the knives which Zulaykhā had placed before them.

² Fate leads you into danger (love); avoid it, you cannot expect help from your friends, they merely give you useless advice.

"You may hold (the jug) crooked, but do not spill (the contents)" is a proverb, and expressed that A allows B to do what he wishes to do, but adds a condition which B cannot fulfil. The friends tell Fayzī that he may fall in love, but they will not let him have the boy.

2. If other poets [as the ancient Arabians] hung their poems on the door of the temple of Makkah, I will hang my love story on the vault of heaven.

1. O cupbearer Time, cease doing battle! Akbar's glorious reign rolls along, bring me a cup of wine:

2. Not such wine as drives away wisdom, and makes fools of those who command respect, as is done by fate;

3. Nor the harsh wine which fans in the conceited brain the fire of foolhardiness on the field of battle;

4. Nor that shameless wine which cruelly and haughtily delivers reason over to the Turk of passion;

5. Nor that fiery wine the heat of which, as love-drunken eyes well know, melts the bottles (the hearts of men):—

6. But that unmixed wine the hidden power of which makes Fate repent her juggling tricks (i.e., which makes man so strong, that he vanquishes fate);

7. That clear wine with which those who constantly worship in cloisters sanctify the garb of the heart;

8. That illuminating wine which shows lovers of the world the true path;

9. That pearly wine which cleanses the contemplative mind of fanciful thoughts.

In the assembly of the day of resurrection, when past things shall be forgiven, the sins of the Ka'ba will be forgiven for the sake of the dust of Christian churches.¹

1. Behold the garb of Fayzī's magnanimity! Angels have mended its hem with pieces of the heaven.

2. The most wonderful thing I have seen is Fayzī's heart: it is at once the pearl, the ocean, and the diver.

The look of the beloved has done to Fayzī what no mortal enemy would have done.

¹ The sins of Islām are as worthless as the dust of Christianity. On the day of resurrection, both Muhammadans and Christians will see the vanity of their religious doctrines. Men fight about religion on earth; in heaven they shall find out that there is only one true religion, the worship of God's Spirit.

1. The travellers who go in search of love are on reaching it no longer alive in their howdas; unless they die, they never reach the shore of this ocean (love).

2. Walk on, Fayzī, urge on through this desert the camel of zeal; for those who yearn for their homes [earthly goods] never reach the sacred enclosure, the heart.

The dusty travellers on the road to poverty seem to have attained nothing; is it perhaps because they have found there [in their poverty] a precious jewel?

1. In the beginning of eternity some love-glances formed mirrors, which reduced my heart and my eye to a molten state [i.e., my heart and eye are pure like mirrors].

2. What attractions lie in the curls of idols, that the inhabitants of the two worlds [i.e., many people] have turned their face [from ideal] to terrestrial love?

3. If a heart goes astray from the company of lovers, do not inquire after it; for whatever is taken away from this caravan, has always been brought back [i.e., the heart for a time did without love, but sooner or later it will come back and love].

It is not patience that keeps back my hand from my collar; but the collar is already so much torn, that you could not tear it more.¹

1. If Laylī² had had no desire to be with Majnūn, why did she uselessly ride about on a camel?

2. If anyone prevents me from worshipping idols, why does he circumambulate the gates and walls in the Haram [the temple of, Makkah]?³

3. Love has robbed Fayzī of his patience, his understanding, and his sense; behold, what this highway robber has done to me, the caravan chief!

When Love reaches the emporium of madness, he builds in the desert triumphal arches with the shifting sands.

¹ A lover has no patience; hence he tears the collar of his coat.

² Each man shows in his own peculiar way that he is in love. Laylī rode about in a restless way; some people show their love in undergoing the fatigues of a pilgrimage to Makkah; I worship idols.

1. Take the news to the old man of the tavern on the eve of the ʿĪd,¹ and tell him that I shall settle to-night the wrongs² of the last thirty days.

2. Take Fayzī's Dīwān to bear witness to the wonderful speeches of a free-thinker who belongs to a thousand sects.

1. I have become dust, but from the odour of my grave, people shall know that man rises from such dust.

2. They may know Fayzī's³ end from his beginning: without an equal he goes from the world, and without an equal he rises.

O Love, do not destroy the Kaʿba; for there the weary travellers of the road sometimes rest for a moment.

Extracts from the Rubāʿīs.

He [Akbar] is a king whom, on account of his wisdom, we call *zūf unūn* [possessor of the sciences], and our guide on the path of religion.

Although kings are the shadow of God on earth, he is the emanation of God's light. How then can we call him a shadow? ⁴

He is a king who opens at night the door of bliss, who shows the road at night to those who are in darkness.

Who even by day once beholds his face, sees at night the sun rising in his dream.

If you wish to see the path of guidance as I have done, you will never see it without having seen the king

¹ The ʿĪd ʿL-ʿīr, or feast, after the thirty days of fasting in the month Ramazān. Fayzī, like a bad Muhammadan, has not fasted, and now intends to drink wine (which is forbidden), and thus make up for his neglect.

² Done by me by not having fasted.

³ Fayzī means the heart.

⁴ A similar verse is ascribed by the author of the *Mirʾāt ʿl ʿĀlam* to the poet Yahyā of Kāshān, who, during the reign of Shāhjahān was occupied with a poetical paraphrase of the *Pādshahnama*.

گر بی شریک خوانست ای شاه دن رواست
زمن گند حاکم ندانم و نایه سست
تو مایهٔ حنائی و این همجو آداب
روش بود که هیچ یکه را ندانم مایه نیست

*If I call thee, o king of Islām "one without equal" it is but right.
I require neither proof nor verse for this statement.
Thou art the shadow of God, and like daylight;
It is clear that no one has two shadows.*

Thy old-fashioned prostration is of no advantage to thee—see Akbar, and you see God.¹

O king, give me at night the lamp of hope, bestow upon my taper the everlasting ray!

Of the light which illuminates the eye of Thy heart,² give me an atom, by the light of the sun!

No friend has ever come from the unseen world; from the caravan of non-existence no voice has ever come.

The heaven is the bell from which the seven metals come, and yet no sound has ever come from it notwithstanding its hammers³

In polite society they are silent; in secret conversation they are screened from the public view.

When you come to the thoroughfare of Love, do not raise dust, for there they are all surma-sellers.⁴

Those are full of the divine who speak joyfully and draw clear wine without goblet and jar.

Do not ask them for the ornaments of science and learning; for they are people who have thrown fire on the book⁵

O Fayzī, go a few steps beyond thyself, go from thyself to the door, and place thy furniture before the door.⁶

Shut upon thyself the folding door of the eye, and then put on it two hundred locks of eyelashes.

O Fayzī, the time of old age has come, look where thou settest thy feet. If thou putttest thy foot away from thy eyelashes, put it carefully.

¹ This is a strong apotheosis, and reminds one of similar expressions used by the poets of imperial Rome.

² Kings receive a light immediately from God, vide p. III of Abū ʿl Fayzī's Preface.

³ *Mukraha*, pl. of *mukra*, according to the Bahār ʿl ʿĀjam, the metal ball which was dropped, at the end of every hour, into a large metal cup made of *haft yosh* (a mixture of seven metals), to indicate the time. The metal cups are said to have been in use at the courts of the ancient kings of Persia.

⁴ Lovers are silent in polite society. *Surma* is the well known preparation of lead or antimony, which is applied to eyes to give them lustre.

⁵ The disciples of Akbar's divine faith have burnt the Qurʾān. They are different from the *Ṣulamā fuzalā*, the learned of the age.

⁶ Articles to be conveyed away are placed before the door immediately before the inmates travel away. Fayzī wishes to leave the house of his old nature.

A pair of glass spectacles avails nothing, nothing Cut off a piece from thy heart,¹ and put it on thine eye

A sigh is a zephyr from the hyacinth bed of speech, and this zephyr has spread a throne for the lord of speech.

I sit upon this throne as the Sulaymān of speech; hear me speaking the language of birds.²

O Lover, whose desolate heart grief will not leave, the fever heat will not leave the body, as long as the heart remains!

A lover possesses the property of quicksilver, which does not lose its restlessness till it is *kushta*.³

O Fayzī, open the ear of the heart and the eye of sense; remove thy eye and ear from worldly affairs.

Behold the wonderful change of time, and close thy lip; listen to the enchanter Time and shut thy eye.

What harm can befall me, even if the ranks of my enemies attack me? They only strike a blow on the ocean with a handful of dust.

I am like a naked sword in the hand of fate: he is killed that throws himself on me.

To-day I am at once both clear wine and dregs; I am hell, paradise, and purgatory.

Any thing more wonderful than myself does not exist; for I am at once the ocean, the jewel, and the merchant.

Before I and thou were thought of, our free will was taken from our hands.

Be without cares, for the maker of both worlds settled our affairs long before I and thou were made.

He held the office of a magistrate⁴ and turned to poetry. He made himself widely known. His manners were simple and pure.

¹ For thy heart is pure and transparent.

² Solomon understood the language of the birds.

³ *Kushta*, pr. killed, is prepared quicksilver, as used for looking glasses. The lover must die before he can find rest.

⁴ My text has *arabā*. *Arbāb* is the plural of *rabb*, and is used in Persian as a singular in the sense of *kalanitar*, or *riah-safid*, the head man of a place, Germ. Amtmann; hence *arabā*, the office of a magistrate.

2. Khwāja Husayn Sanā'ī of Mashhad.¹

1. My speech is the morning of sincere men; my tongue is the sword of the morning of words.

2. It is clear from my words that the *Ruh*² 'L-quds is the nurse of the Maryam of my hand [composition].²

3. It is sufficient that my pen has made my meanings fine, a single dot of my pen is my world

4 In short, words exist in this world of brief duration, and my words are taken from them.

5. No one on the day of resurrection will get hold of my garment except passion, which numbers among those whom I have slain.

When thou goest out to mingle in society at evening, the last ray of the sun lingers on thy door and thy walls, in order to see thee.

1. In the manner of beauty and coquetry, many fine things are to be seen (as for example) cruel ogling and tyrannical flirting.

2 If I hold up a mirror to this strange idol, his own figure does not appear to his eye, as something known to him.³

3 If, for example, thou sittest behind a looking-glass, a person standing before it would see his own face with the head turned backwards⁴

4. If, for example, an ear of corn was to receive its water according to an agreement made with thee [O miser], no more grain would ever be crushed in the hole of a mill

1. A sorrow which reminds lovers of the conversation of the beloved, is for them the same as sweet medicine.

¹ The author of the *Atashkade yi Azar* says that Khwāja Husayn was the son of cināyat Mirzā and was in the service of Sultān Ibrāhīm Mirzā Safawī. But in his own Diwān he is said to describe himself as the son of Qhiyās 'd-Dīn Muḥammad of Mashhad, and the *Atashkade* is a bad reading for *است*.

Regarding his poems the same author says, "either no one understands the meaning of his verses, or his verses have no meaning" — a critical remark which Abū 'l-Faṣl's extracts confirm. Neither does Badā'oni (III, 203) think much of his verses, though he does not deny him poetical genius. The *Tabeqat* again praises his poems. The *Mir'at-i 'Iṣṣām* says that "he was in the service of Ibrāhīm Mirzā, son of Shāh Tahmāsp. On the accession of Shāh 'Ismā'īl II, Sanā'ī presented an ode, but 'Ismā'īl was offended, as the poem did not mention his name, and accused the poet of having originally written it in honour of Ibrāhīm Mirzā. Sanā'ī fled to Hindūstān, and was well received at court. He died at Lāhor in A.H. 1000. His Diwān *Sikandarnāma*, and *Sāgināma*, are well known." Sprenger (Catalogue, pp. 120, 578) says that he died in 996. The *Ma'āyir-i Rahimi* states that his bones were taken to Mashhad by his relation Mirzā Bāqir, son of Mir 'Arabshāh. It was mentioned on p. 619, note 5, that Fayzī looked upon him as his teacher.

² *Ruh* 'L-quds, the spirit of holiness, Maryam the Virgin Mary.

³ So strange is the boy whom I love.

⁴ This verse is unintelligible to me.

2. I exposed the prey of my heart to death, but the huntsman has given me quarter on account of my leanness and let me run away.¹

3. If lovers slept with the beloved till the morning of resurrection, the morning breeze would cause them to feel the pain of an arrow.²

O sober friends, now is the time to tear the collar; but who will raise my hand to my collar?³

The messenger Desire comes again running, saying⁴ . . .

It is incumbent upon lovers to hand over to their hearts those (cruel) words which the beloved (boy) took from his heart and put upon his tongue.

When my foot takes me to the Ka'ba, expect to find me in an idol temple; for my foot goes backwards, and my goal is an illusion.

1. The spheres of the nine heavens cannot contain an atom of the love grief which Sanā'i's dust scatters to the winds.

2. Like the sun of the heaven thou livest for all ages; every eye knows thee as well as it knows what sleep is.

3. Huznī of Ispahān.

He was an inquiring man of a philosophical turn of mind, and well acquainted with ancient poetry and chronology. He was free and easy and good hearted; friendliness was stamped upon his forehead.⁵

1. I search my heart all round to look for a quiet place—and, gracious God! if I do not find sorrow, I find desires.

2. Zulaykhā stood on the flowerbed, and yet she said in her grief that it reminded her of the prison in which a certain ornament of society [Yūsuf] dwelled.

3. I am in despair on thy account, and yet what shall I do with love? for between me and it (love) stands (unfulfilled) desire.

¹ Or we may read *kurezam* instead of *girisam*, when the meaning would be, "the huntsman has given me quarter on account of the leanness arising from my moulting." [This second reading is too far fetched and for practical reason may be dismissed.—E.]

² There are four verses after this in my text edition, which are unintelligible to me.

³ The poet has no strength left in him to raise his hand to his collar. Vide p. 630, note 1.

⁴ The remaining hemistich is not clear.

⁵ The *Tabaqāt* calls him Mir Huznī, and says he left Persia with the intention of paying his respects at court, but died on his way to India. His verses are pretty. The *Atashkade* (p. 101 of the Calcutta edition) says he was born in Junābud, and was a merchant. The *Afshār-i Qasimī* says he was pupil of Qasim-i Kāhī (the next poet).

Gabriel's wing would droop, if he had to fly along the road of love; this message (love) does not travel as if on a zephyr.

Whether a man be an Ayāz or a Maḥmūd, here (in love) he is a slave; for love ties with the same string the foot of the slave and the freeman.¹

1. Last night my moist eye caught fire from the warmth of my heart; the lamp of my heart was burning until morning, to show you the way to me.

2. The power of thy beauty became perfectly known to me, when its fire fell on my heart and consumed me unknown to myself.

O Huznī, I sometimes smile at thy simplicity: thou hast become a lover, and yet expectest faithfulness from the beloved.

Don't cast loving eyes at me; for I am a withered feeble plant, which cannot bear the full radiance of the life-consuming sun [of thy beauty].

Alas! when I throw myself on the fire, the obstinate beloved has nothing else to say but "Huznī, what is smoke like?"

I hear, Huznī, that thou art anxious to be freed from love's fetters. Heartless wretch, be off; what dost thou know of the value of such a captivity!

To-day, like every other day, the simple-minded Huznī was content with thy false promises, and had to go.

4. Qāsim-i Kāhī.²

He is known as Miyān Kāhī. He knew something of the ordinary sciences and lived quiet and content. He rarely mixed with people in high position. On account of his generous disposition, a few low men had gathered round him, for which reason well-meaning people who did not know the circumstances, often upbraided him. Partly from his

¹ Ayāz was a slave of Maḥmūd of Ghāznī and is proverbial in the East for faithfulness. There are several *Maḥnawīs* entitled Maḥmūd o Ayāz.

² Kāhī, "grassy," is his *taḥallūs*. *Badr-i Onī* (111, 172) says that his verses are crude and the ideas stolen from others; but yet his poems are not without merit. He was well read in the exegesis of the *Qur'ān*, in astronomy, mysticism, and the sciences which go by the name of *kalām*; he wrote on music, and was clever in *tārīkhs* and riddles. He had visited several *Shaykhs* of renown, among them the great poet Jāmi (died A.H. 899). But he was a free-thinker and was fond of the company of wandering faqirs, prostitutes, and sodomites. He also loved dogs, a habit which he may have contracted from Fayyī.

own love of independence, partly from the indulgence of his Majesty, he counted himself among the disciples and often foretold future events.

A low-minded man must be he who can lift up his hand for terrestrial goods in prayer to God's throne

If lovers counted the hours spent in silent grief, their lives would appear to them longer than that of *Khizr*¹

Wherever thou goest, I follow thee like a shadow, perhaps, in course of time, thou wilt by degrees cast a kind glance at me²

1. When I saw even elephants attached to my beloved, I spent the coin of my life on the road of the elephant.

Kāhī wrote a Naṣnawī, entitled *gul-afshān*, a reply or *javāb*, to the Boetān, and completed a *diwān*. An ode of his is mentioned in praise of Humāyūn and the Astrolabe.

He is said to have died at the advanced age of 120 years.

The *Alashkade-yi Āzar* (Calcutta edition, p. 250) calls him "Mirzā Abū 'l-Qāsim of Kābul", and says that he was born in Turkistān, and brought up in Kābul. One of his ancestors paid his respects to Timur, accompanied the army of that conqueror, and settled at last in Turkistān. Kāhī was well received by Humāyūn.

The same work calls him a *Gulshāna Soggiid*—a term not known to me. Hence, instead of "Mirzā" we should read "Mir".

The *Haft Iqlim* has a lengthy note on Kāhī. Amin of Ray (p. 512) says that Kāhī's name is Sayyid Najm 'd-Dīn Muḥammad, his kunya being Abū 'l-Qāsim. When fifteen years old, he visited Jāmi, and afterwards Ḥashimī of Kirmān, who was called Shāh Jahāngir. He went viṣ Ḥakkar to Hindūstān. Whatever he did, appeared awkward to others. Though well read, he was a puglist, and would not mind fighting ten or even twenty at a time, and yet be victorious. No one excelled him in ruminating. He followed no creed or doctrine, but did as the *Khawās* do, whose formula is "*hosh dar dam, nazar bar qudam, khalwat dar anjuman, safar dar watan*." "Be careful in your speech; look where you set the foot, withdraw from society; travel when you are at home." He was liberal to a fault, and squandered what he got. For an ode in praise of Akbar in every verse of which the word *fil*, or elephant, was to occur (Abū 'l-Faṣl has given three verses of it), Akbar gave him one lac of tankahs, and gave orders that he should get a present of one thousand rupees as often as he should come to court. He did not like this, and never went to court again. He lived long at Banāras, as he was fond of Bahādūr Khān (No. 22). Subsequently, he lived at Agra, where he died. His grave was near the gate—my MS. calls it *la ḥadrajī* (?). He died on the 2nd Rabi' II, 988. Fayzi's *tārīkh* (Rubā'ī metre):—

تاریخ وفات سال و ماهش حسن
مسا نوم از ماه رجب ادبی

gives 2nd Rabi' II, 978 unless we read *نوم* for *نوم*. Mawlānā Qāsim of Bulhārā, a pupil of Kāhī expressed the *tārīkh* by the words—

وست عام نام کاهی

"Mulla Qāsim: Kāhī died," which gives 988. Vide also *Iqbāl-nāma-yi Jahāngirī*, p. 5, and above, p. 219.

Abū 'l-Faṣl calls him *Miyān Kāhī*, *Miyānkāhī* (vide p. 615) is the name of the bulla between Samarqand and Bukhārā.

¹ *Khizr* is the "Wandering Jew" of the East.

² A verse often quoted to this day in India.

2. Wherever I go I, like the elephant, throw dust on my head, unless I see my guide above my head.

3 The elephant taming king is Jalāl 'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar, he who bestows golden elephants upon his poets.

1 O friend, whose tongue speaks of knowledge divine, and whose heart ever withdraws the veil from the light of truth,

2 Never cherish a thought of which thou oughtest to be ashamed, never utter a word for which thou wouldst have to ask God's pardon.

5. Ghazālī of Mashhad.¹

He was unrivalled in depth of understanding and sweetness of language, and was well acquainted with the noble thoughts of the Sūfis.

I heard a noise and started from a deep sleep, and stared—the awful night had not yet passed away—I fell again asleep.²

Beauty leads to fame, and love to wretchedness. Why then do you speak of the cruelties of the sweetheart and the faults of the miserable lover?

Since either acceptance or exclusion awaits all in the world to come, take care not to blame anyone; for this is blameworthy.

¹ Badā'oni (III, 170) says that Ghazālī fled from Īrān to the Dakhīn, because people wished to kill him for his heretical opinions. He was called by Khān Zamān (No. 13, p. 335) to Jaunpūr, where he lived for a long time. He afterwards went to court, and was much liked by Akbar, who conferred upon him the title of *Mahkū 'sh-Shu'ara*. He accompanied the emperor in the Gujrāt war, and died suddenly on the 27th Rajab, 980. At Akbar's orders, he was buried at Sarkach, near Ahmadābād. Fayzi's clever *tārīkh* on his death is *مد و هشاد*, "the year 980." At his death he left a fortune of 20 lacs of rupees.

The *Mir'āt 'l-'Ālām* mentions two books written by him, entitled *Asār-i Maktūm* and *Nashahūt 'l-hayat*, to which the *Haft Iqlim* adds a third, the *Mir'āt 'l-Kāyāt*. Badā'oni and the *Mir'āt* estimate his verses at 40 to 50,000; the *Haft Iqlim* at 70,000; the *Tarīkh-i Albarī*, at 100,000. The *Alashkade-yi Āzar* (p. 122) says that he wrote pp. 61, 141, where particulars will be found. In him Ghazālī, an unusual form, even if the double z.

Badā'oni relates a story that Khān Zamān sent him one thousand rupees to the Dakhīn with a couplet, for which vide *Bad*, III, 170, where the sar-i *ḥud* refers to the *ḡ* in Ghazālī's name, because *ḡ* stands for 1,000.

Haft Iqlim mentions another Ghazālī.

² to be understood in a mystic sense. Badā'oni (III, 171) says that he had been in Ghazālī's Dīn.

1. O for a friend, I should like, who pronounces my actions to be good, though they are evil.

2. I like a simple friend, who holds my faults like a looking glass before my face.

1. In love no rank, no reputation, no action, no wisdom, no general good will is required.

2. For such a thing as love is a man must possess something peculiar: the sweetest is passion—the truest is decorum.

1. The King says "My cash is my treasure." The Saffi says, "My tattered garment is my wealth in itself."

2. The lover says "My girl is my old friend." I and my heart alone know what is within my breast.

1. If thy heart, whilst in the Kaṣṭa, wanders after something else, thy worship is spoiled, and the Kaṣṭa is lowered to a cloister.

2. And if thy heart rests in God, whilst thou art in a tavern, thou mayest drink wine, and yet be blessed in the life to come.

6. 'Urifi of Shirāz.

The forehead of his diction shines with decorum, and possesses a peculiar grace. Self-admiration led him to vanity, and made him speak lightly of the other class. The bud of his merits withered away before it could develop itself.

1. The *Mubārak* (MS. Ar. Soc. Dec. 1 p. 537) says that 'Urifi's name was Khwāja Sayyid (عبدالله) Mubārak. The *Ḥafiz* 'Urifi has a reference to the occupation of his father, who was Director of the *Majma' al-Furūṣ* and had to look after the *Ḥafiz* 'Urifi matters. He went by sea to the Bahān, where, according to the *Ḥafiz* 'Urifi, his talent was not recognised, so he therefore went to Fāṭḥūr Sāṭi, where Ḥakīm 'Abd al-Faṭḥ of Ḥāḥin (No. 112) took an interest in him. When the Ḥakīm died, 'Urifi became an attendant on 'Abd al-Faṭḥ Ḥakīm Ḥāḥin, and was also introduced at court. He died at Shirāz, in the year 1129, according to the *Ḥafiz* 'Urifi and several MSS. of the *Ḥafiz* of diyeretry (in 1129). He bequeathed his papers to his patron, in all about 11,000 verses, which at the Ḥakīm Ḥāḥin's order were arranged by Shirāz of Ḥāḥin. He was at his death only thirty six years old. The body was nearly thirty years later taken away by the poet Sabūr of Ḥāḥin and buried in holy ground at Najaf (Najaf). His early death, in accordance with an idea still current in the East, was ascribed to the abuse he had heaped on the ancients. Hence also the *Ḥafiz* of his death—

فری-دانه مرگ شدی

"'Urifi, thou didst die young." The first edition of his poetical works contained 26 *Qasidas*, 270 *Ghazals*, 700 *Qutbs* and *Rubā'is*; see also Sprenger's Catalogue, p. 529. The *Tadhkirah* by 'Alli Quṭb Khān i Dāsh stamī calls 'Urifi Jamāl 'Ad-Dīn, and says that he was much liked by Prince Salīm towards whom 'Urifi's attachment was of a criminal nature, and that he had been poisoned by people that envied him.

'Urifi was a man of high talent; but he was disliked for his vanity. *Badd'at* says (III, 285), "His poems sell in all bazaars, unlike those of Fayzi, who spent the revenue of

Cling to the hem of a heart which saddens at the plaintive voice of the nightingale; for that heart knows something.

If someone cast a doubt on the loftiness of the cypress, I melt away from envy; for loftiness is so desirable that even a doubtful mention of it creates envy.

He who is intimate with the morning zephyr, knows that the scent of the Jasmīn remains notwithstanding the appearance of chill autumn.

My wounded heart cannot endure a healing balm; my turban's fold cannot endure the shadow of a blooming rose.

1. It is incumbent on me, when in society, to talk low; for the sensible people in society are stupid, and I speak but Arabic.

2. Remain within the boundary of thy ignorance, unless you be a Plato, an intermediate position is mirage and raving thirst.

Do not say that those who sing of love are silent; their song is too fine, and the audience have cotton in their ears.

The more I exert myself, the more I come into trouble; if I am calm, the ocean's centre is at the shore.

There is some hope that people will pardon the strange ways of 'Urifi for the homeliness of his well known poems.

his *ḥafiz* in getting copies made of his verses; but yet no one had a copy of them, unless it was a present made by Fayzi." Ḥakīm Hāzīq (*ende* under 205) preferred 'Urifi's *ghazals* wrongly called *Majma' al-Aṣṭar*, surrounded by his *qoṣ* and asked his family. Fayzi replied, "Their names are *Ḥafiz*" (i.e., well known). Mubārak (God bless us), rejoined 'Urifi, to the intense disgust of Fayzi, whose father's name was Mubārak.

Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 126) states on the authority of the *Tadhkirah* Hameṣha-Bahār that 'Urifi's name was Khwāja Sayyid (عبدالله), a mistake for Sayyidi. The *Atashkade* also gives the name only half correctly, Sayyid Muḥammad. Taqī's note (loc. cit., p. 37) is wrong in the dates.

There exist several lithographs of 'Urifi's Odes. The Calcutta printed edition of A.H. 1231 contains a Commentary by Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Rahīm (author of the Arabic Dictionary *Muntahā* Arab) of Ṣafipur.

No one has yet come into the world that can bear the grief of love ;
for every one has through love lost the colour of his face and turned pale.

O 'Urfi, live with good and wicked men in such a manner, that
Muhammadans may wash thee (after thy death) in Zamzam water, and
Hindūs may burn thee

If thou wishest to see thy faults clearly, lie for a moment in ambush
for thyself, as if thou didst not know thyself.

'Urfi has done well to stand quietly before a closed door, which no
one would open. He did not knock at another door.

'To pine for the arrival of young spring shows narrowness of mind in
me; for there are hundreds of pleasures on the heap of rubbish in the
backyard, which are not met with in a rose garden.

My heart is sinking as the colour on Zalykhā's cheek when she saw
herself alone; and my grief has become the talk of the market like the
suspicion cast on Yūsuf.

1. On the day when 'all shall give an account of their deeds, and
when the virtues of both Shaykh and Brāhman shall be scrutinized,

2. Not a grain shall be taken of that which thou hast reaped, but a
harvest shall be demanded of that which thou hast not sown.

1. O thou who hast experienced happiness and trouble from good and
bad events, and who art in consequence full of thanks and sometimes
full of complaints,

2. Do not take high ground, so that thy efforts may not be in vain;
be rather (yielding) like grass that stands in the way of the wind, or like
a bundle of grass which others carry off on their shoulders.

1. O 'Urfi, for what reason is thy heart so joyful? Is it for the few
verses which thou hast left behind?

2. Alas! thou lovest even that which thou leavest behind as some-
thing once belonging to thee. Thou oughtest to have taken it with thee;
but hast thou taken it with thee?

7. Mayli of Hirāt.

His name was Mirzā Qulī.¹ He was of Turkish extraction, and lived
in the society of gay people.

Since I have become famous through my love, I shun all whom I see;
for I am afraid lest my going to anyone might put thee into his thoughts.

I die and feel pity for such as remain alive; for thou art accustomed
to commit such cruelties as thou hast done to me.

1. My heart derived so much pleasure from seeing thee, that fate—
God forbid, that it should think of revenge.

2. Thou art neither a friend nor a stranger to me; what name is
man to give to such a relation?

Thou knowest that love to thee does not pass away with the lives
of thy lovers; for thou passest by the tombs of those whom thy love
slew, and yet thou behavest coquettishly.

When thou biddest me go, cast one glance upon me; for from
carefulness people tie a string to the foot of a bird, even if it be so
tame as to eat from the hand.

My last breath is at hand! O enemy, let me have him (the lovely
boy) but for a moment, so that with thousands of pangs I may restore
him to thee.

1. I promised myself that I would be patient, and did not go to
him (the boy); I had hopes to be content with loneliness.

2. But the woe of separation kills me, and whispers every moment
to me, "This is the punishment of him who puts confidence in his
patience."

¹ The Nafīs mentions 979 and Taqī 983, as the year in which Mayli came to India.
(Sprenger, Catalogue, pp. 43, 54). The *Atashkade* says, he was brought up in Mashhad.
According to Dāghistāni, he belonged to the Jalāyri clan, lived under Tahmāsp, and was
in the service of Sulṭān Ibrahim Mirzā, after whose death he went to India. The *Takvat-i*
Albāri says that he was in the service of Nawrang Khān (pp. 354, 596; and *Bada'oni*
adds that his patron for some suspicion ordered him to be poisoned. He was in Mīlāwā
when he was killed.

He is much praised for his poetry; the author of the *Atashkade* says that he was one
of his *rite* poets.

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the properties of the function $f(x)$ defined by the equation

[illegible]

3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

1. 1950年10月1日，中华人民共和国成立，标志着中国历史进入了一个新的纪元。

$\frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} \right) = \frac{1}{2}$

[illegible]

1. The first part of the report, which is the most important, is the one that deals with the results of the investigation. This part is divided into two sections: the first section deals with the results of the investigation, and the second section deals with the conclusions drawn from the investigation.

[illegible]

14. Amendments to the Constitution shall be made by a two-thirds vote of the members of the Legislature, and shall be submitted to the people for their approval or rejection.

He came in to see me, but he did not remain long, and
 later he wrote me a long letter to be published.

As I am entirely at fault, do not take aim at me with revenge, but the pleasure of taking revenge on them makes me feel my fault defunct.

1 Don't think we stay here as long. Happiness! Wait a moment, that I may announce my love and

[illegible]

2. Justice cannot today be trusted to the Lords, that the Lords of the Church have a strong but often a heavy condition.

I will not have been in the company for a night, in the company of my friends.

[illegible][illegible]

A crowd of men have gathered out in the garden; for last night the
 wind had not so much as stirred the leaves.

၇ အလယ်မှ အောက်သို့ ငါ့ အားနည်းမှု

He posed many curious questions, and sold his economics at a low price. He lived at the Court of Hampton, and was also during this time well known.

1. The initials of each are in my possession, the lack of speech is the product of my past struggle.

2. Creation's purpose is a secret of my book; the secrets of both worlds are in the mind of my pen.

10. History of U.S.A.

A stream from the ocean of thought passes by his house; correctness and equity are visible on his forehead. Serenity and truth are in him united. He is free from the bad qualities of poets.

Joseph had been lying down weeping over the loss of Joseph. One day he attended the burial of Joseph, a custom which a messenger of his was bringing to Egypt. When the coast was clear of his eyes, he perceived his right.

[illegible][illegible]

The FBI would search for traces of his presence, and say that he belonged to the club
of students, or he was a man of feeling and sympathy. Springer (Catalogue,
p. 59) writes also that, "He was a friend of Dardmann."

This turf and this field have a tinge of madness ; insanity and drunkenness have to-day a good omen.

I have lived through nights of lonely sorrow, and am still alive; I had no idea of the tenaciousness of my life.

The *Murad*, T. G. Hissa says that later he fell out with his patron, and went from the Dakhin to Agra, where Mahabat Khan introduced him at court. He asked for permission to return to Iran; but Jahangir would not let him go, as he appeared his guide of Delhi. He died there at the age of sixty seven, in 1623, the first of a death being *میرزا حسن خان*. Another Chitragram *چترنگرام* gives only 1622. For his Sepahdar, Castele's *Delhi* gave him 15,000 or, according to the *Jil*, Nur, 10,000 rupees as a pension. He wrote several other poems in praise of his patron. The *Mas'navi* of *Hasan-e-Sani* was devoted to the conquest of Thatta (*Ain*, 987-1000), for which Jaid Beg and Castele's *Delhi* gave him one thousand Ashrafis. I do not know whether this *mas'navi* is for instance the *Nazam* written by Shikhlari in the *Rizwan-ul-Hayat* metre. [The *Ain* of Ismail has a MS. of the *Kashfi*'s *Sans-i-Semai* in Smend's handwriting.—B.]

¹ Because the zephyr waits the breath of the beloved boy to the poet.

May God preserve all men from falling into my circumstances! for my sufferings keep the rose from smiling and the nightingale from singing.

Love has disposed of me, but I do not yet know who the buyer is, and what the price is.

Anisi drinks the blood of his heart, and yet the vessel is never empty ; it seems as if, at the banquet of love's grief, the red wine rises from the bottom of the goblet.

1. I am intoxicated with love, do not bring me wine ; throw me into the fire, do not bring me water.
2. Whether I complain or utter reproaches, I address him alone, do not answer me !

1. I went away, in order to walk a few steps on the path of destruction, and to tear a few ties that bind me to existence.
2. I will spend a few days without companions, and will pass a few nights without a lamp till morning make its appearance.

1. O heart, beware ! O heart, beware ! Thus should it be ; the hand of asking ought to be within the sleeve.¹
2. O that I could but once catch a certain object ! the hunter is for ever in the ambush.

13. Nazīrī of Nishāpūr.²

He possesses poetical talent, and the garden of thought has a door open for him. Outwardly he is a good man; but he also devises plans for the architecture of the heart.

Every place, whether nice or not, appears pleasant to me; I either rejoice in my sweetheart, or grieve for him.

The heart should not ask, but patiently love.
 3 Muhammad Mu'ayyid Nafiri of Nishapur left his home for Kishan, where he engaged in poetical contests (*muashshara*) with several poets, as Bahānī, Hāshim, etc. He then went to India, and found a friend, Mirza Ali Durrani, at Bahānī in Kishan. In 1012, he went to Makkah on pilgrimage after which he is said to have become very pious. On his return to India, he lived at Ahmadabad in Gujarat, where he died in 1022. The *Turk* (p. 81) says:—"I [Bahānī] had called Nafiri of Nishāpūr to court. He is well known for his poems and poetical genius, and lived [end of 1015] in Gujarat where he was a merchant. He now came and presented me with an enormous imitation of a *Qasida* by Anwarī. I gave him one thousand rupees, a horse, and a dress of honour." The

If thou destroyest the ware of my heart, the loss is for once ; whilst
to me it would be the loss of world and faith.

If thou wilt not put my cage below the rose-tree, put it in a place where the meadow hears my plaint.

It is from kindness that he [the beautiful boy] favours me, not from love; I can distinguish between friendship and politeness.

It is a generation that I have been girding my waist in thy service, and what am I worth? I must have become a Brahman, so often have I put on the badge (the thread).

Thy blood is worth nothing, Naziri, be silent ! Suffice it that he who slew thee, has no claim against thee.

I am costly and there are no buyers ; I am a loss to myself, and am yet the ornament of the bazaar.

The impression which my sorrow makes upon him consists in depriving his heart of all sympathy ; and the peculiar consequence of my reminding him of my love is that he forgets it.

Like a watch-dog I lie at his threshold ; but I gnaw the whole night at my collar and think of chasing him, not of watching him.

Macdonald-Robinson says that Nariel was a skillful goldsmith, and that he died, after having seen his pattern in Agra in 1922, at Ahmadabad, where he had been in a workshop in which he had built near his home. According to the *Illustrated London News*, he gave what he had to his friends and the poor. How esteemed he was as a poet may be seen from a couplet by the great Persian poet Sa'ib, quoted by De Gaudenzi —

صاحب چه حیاست شوی همدر مسری
عمری منتهی نرماند سخن را

O. Say, what dost thou think? Canst thou become like Negro?
S. I often do, and approach Negro in nature.

[illegible]

1 From east to west of thought I transformed a heart, by the purity of which a Kishān¹ came into a Farangi Church.

2 The waters of the field of love possess so intoxicating a power, that the true wonderer thinks it sublime transport to travel on such a road.

3 The ship of love alone is a true resting place; step out of it, and thou art tossed and hel by the stormy sea and its monsters.

4 Tell me— which song makes the greatest impression on thy heart, so that I may utter my plaint in the same melody.

14. Darwish Bahrām¹

He is of Turkish extraction and belongs to the Bayāt tribe. The prophet Khizr appeared to him, and a divine light filled him. He renounced the world and became a water carrier.

1 I have broken the foundation of austerity, to see what would come of it; I have been sitting in the bazaar of ignominy [love], to see what would come of it.

2 I have wickedly spent a lifetime in the street of the hermits; now I am a profligate, a wine bibber, a drunkard, to see that will come of it.

3 People have sometimes counted me among the pious, sometimes among the licentious; whatever they call me I am, to see what will come of it.

15. Sayrāfi [Sārī] of Kashmir.²

His name is Shaykh Yaʿqūb. He is well acquainted with all branches of poetry and with various sciences. He knows well the excellent writings of Ibn ʿArab, has travelled a good deal, and has thus become acquainted with many saints. He obtained higher knowledge under Shaykh Ḥusayn of Khwārazm, and received from him permission to guide others.

¹ Bahrām a *talāʾif* is *ṣāḥib*, i.e., water carrier. This occupation is often chosen by those who are favoured with a sight of the Prophet Khizr (Elias). Khizr generally appears as an old man dressed in green (in allusion to the meaning of the name in Arabic or to his functions as spring deity).

The Bayāt tribe is a Turkish tribe scattered over Azarbaijān, Erivan, Tihān, Fārs, and Nishāpur.

Bahram is worshipped as a saint. His mausoleum is in Bardwān near Calcutta. Regarding the poet himself and the legends connected with him, vide my "Arabic and Persian Inscriptions," *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1871, pt. 1, pp. 251 to 255.

² Shaykh Ḥusayn of Khwārazm, Yaʿqūb's teacher, was a pupil of Muhammad Aʿraf al-Hāfi, and died in Syria in 956 or 953.

Shaykh Yaʿqūb also studied in Makkah for a long time under the renowned Ibn Hajar, the great teacher of the Ḥadīth, and then came to India, where he was held in high esteem.

He stole from my heart all patience, and then took the whole mad heart itself; my thief stole the house with its whole furniture.

The weakness of the boy has brought the love-sick man into a strange position; from weakness he can no longer bear the weight of recovery.

16. Sabūhi, the Chaghtāi.¹

He was born in Kābul. Once he slept in the bedroom of Amir Khusrāw, when the shining figure of an old man with a staff in his hand awoke him and ordered him to compose a poem. As he had no power of doing so, he took the whole for a vision, and lay down in another place; but the same figure woke him up, and repeated the order. The first verse that he uttered is the following:—

When I am far from thee, my tears turn gradually into an ocean. Come and see, enter the ship of my eye, and make a trip on the ocean.²

My sweetheart saw the scroll of my faith, and burnt my sad heart, so that no one afterwards might read its contents.³

1. I have no need to explain him my condition; for my heart, if really burning, will leave a trace behind.

2. Weakness has overpowered me, and my heart has sunk under its sorrow. Who shall now inform him of my wretched state?

as a learned man and a poet. He was liked by Humāyūn and by Akbar, and was an intimate friend of the historian Badāʾunī. His death took place on the 12th Zi Qaʿda, 1003, and Badāʾunī found as *lith* the words *Shaykh-i-umari bid*, "he was the Shaykh of nations." A complete *Khamsa*, a treatise on the *Muṣarras*, or riddle, and numerous Sūfiyeh Rubāʾi's with a commentary, are said to have been written by him. A short time before his death, he had nearly finished a large commentary to the *Qurʾān*, and had just received permission from Akbar to return to Kashmir, when he died. Vide above, p. 191, and under the poets.

His *talāʾif* is variously given as *sayrāfi* and *sārī*. The latter seems the correct form, to judge from the metre of one of his verses preserved by Badāʾunī (III, 149). Both words occur as *talāʾif*; thus there was a Qāḍī Sayrāfi, encomiast of Firuz Shāh. Vide also poet No. 21.

¹ *Ṣabūhi* means "a man that drinks wine in the morning". The real name of the poet is not given in the *Tarāz* to which I have access. Badāʾunī says that he lived an easy, unrestrained life; and the *Murūʾat-i-ʿAlām* calls him a *rind* (profligate). He died at Agra in 973, and Fayz found as *lith* the words *سبوحی می خوار*, "Sabūhi, the wine-bibber." Daghastānī says, he was from Samargand, and the *ʿAlamkand* calls him "Badshah-shāh", but says that he is known as *Humāvi*, or from Herāt.

² The verse, notwithstanding the vision, is stolen; vide Badāʾunī, III, 180, under *ʿAtashi*.

³ If this verse, too, was uttered at the time he had the vision, he stole thought and words from Ḥafīz, Jāmī's pupil, who has a verse:—

دل که هزار بارید می میزون را
یاره کردند نفاست باری میزون

The longer the grief of separation lasts, the gladder I am ; for like a stranger I can again and again make his acquaintance.

I doubt Death's power ; but an arrow from thy eye has pierced me, and it is this arrow alone that will kill me, even if I were to live another hundred years.

He [the beautiful boy] must have been last night away from home ; for I looked at his door and the walls of his house, but had no pleasure from looking

If in that hour, when I tear the hood of my life, I should get hold, of, what God forbid, Thy collar, I would tear it to pieces.

I envy the fate of those who, on the last day, enter hell ; for they sit patiently within the fire.¹

My madness and ecstasy do not rise from nightly wine ; the burning of divine love is to be found in no house.

1. O heart ! when I am in love, do not vex me with the jealousy of the watchman ; thou hast made me lose my faith [Islām] do not speak ill of my Brahmanical thread.²

2. To be far from the bliss of non-existence seems death to him who has experienced the troubles of existence. O Lord ! do not wake me up on the day of resurrection from the sleep of non-existence.

1. If the love of my heart should meet with a buyer, I would do something openly.

2 I have spread the carpet of abstinence in such a manner that every thread of the texture ends in a thousand Brahmanical threads.

donkeys and the savans in the middle.) Akbar, to punish him, sent him on active service to Bengal, where he perished in the disturbances, in which Murāṣir Khān (p. 373) lost his life. *Bada'oni*, II, 211, III, 312.

Abū 'l-Faḍl is sarcastic in referring to Nūr 'd-Dīn's monomania. Nūr 'd-Dīn wished to say that Abū 'l-Faḍl was a man of intense worldliness (*alābi* 'd *dunya*) and Humān longed for the pleasures of paradise as the reward of virtue (*alābi* 'd *al-ḥayat*), whilst he himself was a "true lover" (*alābi* 'd *maula*, one who feels after God).

The Ātashkadah adds that Nūr 'd-Dīn had been in Gilān in the service of Khān Ahmad Khān and that he went, after the overthrow of Gilān, to Qazvin.

¹ Whilst the fire of love deprives me of patience.

² Love has made the poet a heathen.

1. The drinking of my heart-blood has surfeited me ; like my sweet-heart, I have become an enemy to myself.

2. I have killed myself, and, from excessive love to him, have cast the crime on my own shoulders.¹

23. 'Itābī of Najaf.²

He possesses harmony of thought ; but his mind is unsettled, and he lives a disorderly life.

I am the nightingale of thy flower-bed. I swear by the pleasure of thy society that the rose has passed away, and I do not know where the garden is.

1. May all hearts rest peacefully in the black night of thy curls, when I, the miserable, wander restless from thy street !

2. I have knocked at the door of the seventy-two sects of Islām, and have come to the door of despair, hopeless of getting help from heathen and Musulmān.

3. I had come from the land of faithfulness : what wonder, if I vanish from the dear memory of the [faithless] fair ?

1. I have consumed my sober heart on the rubbish-heap of passion ; I have burnt the Ka'ba candle at the idol temple's fate.

2. The flower-bed of a certain beloved has not wafted to me the fragrance of fulfilled desires, and hopelessly do I consume myself in my dismal corner.

3 No one has ever said the word " friend " to me, not even by mistake, though I consume myself before acquaintances and strangers.³

¹ Though in reality the beautiful boy murdered me.

² Sayyid Muḥammad of Najaf had lived for some time in the Dakḥn, honoured as a poet, when he went to Hindūstān, and paid his respects to Akbar at Allāhābād. He looked bold and slovenly (*beḥal u nāhamayur*). When asked whether he had in the Dakḥn made satires on Shāh Fath' 'llāh, he said, " In the Dakḥn, I would not have looked at a fellow like him." Akbar, who made much of Fath' 'llāh, was annoyed, imprisoned 'Itābī, and had his papers searched, to see whether he wrote satires on other people. A few compromising verses were found, and 'Itābī was sent for ten years (or according to the *Tabaqāt*, for two years) to Fort Gwalāhr. At the request of Prince Salīm and several courtiers, he was at last released, and ordered to come to Lāhor. But he was as bad as before. The emperor gave him 1 000 rupees, and ordered Qulī Khān (p. 380) to send him from Sūrat to Hujāz ; but 'Itābī escaped, went to the Dakḥn, and lived there as before. His Arabic and Persian poems are excellent ; he also was a clever *katib* and letter-writer. *Bada'oni*, II, 275.

The Ātashkadah says that he came from Gulpāigān (or جرابان). Daghastāni calls him " Shīr 'Itābī ". 'Itābī means " worthy of reproach " ; compare *rusna* " ruse ".

³ The *Tabaqāt* ascribes this verse to a poet called Rukn 'd-Dīn, whose *talḥalluṣ* is not

1. O heart, what portion of his wine-coloured lip dost thou keep in thy flagon, that thy inside is full of sighs and thy neck full of sobs.¹
2. Love has thrown me into oceans of bloody tears; go, go away, that for once thou mayest reach the banks of the stream.

I have given thee permission to shed my blood without retaliation. I have said so, and give it thee black on white, and stamped with my seal.

Sometimes I am drowned in floods, sometimes burning in flames. Let no one build a house in my street!

In the name of God, let us go, if you belong to my travelling companions. This caravan² has no bell to sound the hour of starting.

In a realm where the word "faithfulness" produces tears, the messenger and the letter he brings³ produce each separately tears.

1. Is the killing of a man like me worth a single sign of anger and hatred? Is shedding my blood worth the bending of thy arm (pr. thy sleeve)?
2. If thou art resolved to break my heart, is it worth while to ill-treat thy lovers?

24. Mulla Muhammad Šāfi of Mizandarin.⁴

He is in affluent circumstances, but from virtuous motives he mimes little with the world. He seeks retirement by travelling about.

Look upon me, when standing below the revolving roof of the heavens, as a lamp concealed under a cover.

¹ In allusion to the gurgling noise in the neck of the bottle.

² The caravan of love.

³ The messenger, because he comes from the beloved boy, and the letter, because it declares the request of a rendezvous.

⁴ According to the *Ma'āzīn* 'l-'*Ilām*, Mulla Muhammad was called "Šāfi" from his gentle and mild character. Even at the present day, simple people are often addressed "Šāfi šāhib", so much so that the word is often used as the equivalent of "a simpleton". Mulla Muhammad early left his home, and lived chiefly at Ahmadabad, where he was the friend and teacher of Sayyid Jalāl-i Bughārī. The *Ma'āzīn* and the *Hafz-i Iqīm*, praise his verses, and the former quotes from a *Safat* of his.

The *Atashkade* wrongly puts him under Isfahan, and mentions that some call him the maternal uncle of Mulla Jīmī—which is impossible.

1. O heart, thy road is not without thorns and caltrops, nor dost thou walk on the wheel of good fortune.

2. If it be possible pull the skin from the body, and see whether thy burden will be a little lighter.

1. You asked me, "How are you, Muhammad, after falling in love with him?—long may you live!" "I stand," said I, "below the heavens as a murderer under the gibbet."

25. Jūdā'i¹

His name is Sayyid ʿAlī, and he is the son of Mir Manjūr. He was born and educated in Tabriz, and attained, under the care of his Majesty, the greatest perfection in the art of painting.

The beauty of idols is the Kaʿba to which I travel; love is the desert, and the obscurity of the worthless watchers² the arid theme.

I am a prey half-killed and stretched on the ground, far from the street of my beloved. I stagger along, numbing down and rising up again, till I come near enough to catch a glimpse of him.

In the morning, the thorn booms of having been together with the rose, and drives a nail through the broken heart of the nightingale.

26. Wuqūʿi of Nishāpūr.³

His name is Sharif.

Love and the lover have in reality the same object in view. Do not believe that I lose by giving thee my life.

¹ Jūdā'i had been mentioned above on p. 157. He had the title of "Nadīm-i Muḥ" and had already served under Humāyūn. He left a *Divān*; but he has also been accused of having stolen Ashraf's *Divān* (vide below, the 37th poet).

² The *Atashkade* and *Ṭāqī's* *Taghīm* mention another Jūdā'i of Shiraz.

³ Muhammad Sharif Wuqūʿi belonged, according to the *Ma'āzīn*-i *Beḥār*, to a distinguished family of Sayyids in Nishāpūr. His mother was the sister of Amir Shāhshāh, who had been for a long time army master under Shah Ismāʿīl. He died in 1142.

Bakīʿat (III, p. 373) says that Sharif was a relation of Shāhīb Khān (p. 355). "His name was Muhammad Sharif. Alas, that so impure a man should have so excellent a name! His heretical opinions are worse than the heresies of those who, in this age, bear the same name [Sharif-i Amīn, pp. 155, 156]. and the poet Sharif-i Sarmaḥ, mentioned below, No. 53—two archheretics in the eyes of Bakīʿat." Though he belongs neither geographically to the *Banū-Hind* (p. 352, note 2) nor to the *Shāhīn*, he holds an intermediate place between these accused and damned sects; for he strenuously denies the doctrine of the transmigration of souls (*amrāqī*). One day, he came to me as Bāshar on the *Shāhīn* frontier, asking me whether he could accompany me to *Shāhīn*. Seeing large blocks of

1. I do not care for health.¹ O Lord, let sorrow be my lot, a sorrow which deprives my heart of every hope of recovery!

2. I am smitten by the eye which looks so coquettishly at me, that it raises, openly and secretly, a hundred wishes in my heart.

27. Khusrawī of Qā'in.²

He is a relation of [the poet] Mirzā Qāsim of Gūnābād [or Junābād, or Junābid, in Khurāsān]. He writes *Shikasta* well, and is a good hand at shooting with the bow and the matchlock.

If the dust of my body were mixed with that of others, you would recognize my ashes by their odour of love.

Thy coming has shed a lustre on the ground, and its dust atoms serve as *surma* for my eyes.

The lions of the Hāram should not stain their paws with my blood. O friend, give the dogs of the Christian monastery this food as a treat.

What do I care for comfort! I think myself happy in my misery; for the word "rest" is not used in the language of this realm [love].

28. Shaykh Bahā'i.³

He traces his descent from Zain⁴ 'd-Dīn Khāfi. He pretended to be a Ṣāfi.

rocks of several thousand *mans* lying about near my house, he exclaimed with a sigh. "All these helpless things are only waiting to assume human form." Notwithstanding his wicked belief, he composed poems in praise of the Imāms; but he may have done so, when he was young. He was an excellent *lātib* and letter-writer, and was well acquainted with history. He died in A.H. 1002.

¹ Health is the equivalent of "indifference to love".

² Qā'in lies between Yazd and Hirāt. *Daghustāni* calls him Sayyid Amīr Khusrawī, and says that he excelled in music. According to *Bada'oni* his mother was Mirzā Qāsim's sister, and he came to India after having visited Makkah. He was in the service of Prince Salīm (Jahāngir).

³ His name is Mawlānā Saḍḍ 'd-Dīn, of Khāfi, or Khawāf (p. 493). The *Ātashkada* quotes the same verse as Abū 'l-Fazl. *Bada'oni* says, he left a well-known *diwān*. In *Daghustāni*, two *Rahā'i* are mentioned, one Mawlānā *Rahā'i*, "known in literary circles"; and another *Rahā'i* from Ardistān. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 58) calls him *Rihā'i*; and says that, according to the *Nafā'i*, he died in 980.

⁴ Zayn⁵ 'd-Dīn Khāfi, from whom *Rahā'i* traced his descent, is a famous saint, who died in the beginning of Shawwāl, A.H. 938. He was first buried at Mālin (or Bālin), then at Darnishābād, then at Hirāt. His biography is given in *Jāmi's Nafhai 'l-Uns*, and he is not to be confounded with the saint Zayn⁶ 'd-Dīn *Tā'ibādī*, mentioned above.

No one has, in thy love, been more brought up to sorrow than I; and that thou knowest not my sorrow is a new sorrow.

I took to travelling in order to allay my grief, not knowing that my road would pass over hundred mountains of grief.

29. Wafā'i of Iṣfahān.¹

He possesses sparks of taste. He had been for some time wandering in the desert of retirement, but has now put the mantle of worldliness on his shoulders.²

I do not call him a buyer who only wishes to buy a Yūsuf. Let a man buy what he does not require!³

Knock at night at the door of the heart; for when it dawns, the doors are opened, and the door of the heart is closed.

I am secure from the dangers of life: no one deprives the street-beggar of his bareness.

1. The dart of fate comes from the other side of the armour;⁴ why should I uselessly put on an armour?

~ 2. Flash of death, strike first at me! I am no grain that brings an ear to the harvest.

Joy and youth are like the fragrance of the rose that chooses the zephyr as a companion.

30. Shaykh Sāqī.⁵

He belongs to the Arabians of the Jazā'ir. He has acquired some knowledge.

¹ *Bada'oni* says (III, p. 385) that *Wafā'i* was for some time in Kashmir, went to Lāhor, and entered the service of Zayn Khan (p. 367). According to the *Ātashkada*, he belonged to the Ḥimidiya Kurds, and was brought up at Iṣfahān; his *Rubā'i* are good. *Daghustāni* calls him a Turk, and states that *Wafā'i* at first was an *uttālach* (a man who irons clothes). From a fault in his eye, he was called *Wafā'i-yi Lor*. "The blind *Wafā'i*."

² "His impudent flattery was proverbial." *Daghustāni*.

³ As, for example, love, grief.

⁴ I.e., a place where man is not protected, because he does not expect an arrow from that side.

⁵ *Bada'oni* also calls him *Jazā'iri*, i.e. from the islands. His father, *Shaykh Ibrāhīm*, was a distinguished lawyer and was looked upon by the Shī'ahs as a Mujtahid. He lived in Mashhad where *Sāqī* was born. *Sāqī* received some education, and is an agreeable poet. He came from the Dakhn to Hindustān, and is at present [in 1004] in Bengal.

1 I became a cloak to ruin, Sāqī, and like the Ka'ba, a place of
 belief and here y.

2 I have found no trace of love, much as I have travelled among
 the hearts of the infidels and the faithful.

My heart is still ardent with love, and thou art still indifferent. O
 sweetheart, speak, before I openly express myself

31. Rasīd of Kāshān.¹

His name is Haydar. He is well acquainted with the *ars poetica* and
 is distinguished as a writer of riddles and *tūrīd*.

My heart is sensitive, you cruel one, what remedy is there for me!
 Although a lover, I have the temper of the beloved—what can I do!

1 A recluse does not sin [love] and calls thee a tyrant; I am plunged
 into crime [love] and think that thou art forgiving.

2 He calls thee a tyrant, I call thee forgiving; choose whatever
 name pleases thee most

32. Ghayratī of Shīrāz.²

His diction is good, and he knows the history of the past.

I am smitten by the eyelash of my murderer, who has shed my blood
 without letting a drop fall to the ground.³

¹ His full name, according to Taqī al-Awlādī, is *Asīr Rasīd* 'al-Dīn Haydar. He
 was a Tabāṭabāī Fayyāz of Kāshān. The *Ma'ānī* states that he left Persia
 in 999 on account of some wrong which he had suffered at the hand of the king of Persia,
 went from Gujrāt in company with Khwāja Ḥabīb al-Lāh to Lāhor, and was well received
 by Akbar. For the *ṭarīḥ* mentioned above on p. 619, note 2, Fayyāz gave him 10 600
 rupees. After a stay of a few years in India, he returned to his country, but suffered
 shipwreck near the Mukhān coast, in which he not only lost property to the amount of
 two lakhs of rupees, but also (as *Ḥadāṭ* spontaneously remarks) the copies of Fayyāz's poetical
 works which he was to have distributed in Persia. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 58) says that
 Haydar was drowned; but the fact is, that he was saved and returned to India. His
 losses created much sympathy, and he received, at Akbar's wish, valuable presents from
 the Amīrs. From the Khān Khānān alone, he got, at various times, about a lakh. After
 some time, he again returned, his two sojourns in India having lasted about eight lunar
 years. He went to Makkah and Madīnah, where he stayed four years. In 1013, he returned
 to Kāshān, found favour with Shāh Ḥabīb, and received some rent free lands in his
 native town. According to the *Atāshkādā* he died in A. H. 1032, the *ṭarīḥ* of his death
 being the Arabic words, "wa kun salīk fi anah." His son, Mir Ḥāshim, Sanjār,
 is mentioned on the next page; and Tāḥir Naṣrābādī mentions in his *Tazkira* another
 son of the name of Mir Mūsā, a friend of Mullā Awj. MSS. often give his name wrongly
 as *Rasīd*.

² The *Atāshkādā* says that Ghayratī travelled about in Gīlān, went to Hindūstān, and
 lived after his return in Kāshān, where he fell in love with a boy of a respectable family.
 From fear of the boy's relations, he went to Shīrāz, where he died.

³ Because the heart only was broken.

The present age asks God for a mischief-maker like thee, who makes
 the days of the wretched bitterer.¹

I am free from worldliness; for my aspirations do no longer lean
 against the wall of confidence.

I am smitten by the fearless glance of a Christian youth, for whose
 sake God will pardon, on the day of resurrection, the slaughter of a
 hundred Muslims.

Even death mourns for those who are killed by the grief of separation
 from thee.

The street of the sweet boy is a beautiful land; for there even heaven's
 envy is changed to love.

I saw the heart of another full of grief, and I became jealous; for
 there is but one cruel tyrant in these regions.²

33. Hālatī of Tūrān.³

His name is Yādgar. He is a selfish man.

Leave me to my grief! I find rest in my grief for him. I die, if the
 thought of the possibility of a cure enters my heart.

When my eye caught a glimpse of him, my lips quivered and closed.
 Oh that life remained but a moment within me!

To whatever side I turn in the night of separation, my heart feels
 pierced by the thought of the arrow of his eyelash.

¹ That is, my beloved boy causes the greatest mischief among the hearts of men.

² No boy is lovelier than the beloved of the poet. If the poet, therefore, sees another
 man love sick, he gets jealous, his beloved boy must have bestowed favours on the
 other man.

³ *Ḥadāṭ* says that his father was a poet, and wrote under the name of *Yāḥyā*.
 Yādgar traced his descent from Sultān Sanjār; but the *Tabāqāt* calls him a Chaghtā'i.
 He served in Akbar's army.

His son Jalāl Khān had the *ṭaḥṣīl* of Baqā'i, though from his unprofitableness
 he styled himself *Rasūl*, 'the blackguard.' He gave his father poison from his mother
 on account of a fault, "and Akbar ordered him from Kashmir to Lāhor, where he was
 executed by the Kotwāl."

The *Atāshkādā* (Lucknow Edition, III, p. 486) says that Yādgar served in 993 in Kābil.
 He is not to be confounded with Mir Hālatī of Gīlān.

Pass some day by the bazaar of the victims of thy love, and behold the retribution that awaits thee; for there they buy up every one of thy crimes at the price of a hundred meritorious actions.¹

O thou that takest the loaf of the sun from this warm oven, thou hast not given Tashbihī a breakfast, and he asks thee for an evening meal.²

1. I am that Tashbihī who, from foresight, chooses to dwell in a graveyard.

2. I like to dwell in a graveyard, because dwelling in a graveyard lies before our sight.

The hands of this world and of the world to come are empty. With me is the ring!—all other hands are empty.³

37. Ashki of Qum.⁴

He is a Ṭabātībā Sayyid, and is a poet of some talent.

Those who are slain by thee lie everywhere inebriated on the ground: perhaps the water of thy steel was wine.

¹ This verse is an example of a well-known rhetorical figure. The word "retribution" leads the reader to expect the opposite of what Tashbihī says. The lovely boy has, of course, broken many hearts and shed the blood of believers; nevertheless, all are ready to transfer the rewards of their meritorious actions to him, and thus buy up his crimes.

² The sun looks round like a loaf; the warm oven is the heat of the day.

³ In allusion to a game, in which the players secretly pass a ring from one to another, and another party has to find where the ring is. "The ring is with Tashbihī," i.e., he has chosen truth, he is the elect.

⁴ We know from the *Haft Iqlim* that Mir Ashki was the son of Mir Sayyid Ṣāli Muḥṣanb (public censor) of Qum in Persia. Ashki's elder brother Mir Huzūrī also is known as a poet. Ghazālī's fame and success (*vide* p. 634) attracted Ashki to India, but he did not meet Ghazālī. The number of his verses exceeded ten thousand; but when on his deathbed, he gave his several *Diwāns* to Mir Judā'ī (*vide* p. 660) to arrange. Mir Judā'ī, however, published whatever he thought good in his own name, and threw the remainder into water. Tariqī of Sāwah alludes to this in the following epigram:—

اشكى "ناراد را كشتي
علل حيران خون خليه اوست
تسو راماد چسار ديوانش
شعر راماده تو گنده اوست

Thou hast killed poor Ashki,
And I wonder at thy crime being hidden.
With thee four *Diwāns* of his remained,
And what remains of thy poems, is his.

Dāghistānī says that Ashki died in Mir Judā'ī's house, and he ascribes the epigram to Ghazālī; but as he only quotes a hemistich, the statement of the contemporary *Haft Iqlim* is preferable.

Badā'oni says that Ashki's poems are full of thought, and that he imitated (*talabbe'f*) the poet, Aṣṣā. He died at Agra.

My body melts in the fire of my madness, when he [the lovely boy] is away; and if you should hang an iron chain to my neck, it would flow (molten) to my feet.

Whenever I have to bear the pang of separation from my beloved, no one bears with me but death.

Ashki. I think my tears have turned watchers; for whenever I think of him, they rush into my face.¹

38. Asiri of Ray.²

His name is Amīr Qāzī. He is a man of education.

The messenger was a watcher in disguise, and I did not see his cunning. The cruel wretch succeeded in putting his contrivance between us.

I have pardoned my murderer, because he did not take his hand away from me; for as long as life was left within me, his murderous hands were properly employed.

His love has so completely filled my breast, that you can hear him breathe in my breath.

39. Fahmī of Ray [Tihirān].³

Give him no wine who feels no higher pleasure in the juice of grapes; do not even give him water when he lies as dust before the door of the tavern.

¹ So do the watchers of the beloved boy rush up against Ashki, when he declares his love.

² Asiri was, according to Badā'oni, an educated man, and the best pupil of Hakīm-i Mulk (p. 611). But the climate of India did not agree with him, and he did not find much favour with the emperor. He therefore returned to Ray, his home, where he died (i.e. before A.H. 1004).

³ Badā'oni gives three poets of the name of Fahmī:—1, Fahmī of Tihirān, who travelled much, and was for some time in India; 2, Fahmī of Samargand, son of Nādirī, an able riddle-writer, who was also for some time in India; 3, Fahmī of Astrābād, who died at Dihli. The *Ma'asir-i Rahimi* mentions a Fahmī of Hurmuz (Ormuz) well known in Lār and Hurmuz, who came to India, presented an ode to the Khān Khānān, got a present, and returned. Dāghistānī mentions a fifth Fahmī from Kāshān, and a sixth, of whom he gives no particulars.

As the *Tabaqāt* and *Dāghistānī* ascribe the same verse to Fahmī-yi Tihirānī, which Abū 'l-Faḍl gives to Fahmī of Ray, the identity of both is apparent. In fact, it looks as if Abū 'l-Faḍl had made a mistake in calling him "of Ray", because no *Tasṭira* follows him.

Fortune cheats in play, loses, and takes back what she paid. One cannot play with a companion that is up to such tricks.

1. How long do you file down your words and polish them; how long do you shoot random arrows at the target?

2. If you would take one lesson in the science of silence, you would laugh loud at your silly conversation.

1. I keep a thousand thunderbolts concealed below my lip. Go away, go away, take care not to put your finger on my lip.

2. I have come to the public square of the world, but I think it were better if my Yūsuf were yet in the pit than in the bazaar.¹

Patience, in order to console me, has again put me off with new subterfuges, and has stitched up the book of my happiness the wrong way.

1. My heart has overcome the grief of separation, and has gone from this land; it has tucked the hem up to the waist and has gone.

2. My heart saw among the companions no trace of faithfulness; hence it smiled hundred times by way of friendship and went away.

44. Sayyid Muḥammad [Fikrī].²

He is a cloth-weaver from Hirāt. He generally composes Rubāʿis.

1. On the day when the lover kindled the fire of love, he learnt from his beloved what burning grief is.

2. This burning and melting has its origin in the beloved; for the moth does not burn till it reaches the candle.

1. On the day of judgment, when nothing remains of the world but the tale, the first sign of Eternity's spring will appear:

¹ Yūsuf means here "life"; pit, "non-existence"; bazaar, "existence."

² Sayyid Muḥammad's poetical name is Fikrī, the "pensive." He came, according to the *Haft Iqlim*, in 969 to India; and his excellent rubāʿis induced people to call him the "Khayyām of the age", or "Mir Rubāʿī". He died on his way to Jaunpūr, in 973, the *īlākh* of his death being *Mir Rubāʿī safar namūd*.

2. The beloved will raise like plants their heads from the dust, and I, too, shall raise my head in courtship.¹

45. Qudāi of Karabalā, Mīr Ḥusayn.²

I am utterly ashamed of the dogs of thy street; for they have made friendship with a man like me.

I am in misery; and you would know the sadness of my lot, if you were instead of me to suffer for one night by being separated from him [the beautiful boy].

Who am I that thou shouldst be my enemy, and shouldst care for my being or not being?

46. Ḥaydarī of Tabriz.³

He is a merchant and a poet; he works hard and spends his gains liberally.

Show no one my black book of sorrows; let no one know my crimes [love].

¹ This verse reminds me of a verse by Kalīm, I think (metre *Rajaz*):—

روز قیامت در گنج دست گیر نامه
می نیز جان می خرم تصویر جان در بخت

Each man on the day of resurrection, will seize a book (the book of deeds), I, too, shall be present, with my sweetheart's picture under my arm.

² Daghstāni says that Mīr Ḥusayn's father left Karbalā for Sabzwār. Qudāi was a great friend of Muḥammad Khān, governor of Hirāt. *Badāʾonī* (III, 376) says that Mīr Muḥammad Sharīf Nawāʾī, Qudāi's brother, also came to India, and "died a short time ago", i.e., before A.H. 1004.

³ Ḥaydarī was three times in India. The first time he came he was young, and found a patron in Muḥammad Qāsim Khān of Nishāpūr (vide above, p. 376). His company, says the *Haft Iqlim*, was more agreeable than his poems. The *Masnawī* which he wrote in imitation of Saʿdī's *Bostān*, is insipid, and remained unknown. Though he made money in India, he said:—

در کشور هند شانی و نام معلوم
ایمان دل شان و جان خرم معلوم
چانه که بیک رویه دو آدم بجزند
آدم معلوم و نذر آدم معلوم

On his second return to India he found a patron in the Khān-i Aṣṣam (p. 343), who gave him one thousand rupees for an ode. Muḥammad Khān Aṣṣam (p. 337) introduced him at court. For an ode on the elephant, Akbar presented him with two thousand rupees and a horse. The third time he came to India, he attached himself to the Khān Khānān, whom he accompanied on his expedition to Gujrāt (p. 254), and received liberal presents for an ode on the victory of Sārchik. He returned to Kāshān, the governor of which town, Aḥsā Khizr Nahāwandī (brother of the author of the *Maʿāṣir-i Raḥīmī*) befriended him. As Tabriz had just been destroyed by the Turks of Rūm, he settled in ʿIrāq, at a place called in the MSS. بزم; which for its excellent climate and fruits had

50. Nādiri of Turshīzi.¹

I am as if blind and wander about seeking for something. I pant after this mirage [love], though I hold a cooling drink in my hand.

Nādiri, I complain of no one; I have myself set fire to this heap of thorns.

51. Naw'ī of Mashhad.²

He is a poet of talent; if sharply spoken to, he writes very well.

I am dead, and yet the blisters of my wandering foot do not dry up; neither death nor the life to come can bring the journey towards this stage [love] to a close.

No eye is fit to behold my glory; my figure in the looking-glass even appears veiled.

If that be Mansūr's love, do not grieve, O heart. Not every weak-minded man is fit to love.³

¹ The author of the *Haft Iqlīm* says that Nādiri went two years before the completion of the *Haft Iqlīm*, i.e., in 1000, to India; but he does not know what became of him.

Dāghastāni mentions three poets of the name of Nādiri: (1) Nādiri of Samarqand, who came to Humāyūn in India, (2) a Nādiri from Shustar; and (3) a Nādiri from Syālkot, Turshiz, or Turshish, lies near Nishāpūr.

² Mullā Muhammad Rīzā comes from Khabūshān near Mashhad. On his arrival in India, says the *Ma'āzīr-i Rahīmī*, he found a patron in Mirzā Yūsuf Khān of Mashhad (p. 369); but soon after, he entered the service of the Khān Khānān (p. 334) and stayed with him and Prince Dānyal at Burhānpūr. For his *Sūqināma*, the Khān Khānān gave him an elephant and a present of 10,000 rupees. He also composed several odes in praise of the prince. Some people say that his poems are like the *shulur o gurba*, i.e., you find chaff and grains together; but most people praise his poems. The *Khizāna-yi ʿĀmirā* says that his *Maṣnawī* entitled *Saz o Gudar* is quite sufficient to establish his fame as a great poet. This poem, of which the Asiatic Society of Bengal has a copy, contains the story of a Suttie. Naw'ī had not yet arranged his *Qasidas* and *Ghazals* in form of a diwān, when he died in 1019, at Burhānpūr.

³ *Badā'oni* says that he claims descent from Hazrat Shaykh Ḥājī Muhammad of Khabūshān; but his doings belie his claim. He is very bold, and is now (in 1004) with the youngest prince.

⁴ Mansūr attained a high degree of pantheistic love; he saw God in everything, and at last proclaimed, *Anā al haqq* "I am God"—for which he was killed. The poet here accuses Mansūr of weakness, because he proclaimed his love; he should have kept it to himself, as is proper for true lovers (vide p. 625, note 1).

Intrinsic beauty cannot be seen; and he who looks into the looking-glass sees, indeed, his figure, but forms no part of the glass itself.¹

Make thyself a heart as large as the orb of heavens, and then ask for an atom. Do not be satisfied, Naw'ī, with a ray of the sun; cherish the lofty aspirations of the little mote.²

52. Bābā Ṭālib of Iṣfahān.³

He is a thoughtful poet, and is experienced in political matters.

I would not exchange my lonely corner for a whole world, and I am glad that my intercourse with the people of the world has left me this impression.

It is no wonder that my little heart expands into a wide plain, when it is filled with thy love.

I cannot raise, from weakness, my hands to my collar, and I am sorry that the rent in my collar reaches so late the hem of my garment.⁴

1. In being separated from me thou givest me poison to taste and yet askest "what does it matter?" Thou sheddest my blood, thou drivest me away, and yet askest "What does it matter?"

2. Thou dost not care for the havoc which the sword of separation has made; sift the dust of my grave and thou wilt know what it matters.⁵

¹ The poet means by the looking-glass the beautiful face of the beloved boy. He sees in it his woe; but does not become one with him.

² Properly, half a mote. The dust atoms that play in the sun rays are in love with the sun.

³ According to the *Haft Iqlīm*, Bābā Ṭālib had been for nearly thirty years in Kashmir, patronized by the rulers of that country. When Akbar annexed the province, he came to Hindustān, where he was much liked. The *Ma'āzīr-i Rahīmī* says that he was often in the company of Hakim Abū 'l-Faḥr (p. 468), Zayn Khān Kokah (367), Abū 'l-Faḥr, and Shaykh Fayzī; at present, i.e., in 1025, he is *Sadr* of Gujrat. *Badā'oni* says that he was nearly eight (twenty?) years in Kashmir, was at first a dervish, but took afterwards an employment, and entered Akbar's service. The emperor once sent him as ambassador to ʿAlī Rāy, ruler of Little Tibet. On his return he gave Abū 'l-Faḥr a treatise on the wonders of that land, which was inserted into the *Albānāma*. His poems are good, and breathe fine feeling. The *Iqbāl-nāma* (Bibl. Indica Edition, p. 133) confirms these remarks, and adds that Bābā Ṭālib died in the end of Jahāngīr's reign, more than a hundred years old.

⁴ Vide p. 560, note 1.

⁵ This Rubā'ī pleased Jahāngīr so much, that he entered it with his own hand in the Court album. *Iqbāl-nāma*, loc. cit.

56. Ghayūrī of Hīṣār¹

Manliness shines on his forehead, and simplicity is the ornament of his life.

When longing directs its way to that door [love] it overthrows all possibility of returning.

1. The door of Shāh Akbar, the victorious, is a paradise of rest;
2. And if I shave my beard, I do so not to beautify myself,
3. But because beards, like crimes, are of a deep black dye, and can therefore have no place in a paradise.²

57. Qāsimī of Māzandarān.³

He lives as a Faqīr, and wanders bare-footed and bare-headed through the world.

I do not compare thee in beauty with Yūsuf; Yūsuf was not so, I do not flatter.

1. My sickness has increased to-night in consequence of the pain of separation, and my wretched condition arises from the hundred excesses of yesterday.

2. The wine of desire flows every night freer. What shall I to-night do with my unsteady heart?

58. Sherī.⁴

He belongs to a Panjābī family of Shaykhs. Under the patronage of his Majesty he has become a good poet.

The beloved [boy] came, and blotted out my name; nay, he made me quite beside myself.

¹ Ghayūrī is called in the *Alkardnāma* Mullā Ghayūrī and Daghstānī calls him Ghayūrī of Kābul. This shows that he came from Hīṣār in Kibul and not from Hīṣār Fīrūza. The Haft Iqlīṣ: Mirzā Muḥammad entered Akbar's service, and was killed, in 994, with

Bir Bar, in the Khaybar Pass catastrophe (under 34, p. 367).

² Akbar, in 1000, forced his courtiers to shave off their beards; vide p. 217.

³ Daghstānī mentions a Qāsim of Māzandarān. Qāsimī seems to be an unknown poet.

⁴ Mullā Sherī has been mentioned above, pp. 112, 207, 212, 213. He was born in Kōkūwāl in the Panjāb (Bārī Duāb). His father's name was Mawlānā Yahyā. He belonged to a tribe called in *Bada'oni* "Mījī".

Sherī was killed with Bir Bar, in 994, in the Khaybar Pass.

The beloved has so closely surrounded himself with an array of coquetry, that even Desire found access impossible in this dense crowd.

O Zephyr, the beloved has entirely filled the mould of my desire. I am thy devoted servant, but thou art rather too devoted to his street.

1. My heart has polluted itself with revealing its condition. Though I am silent, the language of my looks has betrayed me.
2. A little thing [love] offers thousands of difficulties; an object, apparently within reach offers hundreds of impossibilities.

59. Rahī of Nishāpūr.

His name is Khwāja Jān. He is a good man.

1. O Rahī, no longer cunningly twist this thread [thy religious belief]; give up ideas of future life, beginning, and the purgatory.
2. Put the thread into the fire of love, so that the offensive smell of the water of the corpse may not go to hell (?).

* * * * *

The above (59) poets were presented at Court. There are, however, many others who were not presented, but who sent from distant places to his Majesty encomiums composed by them, as for example, Qāsim of Gūnābād; Zamīr of Iṣfahān; Waḥshī of Bāfa; Muḥtashim of Kāshān; Malik of Qum; Zuhūrī of Shīrāz; Walī Dasht Bayāzī; Nekī; Šabri; Figārī; Hūzūrī; Qāzī Nūrī of Iṣfahān; Šāfi of Bam; Tawfī of Tabriz; and Rashkī of Hamadān.

A'in 30 (concluded).

THE IMPERIAL MUSICIANS.⁵

I cannot sufficiently describe the wonderful power of this talisman of knowledge [music]. It sometimes causes the beautiful creatures of the

⁵ We have to distinguish *goyānda*, singers, from *lāwānandas*, chanters, and *sizānda*, players. The principal singers and musicians came from Gwālyār, Mashhad, Tabriz, and Kashmir. A few came from Transoxania. The schools in Kashmir had been founded by Irānī and Tūrānī musicians patronized by Zayn 'l 'Ābidin, Ling of Kashmir. The fame of Gwālyār for its schools of music dates from the time of Rāja Mān Tunwar. During his reign lived the famous Nā'ik Bakhshū, whose melodies are only second to those of Tansen. Bakhshū also lived at the court of Rāja Bīkrāmājī, Mān's son; but when his patron lost his throne, he went to Rāja Kīrat of Kālmīr. Not long afterwards he accepted a call to Gujrat, where he remained at the court of Sulṭān Bahādūr (A.D. 1526 to 1536). Islam Shāh also was a patron of music. His two great singers were Rām Dās and Mahāpāter. Both entered subsequently Akbar's service. Mahāpāter was once sent as ambassador to Mukund Deo of Orissā.

lambent of the heart to shine forth on the tongue, and sometimes appears in solemn strains by means of the hand and the chord. The melodies then enter through the window of the ear and return to their former seat, the heart, bringing with them thousands of presents. The hearers, according to their insight, are moved to sorrow or to joy. Music is thus of use to those who have renounced the world and to such as still cling to it.

His Majesty pays much attention to music, and is the patron of all who practise this enchanting art. There are numerous musicians at court, Hindūs, Irānis, Tūrānis, Kashmīris, both men and women. The court musicians are arranged in seven divisions, one for each day in the week. When his Majesty gives the order, they let the wine of harmony flow, and thus increase intoxication, in some, and sobriety in others.

A detailed description of this class of people would be too difficult; but I shall mention the principal musicians.

1. Miẓān Tānsen,¹ of Gwālyār. A singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years.
2. Bābā Rāmdās,² of Gwālyār, a singer.
3. Subhān Khān, of Gwālyār, a singer.
4. Srigyān Khān, of Gwālyār, a singer.
5. Miẓān Chand, of Gwālyār, a singer.
6. Bichitr Khān, brother of Subhān Khān, a singer.
7. Muḥammad Khān, Dhārī,³ sings.
8. Bīr Mandal Khān, of Gwālyār, plays on the *sarmandal*.
9. Bāz Bahādūr, ruler of Mālwa, a singer without rival (p. 473).
10. Shihāb Khān, of Gwālyār, performs on the *līn*.
11. Da'ūd Dhārī,³ sings.
12. Sarod Khān, of Gwālyār, sings.
13. Miẓān Lāl,⁴ of Gwālyār, sings.
14. Tāntarang Khān, son of Miẓān Tānsen, sings.
15. Mullā Is-hāq Dhārī,³ sings.
16. Ustā Dost, of Mashhad, plays on the flute (*nay*).

1. Edward J. Galt, Jr., 415 E. 1st St., p. 415. Rm. 200 is said to have been used by Galt, Jr. as a meeting place for the purpose of discussing the activities of the group. Galt, Jr. is said to have been a member of the group and to have been active in the same.

Bayram Khin during his rebellion, and he received notice from him to join the ranks of the rebels. He was first at empty as Bayram's treasure chest was. He then said it looked upon as second only to Tansen. His son said

³ Dhani means "a singer", "a musician".
⁴ Jahangir says in the *Trunk* that Lail Kuli
 in the 2nd year of his reign, "salty or rather
 youth in my father's service. One of his
 poems. I have rarely seen such an *astute* man

17. Nānak Jarjī, of Gwālyār, a singer.
18. Purbīn Khān, his son, plays on the bū.
19. Sār Dās, son of Bābā Rām Dās, a singer.
20. Chānd Khān, of Gwālyār, singer.
21. Rangsen, of Agra, singer.
22. Shaykh Dawan Khān,¹ performs on the *kāmā*.
23. Rahmat² 'Alāh, brother of Mullā Isāq (No. 15), a singer.
24. Mir Sayyid 'Alī, of Mashhad, plays on the *ghichak*.
25. Ustā Yūsuf, of Hurāt, plays on the *tambūrā*.
26. Qāsim, surnamed Koh bar.³ He has invented an instrument intermediate between the *qubūs* and the *rubāb*.
27. Tāsh Beg, of Qipchaq, plays on the *qubūs*.
28. Sulṭān Hāziz Husayn, of Mashhad, chants.
29. Bahrām Qulī, of Hurāt, plays on the *ghichak*.
30. Sulṭān Hāshim, of Mashhad, plays on the *tambūrā*.
31. Ustā Shāh Muḥammad, plays on the *sarūd*.
32. Ustā Muḥammad Amin plays on the *tambūrā*.
33. Hāfiz Khwāja 'Alī, of Mashhad, chants.
34. Mir 'Abd⁴ 'Alāh, brother of Mir 'Abd⁴ 'Alay, plays the *qubūs*.
35. Pirzādā,⁵ nephew of Mir Dawūd, of Khūnāsān, sings and chants.
36. Ustā Muḥammad Husayn, plays the *tambūrā*.⁶

¹ Dicitur meitas "a singer", "a musician".
² Kachbar, as we know from the *Padshahnama* (I, p. 335) is the name of a head of tribe. *The Gazetteer of Malabar* mentions a post of the name of Malabarpet (N. F. Elliott, where name of place was Sahat, vide Sprenger's *Catalogue*, p. 12) which we have to read Kachbar for Sahar.

* His father according to Bodotoni (III, 318) was from Palermo. His mother came under the call of the law. He was killed in 1748 at Palermo, by a well known gentleman.

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1. The first part of the document is a letter from the author to the reader, explaining the purpose of the study and the methods used. The letter is dated 1968 and is addressed to the reader.

2. The second part of the document is a list of references, which includes books, articles, and other sources used in the study. The references are listed in alphabetical order.

3. The third part of the document is the main body of the study, which is divided into several sections. The first section is an introduction, which provides a brief overview of the study and its objectives. The second section is a literature review, which discusses the work of other researchers in the field. The third section is a description of the methods used in the study. The fourth section is a presentation of the results of the study. The fifth section is a discussion of the results, which includes a comparison of the results with those of other studies and a discussion of the implications of the findings.

4. The fourth part of the document is a conclusion, which summarizes the findings of the study and provides a final statement on the importance of the research.

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* *W. J. J. J. J. J.*

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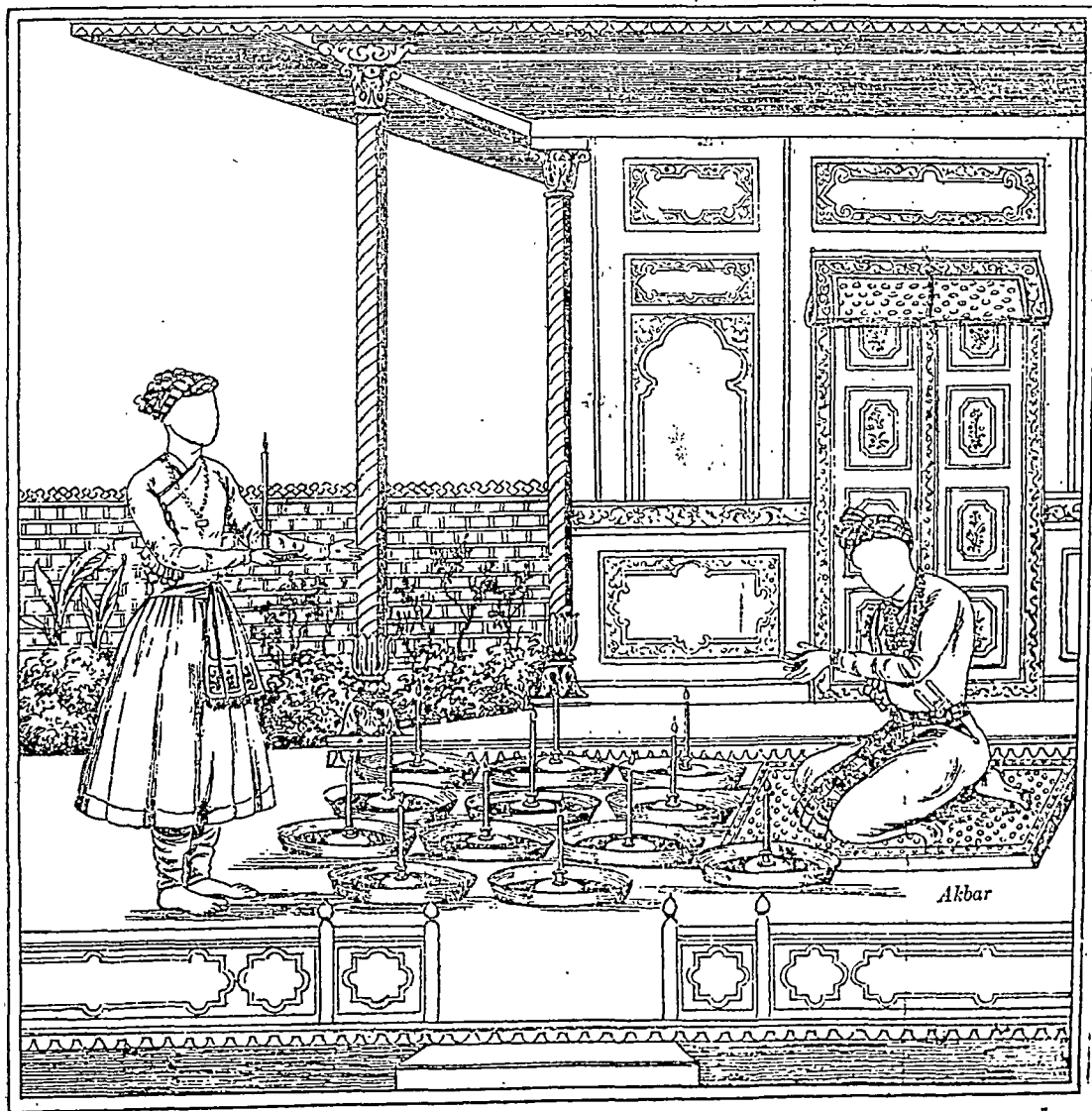
Zafarnagar, 665.

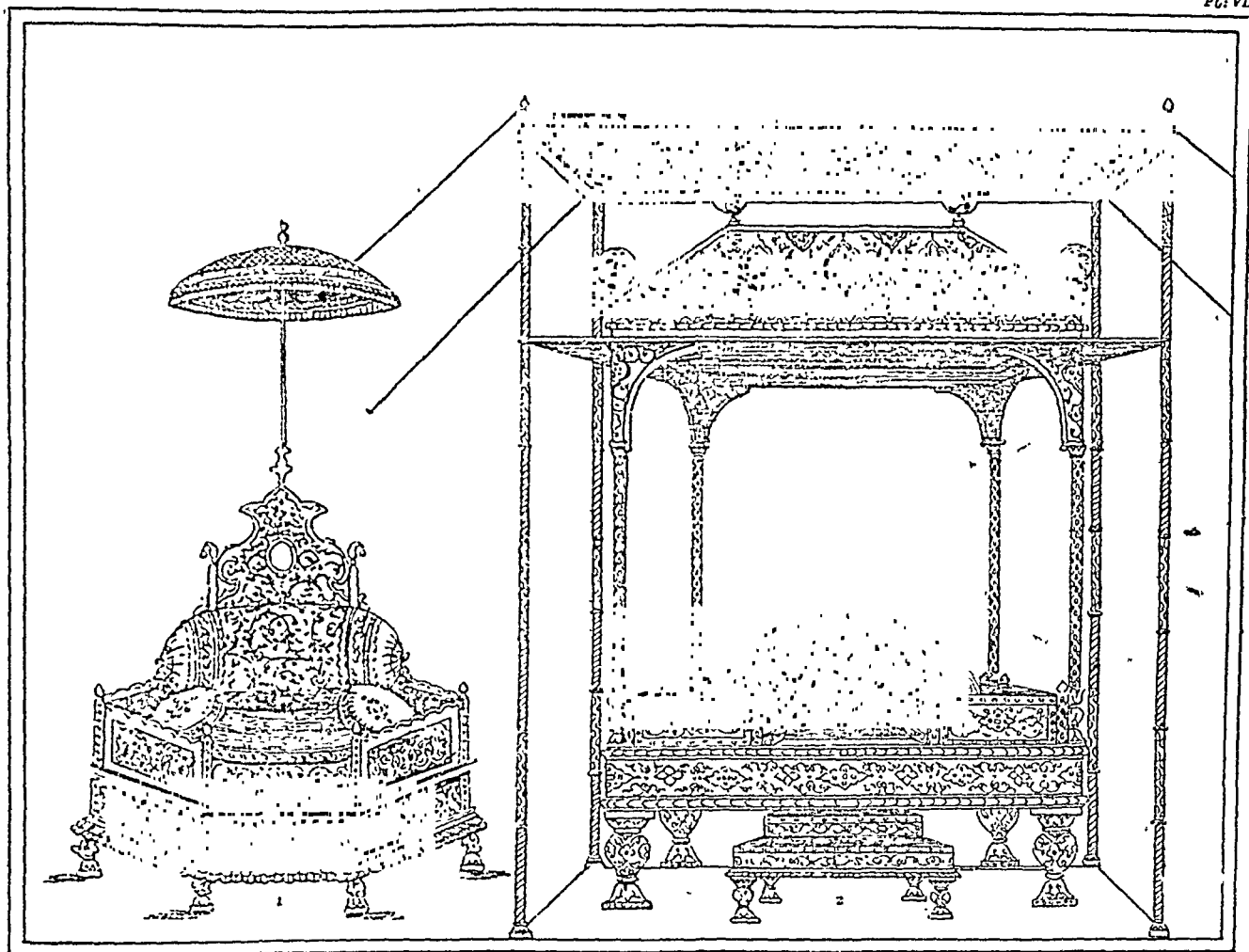
Zahāk (Zahāk-Bāmiyān), 492, 506.

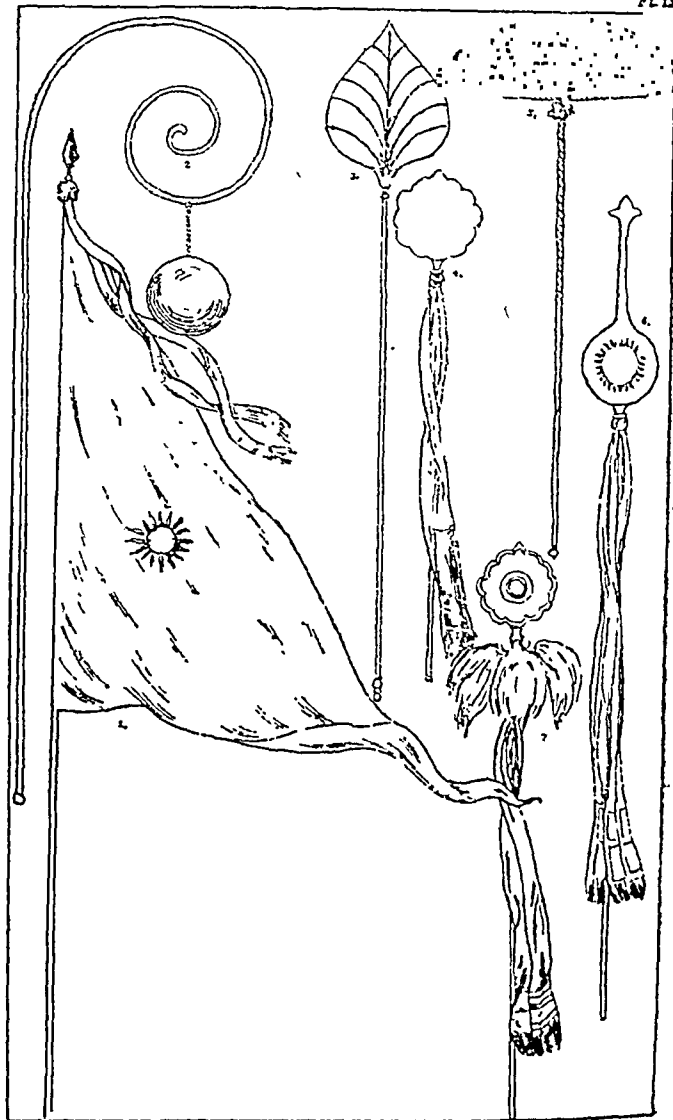
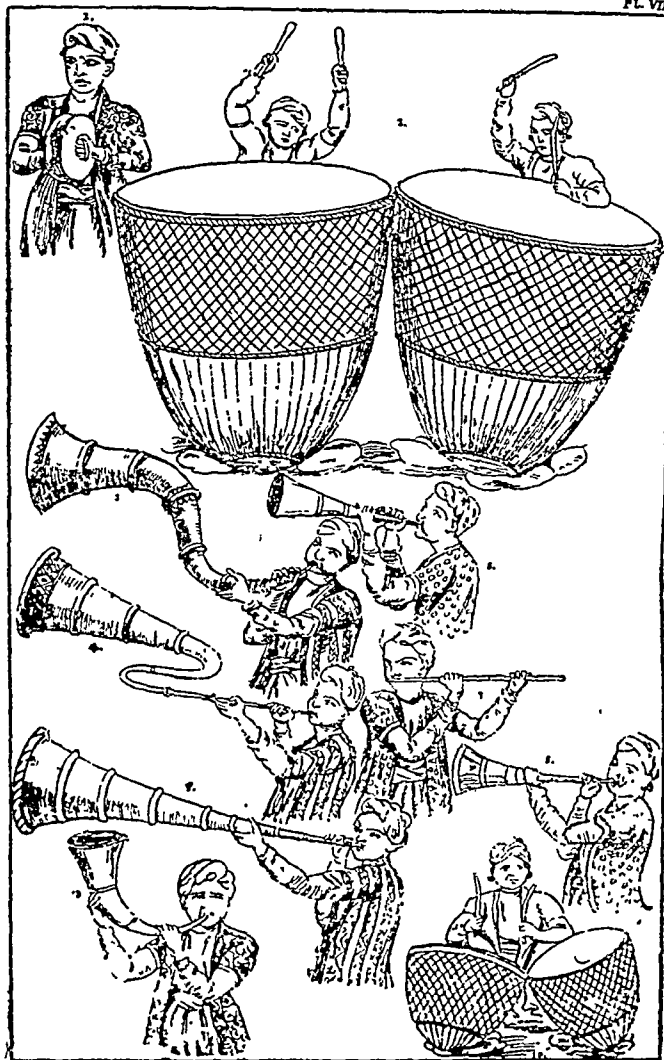
Zamāniyā, founded, 337; 415, 471.

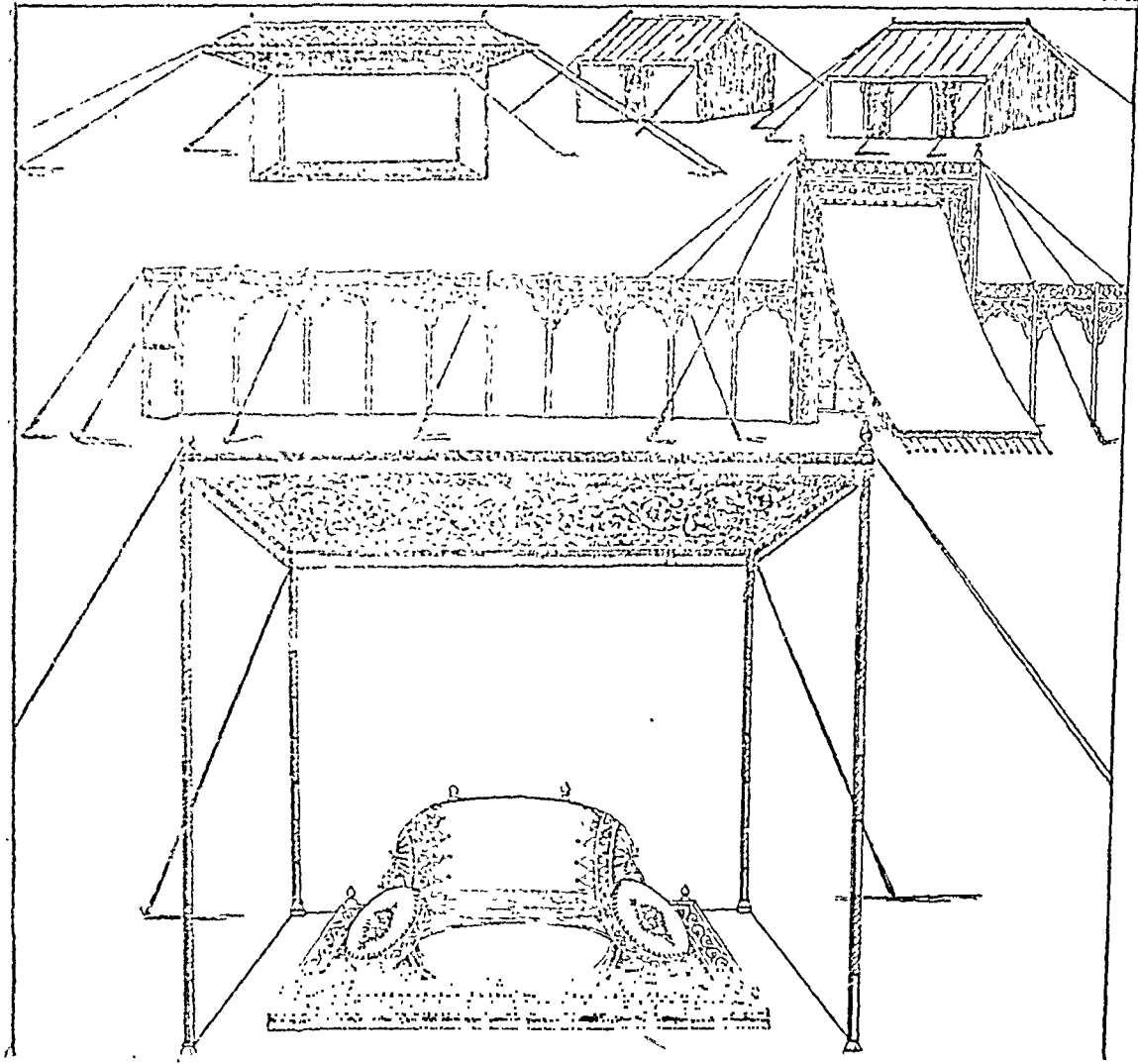
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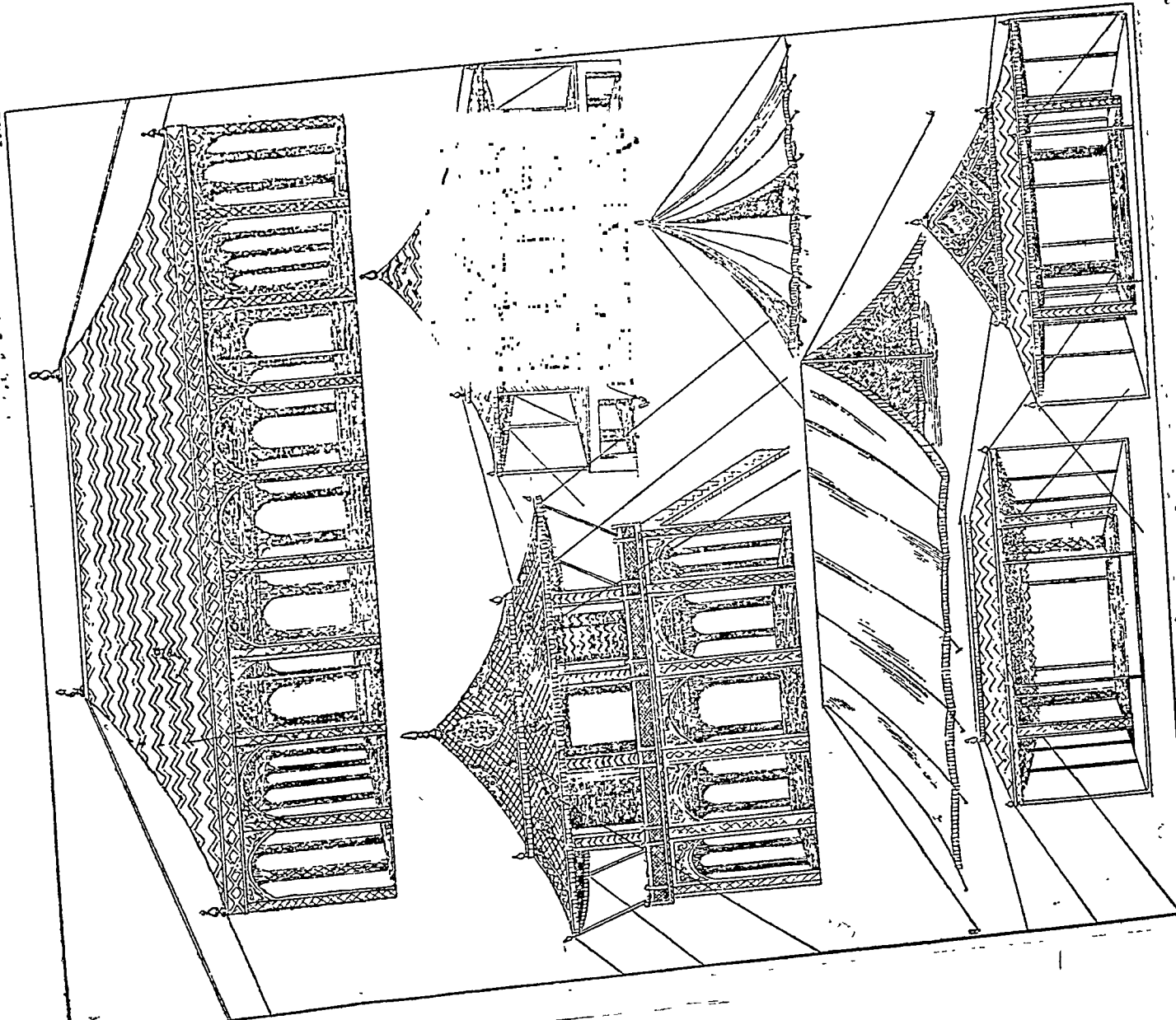
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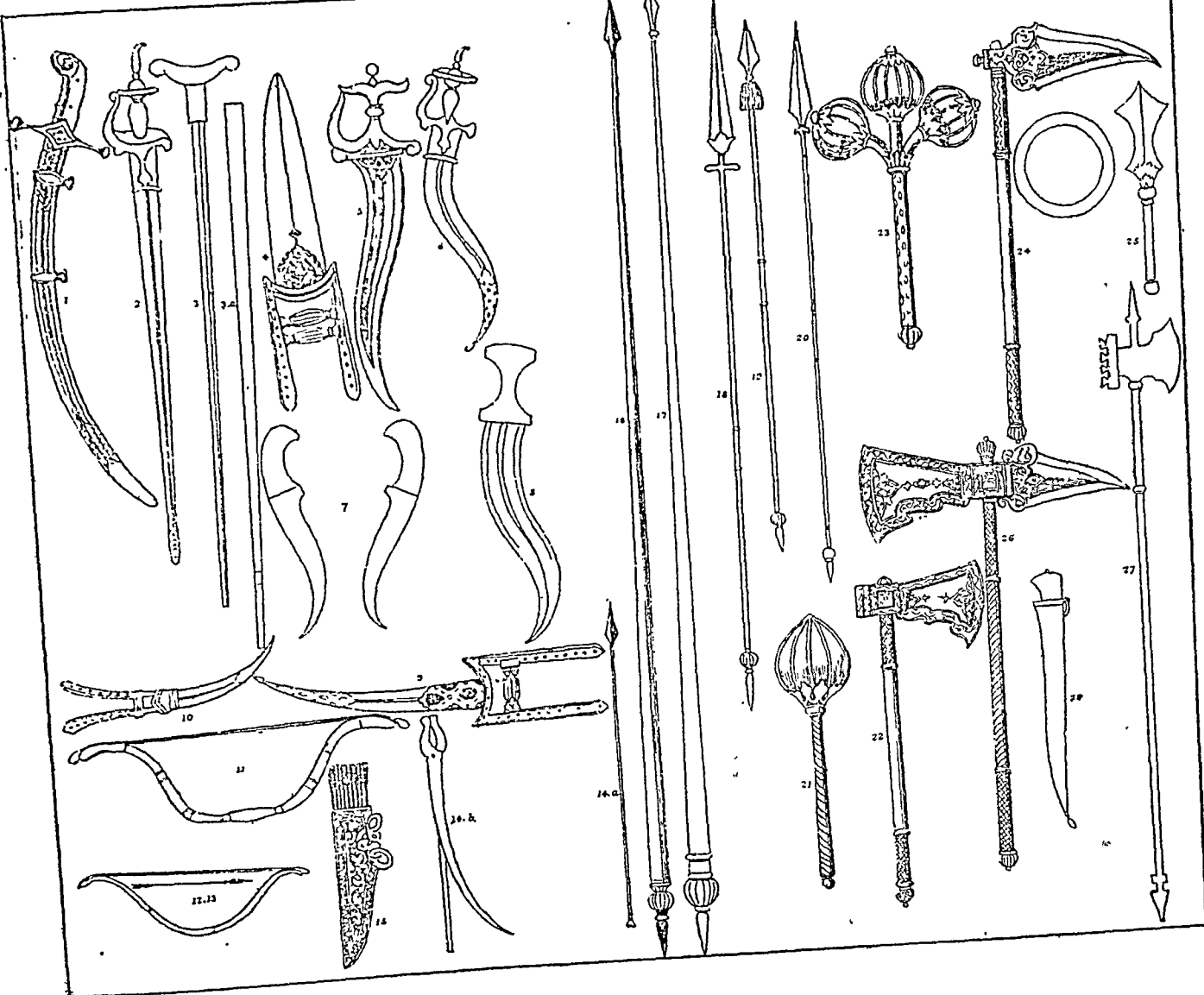


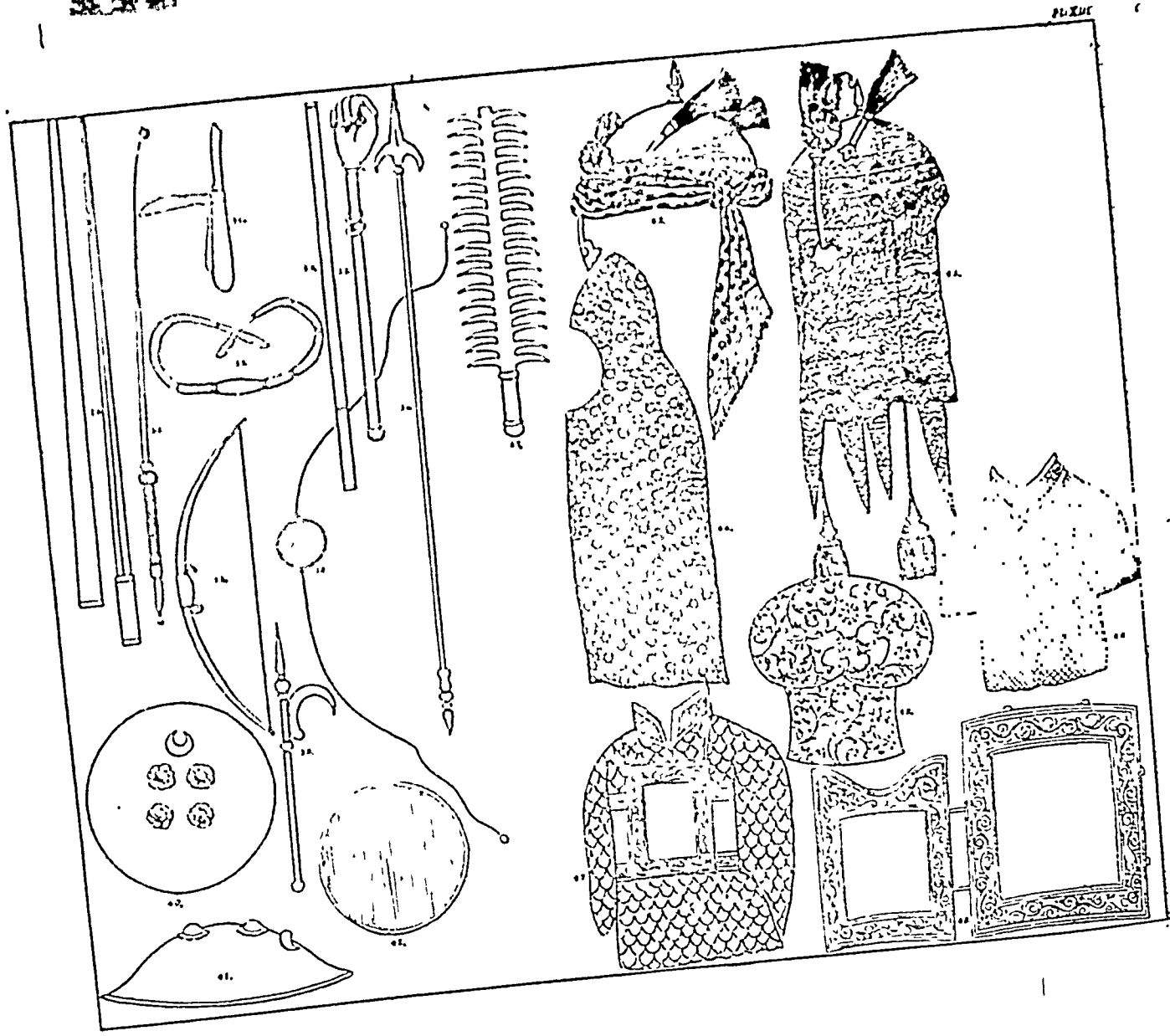


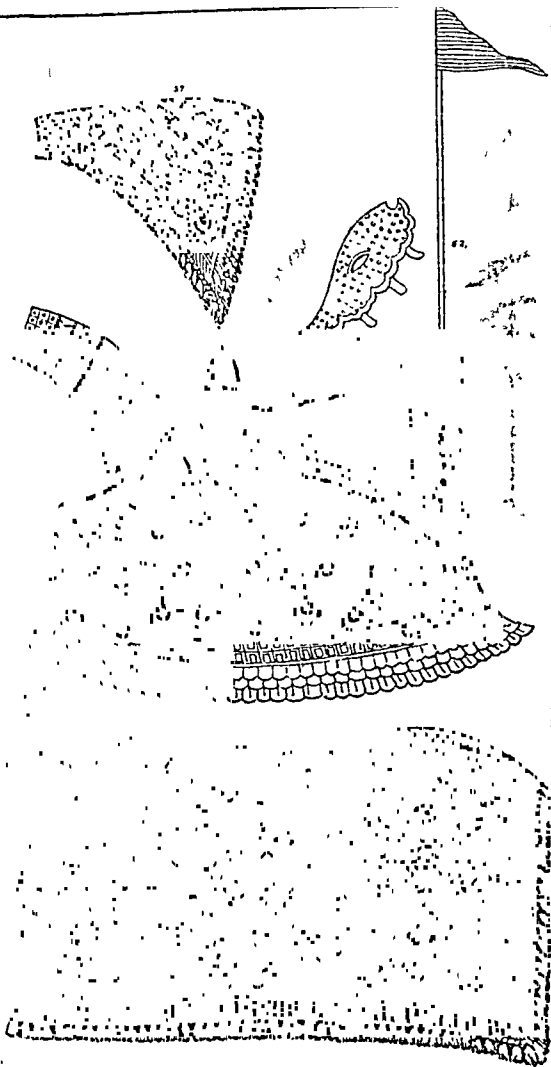
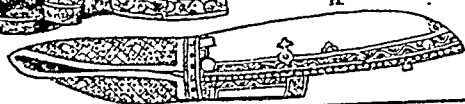


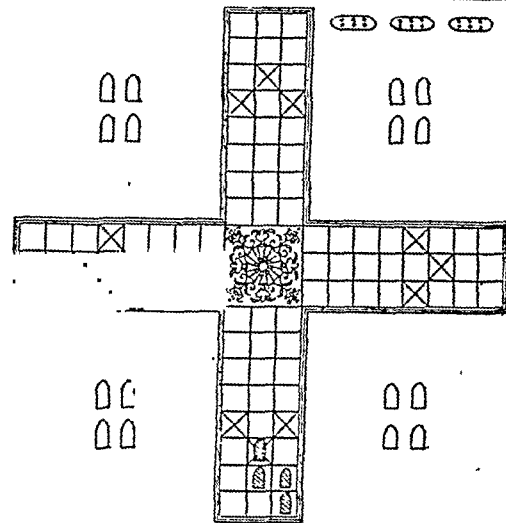
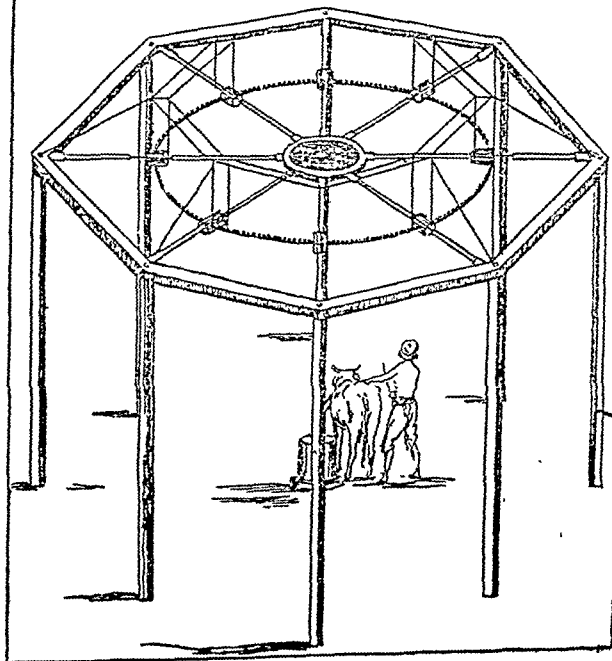
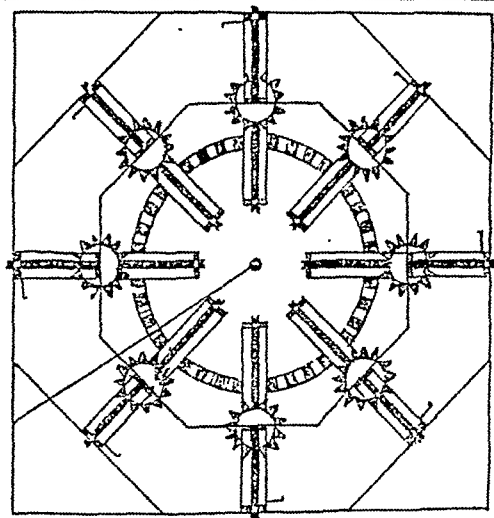




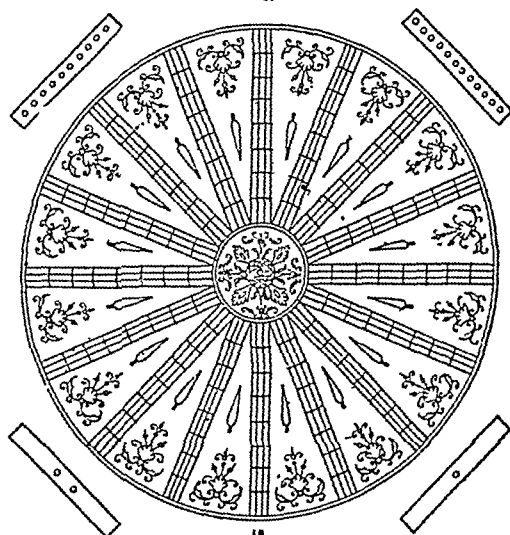




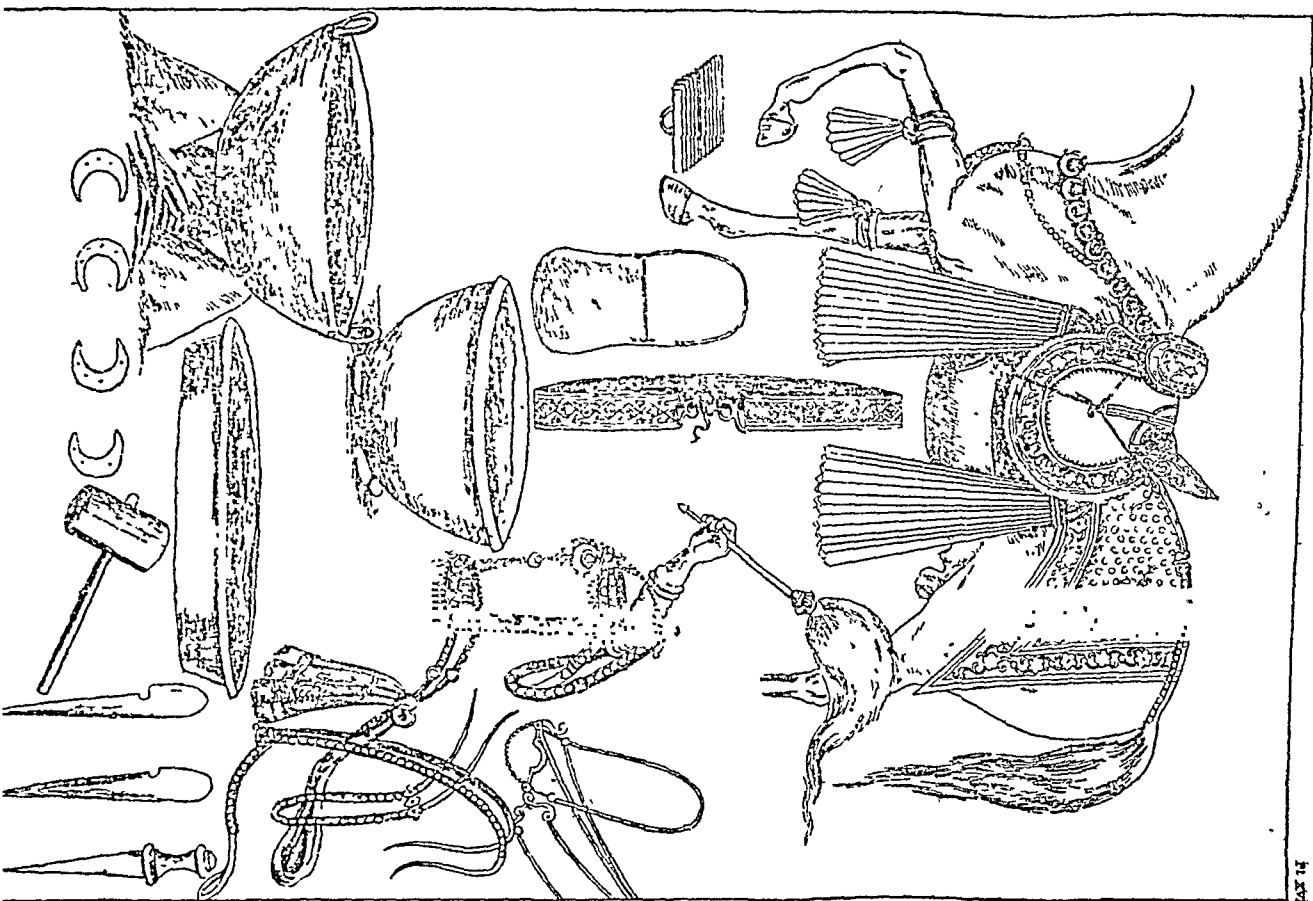




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3. Shihab 'd-Din Muhammad Shahjahan I. (X.)
b. 1600; *deposed*, 1658; d. 1656. Titles, *Firdaus Ahyani*, *Shah girun-i Jah*, *Asli Hayrat*.

7. Lutfi 'Ush.

8. Dawlat-afza.

1. Dar-i-Sakhi.

Sultan Shajiq.

3. Muhammad Muhyi 'U-Din Aurangzeb Alamgir I. (XI.)
b. 1617; d. 1118. Titles, *Asli Khudai*, *Shah-i-Mulim*.

4. Umed Bakhsh.

5. (No name.)

6. Murad Bakhsh

1. Salayin Shakh.

Zayn Muhammad.

2. Mahr Shakh.

Fahad Akhtar.

3. Munir Shakh.

Zayn-i-Salim.

4. Sadr Shakh.

1. Muhammad Yar.

2. Izzid Bakhsh.

Muhammad Shah.

2. Muhammad Muazzam Shah Alam Bahadur. (XII.)
b. 1658; d. 1124. Title, *Shah-i-Mansur*.

3. Muhammad Aslam Shuh.

4. Muhammad Akbar.

Kasim Bakh.

Firdus Bakh.

1. Badar Bakh.

2. Jawan Bakh.

3. Sikandarshah.

4. Wali Jah.

5. Zafar Jah.

6. Wajidshah.

1. 'Abd'ul-Wahhab.

2. Khujista Akhtar.

3. Nukunyar.

4. Muhammad Asghar.

1. 'Abd'ul-Din Jahangir Shah. (XIII.)
1671; d. 1124. Title, *Shah-i-Arshad*.

2. Al-Qasbi 'd-Din.

3. Muhammad 'Aslam ('Aslam 'ah-Shah).

4. Dawlat-afza.

5. Rafiq 'l-Qadr ('Aslam 'ah-Shah).

1. Muhammad Karim.

2. Muhammad Farrukhshah. (XIV.)
Title, *Shah-i-Mansur*.
b. 1698; d. 1131.

1. Rafiq 'd-Dawlah. (XVI.)
Title, *Shahjahan II*.
d. 1131.

2. Rafiq 'd-Darajat. (XV.)
d. 1131.

1. Al-Qasbi 'd-Din.

2. 'Aslam 'd-Din Alamgir II. (XIX.)
b. 1699; d. 1173.

3. Humayun Bakh.

4. Rabi 'l-Quds.

1. Jahangir.

2. Jahar Murad Shah.

'Aslam 'd-Din Shah Alam. (XX.)

b. 1140; d. 1231. Title, *Firdaus-i-Mansur*.

1. Mirza Jawan Bakh.

2. 'Abd'ul-Nasir Husin 'd-Din Akbar Shah II. (XXI.)
b. 1173; d. 1235. Title, *Aslam-i-Arshad*.

1. Mirza Jahangir.

2. 'Abd'ul-Muazzam Siraj 'd-Din Muhammad Bahadur Shah. (XXII.)
b. 1182; d. at Rangoon, A.D. 1862 (7th November).

6. Khujista Akhtar Jahanshah.

7. Muhammad Humayun.

1. Farhunda Akhtar.

2. Rawshan Akhtar Muhammad Shah. (XVII.)
b. 1111; d. 1161. Title, *Firdaus-i-Arshad*.

Ahmad Shah. (XVIII.)
b. 1140; *deposed*, 1167; d. 1183.

Bedar Bakh.

SUPPLEMENT

(By the Editor)

A'IN-I-AKBARI

Abul Fazl's *A'in-i-Akbari*, completed in 1590-97, ranks very high among the classics of the world. Its value as an authentic history can never be over-estimated. It is an indispensable source of information for every historian and research scholar for the study of Akbar, the greatest Mughal ruler of India. The book is a part, third and concluding volume, of the comprehensive and parent work entitled *Akbar-nama* which includes a detailed account of the illustrious monarch's ancestry back up to Timur.

Apart from its intrinsic worth the book gains an added importance because it is a story the hero whereof is Akbar who, literally true to his name, was really great and aptly called 'Mughal-i-Azam' or 'the Grand Mughal'. His speedy conquests, wise and stable government, peaceful and prosperous reign; keen sense of justice, religious tolerance, and above all, his secular spirit speak well for his extraordinary political sagacity and administrative acumen and entitle him to high veneration and an eminent abiding place in history.

For all his qualities of head and heart, we may duly lay a stress on his cult of secularism which, to our mind, contributed largely to the solidarity of his vast empire and to the popularity of his benign rule. His matrimonial alliance with the Rajputs is a proof positive of this spirit. On the still harder path of religion he rode roughshod over the fanatic dogmatism of the Mullas, and propounded his own faith : *Din-i-Ilahi* in the teeth of their opposition.

A'in-i-Akbari marks an appreciable departure from the common rut of contemporary and preceding Mohammadan

historians in one respect. It affords us a good glimpse of the socio-economic back-ground of the period, generally lacking in other Mohammadan chronicles which are merely an exaggerated narrative of kings and dynasties, campaigns and crusades, victories and defeats, and blood-shed and atrocities. The *A'in* presents, on the contrary, an ample, vivid and impartial account not only of the historical events but also of the current social, cultural and literary activities and the prevalent religious and political intrigues. The author displays in it an uncommon fore-sight, judicious discretion and critical outlook characteristic of a modern, methodical and talented scholar.

The basic value of *A'in-i Akbari* naturally accrues to it from the high status, exceeding erudition, great genius, unimpeachable character, and impartial disposition of the author. Because of his close contact and intimate association with the Emperor, Abul Fazl had an easy access to any requisite official documents and secrets of royalty. Add to it his liberality of mind and power of expression, and you lend to the *A'in* the charm and perfection of a unique master-piece of history at once authentic, priceless, and praise-worthy. It is an invaluable legacy for all posterity.

The *A'in* is important not only for the quantity but also for the quality of its contents. The information contained is varied, detailed, accurate and trustworthy. The first 'book' of it deals with the monarch and his household. The second treats of the court grandees and attendants and civil and military servants. The third sets forth the rules and regulations for the judicial, executive, survey and revenue departments. The fourth describes the social environs and literary achievements of the Hindus besides references to foreign travellers and invaders and Mohammadan divines and their religious tenets and leanings. The fifth and the last is rather a compendium of moral precepts, aphorisms and wise maxims of the Emperor.

As to the popularity and eminence of *A'in-i-Akbari*, suffice it to say that it has not only been translated into native tongues of India but has attracted the attention of foreigners

also. As far back as 1776 A.D. Le Pere Tieffentaller incorporated some long extracts from the third book of the *A'in* in his '*Description Geographique de l'Indostan*'. Seven years later an eminent orientalist Francis Gladwin dedicated his '*Ayeen Akbari*' to Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India. Thereafter, he translated a fair portion of the *A'in* and printed it in London in 1800 A. D. Chief Sarishtadar Grant, too, made an extensive use of it in his Report on Indian Finances. Besides these admirable Translations there is extant an incomplete Hindi rendering of some portion of the *A'in*. I suppose it is needless to multiply such instances. Of course, a full Hindi version worthy of this great classic has not so far found its way into the market and is an urgent need of the hour.

The style of *A'in-i-Akbari* is at once superbly fine, impressive, somewhat florid and ornate but not at the cost of effect, and above all worthy of the eminent author, a scholar of profound learning and rare genius. The book is remarkable for its linguistic beauties and figures of speech which in no way mar or suppress the sense.

Sometimes we come across befitting word-constructions and compounds of the author's own coinage. These have not only enriched the expression but become readily current and attained the vogue they deserved. Even the dullness of theme at places has not detracted from the charm and influence of his masterly and facile pen.

ABUL FAZL (1551—1602 A. D.)

Abul Fazl, worthy son of a worthy father, was a most learned, wise and cultured man. He gave proof of his uncommon intelligence and precocity at a very early age. He completed his education at nine under the care of his talented and erudite father and attained excellence in all branches of knowledge and arts then in vogue when he was barely fifteen. It is said of him that he picked out flaws of such eminent rhetoricians as Mulla S'ad-ud-Din and Allama Sayid Sharif. Notes of his criticism were jotted down by his friends and

admirers. By coincidence Khwaja Abu Qasim's Commentary on *Mutawwal* appeared in those very days, and all were astonished to find therein the same flaws of eloquence which Abul Fazl had already pointed out. To cite another instance, he restored a partly burnt rare manuscript by his miraculous power of discernment, learning and imagination. On accidental recovery of the original, its collation with Abul Fazl's copy revealed amazingly minor and negligible discrepancies.

Abul Fazl was a versatile genius, rather a prodigy of his age. He was not only a prolific writer and eminent scholar, but a redoubtable warrior and tactful commander endowed with an iron will, firm, quick decision, invincible spirit and dauntless courage. When Prince Murad proved a failure in the Deccan and the whole conquered territory was in danger, Akbar deputed Abul Fazl to restore order, re-control and prestige of the Emperor. Abul Fazl hastened readily to his new sphere of duty, re-organised the forces, infused a fresh spirit into them, raised their morale and vanquished the enemies in quick succession. He was near complete victory when he was recalled by Akbar for help in subduing Bahadur Khan of Aasir who had the audacity to revolt. On his return from the South Abul Fazl was greeted with great honour and awarded the coveted rank of four thousand horses (Chahar Hazari) for his unflinching loyalty, out-standing performance and conspicuous service.

Shaykh Abul Fazl met his death in the year 1602 A.D. under very tragic circumstances. While returning from the Deccan on his second expedition in obedience to the royal command, he was treacherously waylaid by Raja Bir Singh's soldiers at the instance of Prince Salim who bore animosity towards the Shaykh, was mercilessly killed and beheaded. On hearing of this heinous murder the Emperor was plunged into deep grief. He mourned his death in solitude for several days forbidding all audience. The shock for the Emperor was so great that he exclaimed, "If Prince Salim aspired after kingship, he had better slay me and spare Abul Fazl!" This single sentence indicates beyond doubt how fervent and deep was Akbar's affection and regard for Abul Fazl.

A great controversy rages round Shaykh Abul Fazl's character and religion. Some hostile critics led by Mulla Abdul Qadir portray him as a rank infidel proud of his genius and attainments. Some dub him a Hindu, a fire-worshipper and free thinker. Others go to the extent of stigmatising him as an atheist. The Mullahs at court notably Makhdumul Mulik and Abdun Nabi charged the Shaykh's family with the damnable Mahdawi cult, and vainly tried to poison the ears of the Emperor against it.

His admirers, on the other hand, extol him to the skies. They represent him as a man of lofty, blameless character, generous heart, indomitable spirit, liberal outlook, unswerving devotion and steadfast loyalty. Virtually he was a Sunni but no blind follower of orthodoxy. He believed in the rational way and scorned fanaticism. He had studied various religions which cast a benign and moderating influence upon his mind. He found some truth in every religion. To him no faith was pure good or unmixed evil. Thus his religion was a synthesis of many faiths—the creed of love and truth. By virtue of his honesty of purpose, sincerity of views and strength of reasoning he ultimately broke the power and spell of the bigoted Mullahs over the Emperor.

The natural result of Abul Fazl's triumph over the Mullahs was his complete hold over the Emperor and elimination of the enemies from his way. Fayzi and Abul Fazl impelled the Emperor to base his policies on the following fundamental principle :—

“God is the Creator of all mankind—Muslims, Hindus, Christians and heathens who are all equal in His eyes, and the Emperor is His vice-regent (Khalifa)”.

It was on this fundamental doctrine that Akbar founded his new religion : Din-i-Ilahi or the Divine faith. To replace the basic Islamic creed or Kalima, Akbar enunciated the cardinal dogma of his new faith thus : “*There is no God but Allah and Akbar is the vice-regent of God.*”

The adoption of this creed by Akbar no doubt confirms his apostasy from Islam. But as a ruler free from bigotry he

proved a great power and success. He had equal regard for the religious susceptibilities of all his subjects professing different faiths. This paved the way for a great empire which Akbar was able to establish. Aurangzeb, on the contrary, undermined the foundations of the Mughal empire by his fanaticism which estranged from him his non-Muslim subjects and caused wide-spread revolts. His unwise and stern policy of coercion and conversion hastened the downfall of the powerful and glorious Mughal dynasty and brought an end to the six-century old Muslim rule in India. This contrast of Aurangzeb's policy with that of Akbar heightens still more the wisdom that underlay the latter's pattern of government. In shaping and executing this sound and far-sighted policy Akbar drew his inspiration mainly or perhaps wholly from the Shaykh brothers, Abul Fazl and Fayzi, to whom he justly felt indebted.

Shaykh Abul Fazl occupies a place of honour as a writer in Indian Persian literature. His works are characterised by originality of theme and expression. Even eminent scholars of Iran have spoken highly of his talent and learning. Amin Ahmed Razi, the author of *Haft Iqlim*, lauds his merits and achievements in the following words :—

“Without any fear of contradiction it would be no flattery to say that Abul Fazl stands unrivalled in point of intelligence and discernment. Whatever odd moments he is able to snatch from his state preoccupations and all-absorbing service to the Emperor he utilizes in discourses with the learned and in search after truth. His style of writing is charming and inimitable. His power of delineation and imagery is unique. His mode of expression is free from artificiality, exaggeration, bombast and pedantry. A note of spontaneity runs throughout. *Akbar-nama* is a standing testimony to this effect. He loves to recite poetry and is capable of fully appreciating its spirit and subtlety. Sometimes he produces fine verses by virtue of his poetic gift.”

Abul Fazl was also well-versed in Arabic. He had a peculiar knack of rendering Arabic compounds into apt corresponding Persian equivalents which lend a great charm.

force and grace to his style. To mention another commendable quality, his writing is chaste and elevating both in theme and form. All his works are amazingly free from obscenity, facetiousness, ribaldry and trash. He is a sober and serious writer bearing the stamp of his father's piety, morality and discipline.

Be Isha has well-known works such as *Akbar-nama* including *Anis-i-Akbari*, *Iyar-i-Darish*, *Risala-i-Munajat*, *Jambul-hayat*, *Kashkol* and *Rasul*, he has left to us his valuable letters compiled in a collection entitled *Insha-i-Abul Fazl* or *Makhtasat-i-Akbari*. We may take notice of this last book at some length here:—

Insha-i-Abul Fazl consists of three books (*Diwans*). Book I contains eighteen letters written on behalf of Akbar to kings and rulers of Iran, Turan, Bukhara etc. Apart from these epistles there are Imperial orders issued from time to time to various chiefs and governors in the Empire. This book is a masterpiece of the author. It is marked by loftiness of theme, power of expression, charm of effect, beauty of construction, dignity of words and phrases, wealth of metaphors and conceits, flights of imagination and purity of thought and language. The author has very discreetly touched upon problems and topics conducive to the welfare and prosperity of the common people. This book had so impressed Abdulla Uzbek of Turan that he was impelled to remark, "Abul Fazl's pen inspires greater awe in me than Akbar's sword."

Book II comprises Abul Fazl's letters and epistles addressed to friends, relatives and grandees. Though these letters are personal, yet they cover a wide range and variety of subjects which presuppose on the part of the reader a knowledge of history bearing on ancient Mohammadan over-seigns of India, Iran and Turan for a proper and fuller understanding of them. These letters are replete with allusions to the eventful reigns of Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Abdulla Uzbek of Turan and Safawi monarchs of Iran.

Book III is a collection of Abul Fazl's reviews, critiques

and prefaces to standard works of old writers. In the course of his comments he has displayed his profound scholarship and mystic lore. He soars high in the realm of imagination, ecstasy and spiritualism. Therefore, it is rather difficult to appreciate his erudition without a previous study of philosophy and Sufism.

Apart from this highly reflective part, we find in it excellent quotations from eminent poets, his own choice verses and memoranda and some extracts from the books reviewed.